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PREFACE

A Volume of summaries of papers was published just before the Conference. Its object was to serve as a convenient basis of discussion and criticism. It could not be regarded as a permanent contribution. And together with the selected papers, their summaries will not be important. Further it contained summaries of papers which were subsequently rejected by the Conference. This Volume has not been therefore reprinted. These summaries were designated as the *First Volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.* This designation is hereby cancelled.

It has not been possible to publish the Philology Section. Special and intricate type was required to represent the peculiar sounds of different languages. Orders were given to cast the necessary type. The proprietors of the foundry had promised to finish all the letters by January 1930. But up till now, only 70 out of 100 letters are ready. It is impossible to wait longer, so the Philology Section had to be withheld from publication. Some of the papers are likely to appear in *The Indian Linguistics.*

It has again taken about two years to bring out the Proceedings. Efforts were made to reduce the period to one year but without success. Selection of papers takes a long time. Papers are selected with the help of Sectional Presidents. After the Conference they are separated by long distances. They are generally busy people and cannot always attend to the files at once. Sectional Secretaries are in no hurry to send in reports of their respective Sections. Thus notwithstanding numerous letters and reminders, one Sectional Secretary took six months to write half a dozen lines of report of his Section. The result was that the MS. could not be handed over to the Press before July 1929. I would therefore suggest that the papers should be selected at the Conference itself, if they are to be printed at all.

The impression is then quite fresh. Selection at that time will take only minutes while afterwards when the impression has faded away, it takes months.

In the present case, there has been another cause of delay. The man* appointed to correct proofs proved himself to be so inefficient and his work was so unscholarly that most of the pages printed by him had to be scraped by the Chairman, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M. A., C. I. E., F. A. S. B. As the type had already been distributed, these pages had to be recomposed and reprinted. This caused some financial loss to the Conference and delayed the present publication by six months.

My thanks are due to the Chairman, Mr. A. C. Woolner. Without his keen and active interest, the publication of the present volume would have been a problem. From the inception to its completion, he has guided it at every stage. Mr. G. C. Chatterji, M. A., I. E. S., Professor of Philosophy of the Government College, Lahore, was kind enough to read the MS. of the Philosophy Section. Pt. Nanak Chand M. A. has prepared the index. Pt. Gauri Shankar, M. A., of the Government College and Pt. Ram Chandra Shastri of the Oriental College have seen it through the press. The time and labour spent by both of them are really remarkable and they both deserve our grateful thanks.

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*Name deliberately not published. I hope he will appreciate this.

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(d) Dr. L. Sarup.

7. Taxila Excursion.

(a) R. S. L. Sohan Lal.
(b) R. B. L. Daya Ram Sahni.
(c) Dr. L. Sarup.

8. Reception Sub-Committee.

(a) Lt. Veda Vyasa, M.A., Captain of Volunteers.
(b) Pt. Gauri Shankar, M.A.
(c) Qazi Fazl-i-Haqq.
(d) Dr. K. N. Sita Ram.
(e) Local Secretary.

9. Concert Sub-Committee.

(a) Dr. M. Iqbal.
(b) Mr. S. D. Azar.
(c) Prof. M. K. Sarkar.

10. Director of Ceremonies.

(a) R. B. P. N. Dutt.

REPRESENTATIVES OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Assam.

Professor Vanomali Chakaravarti Vedantatirtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Murari Chand College, Sylhet, (Assam).

Professor Lakshmi Narayan Chatterji Veda Shastri, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Cotton College, Gauhati, (Assam).

Khan Bahadur Abdullah Abu Sayied, Senior Professor of Islamic Languages, Murari Chand College, Sylhet, (Assam).

Maulvi Syed Mohammad Muhibulla, M.A., Senior Professor of Islamic Languages, Cotton College, Gauhati, (Assam).

Bombay.

M. G. Rawlinson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.

Dr. S. K. Belvalker, M.A., Ph. D., Deccan College, Poona.

M. S. Commissoriat. Esq., M.A., I.E.S.. Gujrat College, Ahmedabad.

Madras.

M. R. Ry. Mahamahopadhaya S. Kuppaswami Sastriyar Avergal, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras.

U. P.

Maulvi Zia-ul-Hasan Alvi, M.A., Inspector of Arabic Madrasas, Allahabad.

Pandit Kanshi Ram, M.A., Inspector of Sanskrit Pathshalas. U. P., Benares.

R. S. Babu Prayag Dayal, M.R.A.S., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

REPRESENTATIVES OF UNIVERSITIES.

Aberdeen University.

John Maclachlan Mackay, M.A., (Aberd.), LL.B. (Edin.), Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

Agra University.

H. Sharma, M.A., Professor S. D. College, Cawnpore.

Aligarh Muslim University.

A. S. Tritton, M.A., D. Litt., Chairman, Arabic Department.

Mohammad Habib, B.A., Bar-at Law, M.L.C., Prof. of History.

Ram Sarup Shastri, Chairman, Sanskrit Department.
Sajjad Haidar, Syed, B.A., Chairman, Urdu Department.

Allahabad University:—

Amar Nath Jha, M.A., Professor of English.
P. K. Acharya, M.A., D. Litt.;
M. Naim-ur-Rehman, M.A.;

Bombay University.

Rev. F. R. Zimmermann S.J., Ph.D., St. Xavier College.

Bristol University:—

G. H. Leonard, M.A.

Calcutta University:—

Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D. Litt.
G. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph. D.
Indubhushan Banerjee, M.A.
Pasupatinath Sastri, M.A., B.L., Ph. D.

Cambridge University:—

H. L. O. Garret, M.A., Principal, Government College, Lahore.

Dacca University:—

R. G. Basak, M.A.
Fida Ali Khan, M.A., Head of Persian and Urdu Department.
S. K. De, M.A., D. Litt., Dean of the Faculty of Arts.
U.C. Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., Lecturer in Philosophy.
A. Hasan, M.A., B.A., (Oxon).

Delhi University:—

Lachhmi Dhar Shastri, M.A., M.O.L.
M. M. Har Narayan Shastri, Vidyasagara.
Sayyad Azhar Ali, M.A., M.O.L.

Durham University:—

W. T. Wright, C.T.E., V.D., M.A., Rev., Principal, The Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, Panjab.

Johns Hopkins University:—

Lily Dexter Greene, Ph. D., Bishop's School, Delhi.

Lucknow University:—

K. A. Subramania Iyer, M.A.

M. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph. D., LL.B.

Radha Kumud Mukerjee, M.A., Ph. D.

Madras University:—

R. B. S. K. Aiyangar M.A., Ph. D.

C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil, (Oxon).

Mysore University:—

S. V. Venkatesvara Iyer, M.A., L.T., Prof. of History, Maharaja College, Mysore.

New Zealand (Mellington) University:—

Sir William Marris, B.A., Ex.-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

W. L. Scott., M.A., Under-Secretary to Government of Assam.

Oxford University:—

Alfred Cooper Woolner, M.A.

Osmania University:—

Sayyad Sajjad Husain, M.A.

R. Subba Rao, M.A.

Paris University:—

Prof. Sylvain Levi, M. A., D. Litt., Professor of Sanskrit at the College de France and the University of Paris.

Patna University:—

R. P. Khosla, Prof., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.

REPRESENTATIVES OF INDIAN STATES.

Baroda.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph. D., Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Dr. B. C. Lele, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Sanskrit, Baroda College, Baroda.

Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Shastri, Oriental Institute, Baroda State.

Bahawalpur.

Maulvi Ghulam Mohammad Shaikh-ul-Jami, Principal of the Local Arabic College, Bahawalpur State.

Bikaner.

Thakur Ram Singh M.A., Inspector of Schools, Bikaner State.

Cochin.

Professor K. R. Pisharoti, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Cochin State.

Jammu and Kashmir.

Professor Sidheshwar Varma, M.A., D.Litt., P. W. College, Jammu.

Patiala.

S. Basant Singh, Religious Tutor to Their Highnesses, Senior Maharaj Kumars, Patiala.

REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

Anthropological Society of Bombay, c/o K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute, 172, Hornby Rood, Fort Bombay.

(1) Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., Shams-ul-ulma.

(2) R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., Revd. Fr.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.

(1) Haraprasad Shastri, M.M., M.A., C.I.E.

Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Meerut,

(1) J. N. Sinha Esq., M.A.

Archæological Department of India.

(1) H. Hargreaves, Esq., Officiating Director-General of Archæology.

(2) R. B. L. Daya Ram Sahni, Deputy Director-General of Exploration.

(3) Madho Sarup Vatsa, Esq., M.A., Superintendent, Northern Circle of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments.

(4) Superintendent Mohammadan Monuments, Lahore.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P.O. Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City, (India).

(1) A. B. Gajendragadkar, M. A., Professor.
(2) P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M., Professor.
(3) R. Zimmermann, Ph. D.
(4) S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D.
(5) V. G. Apte, B. A., Principal.
(6) V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.
(7) V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law.
(8) V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D.

Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka, Poona.

(1) Dr. Narhar Gopal Sardesai.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

(1) Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College, Bankipore, Patna.

(2) D. N. Sen, M. A., I. E. S. Principal, B. N. College, Bankipore, Patna.

Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

(1) G. V. Acharya, B. A., Esq.
(2) H. Heras, S. J. Revd. Fr.

(3) Jivanji J. Modi, B. A., Ph. D., C. I. E.. Shams-ul-Ulma.

(4) R. Zimmermann, Revd. Dr.

(5) Vishnu S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D.

(6) V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law.

(7) Dr. L. T. Shah.

Gurukula Kangri.

(1) Prof. Vishwa Nath Vidyalankara.

(2) Prof. Yogishvara Vidyalankara.

Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Post Box No. 11, Prayaga.

(1) Purushottama Dasa Tandan, M. A., LL. B.

Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, or
The Assam Research Society, Gauhati, Assam.

(1) Saiyid Muhammad Muhibullah. Maulavi, M. A., A. E. S., Professor of Arabic and Persian, Cotton College, Lakhtakia, Gauhati, Assam.

(2) Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, M. A., B. L., A. E. S., Professor of English, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

K. R. Cama, Oriental Institute, Sukhadwala Buildings, 172, Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.

(1) Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D., C. I. E., Shams-ul-Ulma.

(2) R. Zimmermann, S. J., Ph. D., Revd. Fr. St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay

(3) S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona.

Rangpur Sahitya Parishad, Rangpur.

(1) Brindabon Chandra Bhattacharya, Professor, M. A., M. R. A. S., 49 Durga Kund, Benares City, E. I. R.

(2) Padma Nath Vidyabinod, Mahamahopadhyaya, M. A., Tattva Saraswati, 45, House Cotorah, Benares City.

(3) Surendra Chandra Roy. Choudhary, Dharma Bhusan, Ex. M. L. A., Zamindar Alam-Nagar, P. O. Rangpur, (Bengal).

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. I.

(1) A. C. Woolner, Esq.
(2) A. H. M. Nizam-ud-Din, Dr.
(3) G. K. Nariman, Esq.
(4) Haraprasad Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya.
(5) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Prof.
(6) W. Ivanow Esq.

Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Shambazar, Calcutta.

(1) Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M. A.
(2) Janakinath, Sahitya Sastri.

Sahitya Parishad, Chittagong.

(1) Herendra Nath, De., M. A.

Trustees of the Indian Museum, 27, Chowringhee, Calcutta.

(1) A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F. R. S. L., M. A.
(2) D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D.
(3) Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., M.A., Mahamahopadhya.
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(3) Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., Rajshahi P.O.
(4) Sarat Kumar Ray, Kumar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Dayarampur P.O., Distt. Rajshahi, (Bengal).
(5) Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, M.A., Bhatpara P.O.

The following Universities sent their good wishes for the success of the Conference.

Berlin University.
Breslau University.
Bristol University.
Chicago University.
Cincinnati University.
Copenhagen University.
D'Alger University.
Edinburgh University.
Erlangen University.
Frankfurt University.
Friedrichs University (Halle)
George August Universitat, Gottingen.
Grenoble University.
Hamburgitche Universitat.
Heidelberg Universitat.
Ireland, National University.
Koln University.
Leipzig University.
Lieds University.
Liege University.
Liverpool University.
Ludwig Maximitians Universitat, Munchen.
Melbourne University.
Ottawa University (Canada).
Prussian University (Greifswald).
Sheffield University.
Virginia University Charlotteville.
Weirzburg University (Bavaria).

The following Governments, Universities, and States contributed to the Funds of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

1.	Panjab University	Rs. 2,500
2.	Panjab Government	„ 1,000
3.	U. P. Government	„ 1,000
4.	Madras Government	„ 1,000
5.	Kashmir State	„ 1,000
6.	Patiala State	„ 1,000
7.	Kapurthala State	„ 1,000
8.	Hyderabad State	„ 1,000
9.	Bengal Government	„ 500
10.	Bahawalpur State	„ 500
11.	Bikaner State	„ 500
12.	Malerkotla State	„ 500
13.	Mysore University	„ 500
14.	Baroda State	„ 500
15.	Jodhpur State	„ 500
16.	Indore State	„ 250
17.	Rewah State	„ 200
18.	Kohlapur State	„ 100
		Total Rs. 13,550

Programme of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

Monday, the 19th of November, 1928.

4 to 5-30 P.M. Garden Party at the Town Hall Grounds.

Mr. Sohan Lal 'at Home' to members of the Conference.

Opening Session—University Hall 5-45 to 8 p.m.

5-45 P.M. Members of the Reception Committee meet in the Reception Room, attached to the University Hall. Such members of the Reception Committee as are entitled to, will wear Academic Dress. Members of the Reception Committee, Members and guests of the Conference will take their seats by 5-50 P.M. Sectional Presidents and representatives of foreign Universities will sit on the dais.

6-0 P.M. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen of the Reception Committee, the Hony. Treasurers, the Hony. Secretaries and the Executive Committee of the Conference will receive His Excellency at the main entrance of the University Hall. His Excellency and the President will then be conducted to the dais in a procession which will be formed in the following order :—

1.	Prof. Mohammad Shafi	and	Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.
2.	Principal Raghubar Dayal	,,	Dr. A. Siddiqi.
3.	Dr. L. Sarup	,,	Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
4.	Dr. S. K. Aiyangar	,,	P. Amar Nath Jha.
5.	Sir Abdul Qadir	,,	Mian Sir Mohd. Shafi.
6.	A. C. Woolner, Esq.	,,	Dr. M. M. Haraprasad Shaṣtri.

7. H. E. The Governor.

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the Delegates and asking His Excellency to open the Conference.

Speech of His Excellency the Governor.

Address of the President.

Thanks to His Excellency.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1928.

ADDRESSES OF SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS.

Maynard Hall.

10 A.M. HISTORY & ARCHÆOLOGY. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.

11 A.M. Arabic, Persian and Zend. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

11-30 A.M. Classical Sanskrit. Prof. Kappuswami Shastri.

12 P.M. Vedic. Principal A. C. Woolner.

12-30 P.M. Hindi. Pt. Amar Nath Jha.

1 P.M.—2 P.M. **LUNCH**

2 P.M. PHILOSOPHY. Prof. S. N. Dass Gupta.

2-30 P.M. Fine Arts. O. C. Ganguli, Esq.

3 P.M. ANTHROPOLOGY. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri.

Hailey Hall.

11 A.M. Urdu. Nawab Sadar Yar Jang.

12-15 P.M. Punjabi. K. B. Ch. Shahab ud Din

INTERVAL

2 P.M. Philology. Dr. S. K. Chatterji.

2-45 P.M. Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India. Presidential Address by Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala

(If for any reason a Presidential Address is not delivered on Tuesday, it may be delivered on Wednesday at 10 A.M. in the Section Room to which it belongs.)



Delegates, the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

4 P.M. Cars start for Shahdara.

4-30 P.M. Garden Party at Shahdara. Mr. Ram Jawaya 'At Home' to members of the Conference. H. E. Sir Geoffrey Fitzhervey de Montmorency, Governor of the Punjab, is expected to grace with his presence the Garden Party at Shahdara.

5-45 P.M. Return to Lahore.

9-30 P.M.—12 A.M. Sanskrit drama, the Svapnavasava-dattam, Mahabir Theatre, outside Mori Gate.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1928.

LAW COLLEGE AND ORIENTAL COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

9-45 A.M. ...... Photograph at the Maynard Hall.

10 A.M. to 1 P.M. ...... Reading of papers in different sections.

1-0 P.M. to 2 P.M. ...... Light Refreshments.

2-0 P.M. to 4-0 P.M....... Reading of papers in different sections.

If any section has finished work, visits may be paid to the Exhibition and the Museum.

6-30 P.M. ...... Lecture by Dr. Kalidas Nag, illustrated with lantern slides at the Hall of the Forman Christian College. The Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, Minister for Education and Industries, has kindly consented to take the chair.

8 P.M. Musha'ira:—

Urdu:—University Hall.

Hindi:—Maynard Hall.

Panjabi:—Government College Hall.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1928.

10 A.M. to 1 P.M. ...... Reading of papers in different sections.

1 P.M. to 2 P.M. ...... Light refreshments.

2 P.M. to 3 P.M. ...... Visit to the Exhibition and the Museum.

NOTE:—Any section may continue its sitting during the afternoon, in case its work is not finished.

3 P.M. to 4 P.M. ...... Executive Committee. Room No. VI.

4 P.M. to 5 P.M. ...... Council. Maynard Hall.

10 P.M. Departure for Taxila.

Proceedings and Transactions.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Reception Committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference held in the Maynard Hall on Monday, the 14th of May, 1928, at 5. P. M.

The following were present:—

The Hon'ble now H. E. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, (in the Chair.)

Messrs. A. C. Woolner, Raja Narendra Nath, Nand Lal Bar-at-Law, Mohammad Shafi, Raghubar Dayal, R. B. Sewak Ram, Raj Krishan Bar-at-Law, D. B. K. B. Thaper, R. B. P. N. Dutt, S. S. Bhatnagar, Qazi Fazl-i-Haq, Sadr-ud-Din, Gulbahar Singh, Sita Ram Kohli, Veda Vyasa, Sohan Lal of Messrs. Gulab Singh & Sons, Ram Jawaya of Messrs Uttar Chand Kapur & Sons, Mohammad Iqbal, Gauri Shankar, M. K. Sarkar, Hem Raj, Abdul Hamid, Rahim Bakhsh, R. B. Balak Ram Pandya, S. N. Gupta of the Mayo School of Arts, and Lakshman Sarup (Local Secretary.)

1. The Honorary Local Secretary read the following report:—

The object of this report is to give, to the Reception Committee, some idea of the work that has been done so far.

The Fourth Indian Oriental Conference met at Allahabad and elected the following Office-bearers and the Executive Committee:—

President—Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, C. I. E.

Treasurer:—Principal A. C. Woolner.

Joint Secretaries—Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.

Local Secretary—Dr. Lakshman Sarup.

Members of the Committee—Dr. Ganga Nath Jha.
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.
Dr. R. C. Muzumdar.
Dr. A. Siddiqi.

Pandit Amar Nath Jha.
Mr. P. P. Shastri.
Prof. Mohammad Shafi.

Preparations for the Fifth Conference began early in October 1927.

2. Preliminary work of the Conference consisted in compiling the following lists:—

(a) List of persons eligible, under the new constitution, to become a member of the Indian Oriental Conference.
(b) A list of Learned Societies and Institutions
(g) A list of Universities of the east and the west.
(d) A list of Indian and neighbouring States.
(e) A list of the Principals of the Colleges, affiliated to Indian Universities.
(f) A list of Indologists of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
(g) A list of Indologists of the Société Asiatique of Paris.
(h) A list of Indologists of the Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
(i) A list of Indologists of America.
(j) A list of Maulvis and Pandits.
(k) A list of Vernacular poets.

3. Invitations were sent in December, 1927 to the following:—

(a)	Universities of the world	112
(b)	Indian States	154
(c)	Learned Societies and Institutions ...	112
(d)	Provincial Governments ...	13
(e)	The Principals of Colleges in India ...	245
(f)	Prominent Oriental Scholars in India	241



Pandits at the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

(g) Indologists of the Société Asiatique 60

(h) Indologists of the Royal Asiatic Society 130

(i) Indologists of the Deutschen Morgenlandishen Gesellschaft 58

(j) Indologists of America 60

(k) Maulvis and Pandits 100

(l) Vernacular poets 200

Separate lists of other European Scholars like the Italian, the Spanish, the Belgian, the Dutch, the Swedish, the Norwegian, the Swiss, etc., were not prepared as most of them are members either of the one or of the other of the Oriental Societies mentioned above.

Copies of invitations sent are enclosed.

From

The Local Secretary,

The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference,

University Hall,
Lahore.
24th November 1927.

Dear Sir,

The fifth session of the Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore in November, 1928. I have the honour to cordially invite you to attend the conference and to read a paper on a subject of your own choice. I shall be glad to know the title of your paper at your earliest convenience as this information is required for classification.

The conference will be divided into various sections, including sections for the vernaculars of the Panjab; *i.e.*, Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi. There will be a concert of classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and a representation of

a Sanskrit play. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will be arranged.

As the Panjab University remains closed for the summer vacations from June till the end of September, you are earnestly requested to send your paper in full, together with a short summary so as to reach the Local Secretary by April at the latest.

An early answer will be very much appreciated.

Yours cordially,
LAKSHMAN SARUP,
Local Secretary.

From

Local Secretary,
The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference,
University Hall, Lahore.

To

The PRIME MINISTER,

....

....

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose a copy of Bulletin No. 1, which will give you some information about the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference to be held at Lahore from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The Oriental Conference is a very comprehensive affair as it includes all the classical languages of India, History, Civilisation, Philosophy, Philology, Anthropology, Religion, Mythology, Archæology, and Fine Arts. It endeavours, by its side-shows, to revive Indian drama, Indian music, and the Musha'ira. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila, and an exhibition of old and rare Manuscripts and other objects of art, are also organised.

It is patronised by the Provincial Governments and Universities of India. Almost all of them are sending delegates to the Conference.

Several British and American Universities have deputed delegates who will come to India just to attend the Oriental Conference.

The University of New Zealand will be represented at the Conference by Sir William Marris, the ex-Governor of the U. P.

Indian Princes and States have, from time immemorial, patronised Oriental Art and Literature. It is my privilege to invite you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to kindly send one or two delegates, to represent the State at the forthcoming Conference. The study of Oriental subjects is not of an academic and local interest only but it has a world-wide appeal. If India is held in esteem to-day in Asia and the Western World, it is simply on account of her contribution to the world-thought through the Oriental Art and Literature. The Indian Oriental Conference deserve therefore your sympathy. May I expect that you will be kind enough to take interest in the Conference and co-operate to make it a success by sending a few representatives of your State. If so, the names of the delegates selected may kindly be communicated to me as soon as possible so that suitable arrangements may be made for their reception.

An early answer will be very much appreciated.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LAKSHMAN SARUP,

Local Secretary.

BULLETIN NO. 1.

INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

The Fifth Session of the Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore, from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The objects of the Conferenc are the following:—

(*a*) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.

(*b*) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research.

(*c*) To afford opportunities to Scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.

(*d*) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental Scholars.

(*e*) To encourage traditional learning.

The conference is held every second year and practically sums up all the work done by Oriental Scholars in various branches of Oriental Art and Literature. Mutual exchange of thought and personal contact with Scholars are not only stimulating to further research, but have also a tendency to co-ordination of efforts. As such the utility of these Conferences has long been recognised in Europe and America.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, the provisional list of which is given below:—

1. Vedic. 2. Classical. 3. Philosophy. 4. Philology. 5. Fine Arts. 6. Arabic, Persian and Zend. 7. History

and Archæology. 8. Urdu. 9. Hindi. 10. Panjabi. 11. Anthropology.

There will be a concert of classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila will be arranged. An exhibition of old and rare MSS. and other objects of Art and Archæological finds will also be organized.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference by paying a fee of rupees five only to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Raghubar Dayal, M.A., Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore. Those who wish to read papers at the Conference should send their papers in full together with a short summary to the Honorary Local Secretary, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), University Hall, Lahore, by the end of April, 1928.

His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, and the Chancellor of the Panjab University, is pleased to consent to be the Patron and to open the Session of the Conference Lahore. The Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, has kindly consented to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Those who wish to join the Reception Committee should fill in the enclosed form and send it to the undersigned.

The Panjab has always been famous for its hospitality. It is expected that a large number of Panjabis will join, so that the Reception Committee may in reality be a Representative Committee of the Panjab and offer to the visitors from other Provinces as attractive a programme as possible and make their visit a memorable one.

To

THE LOCAL SECRETARY,
THE FIFTH INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE,
University Hall, Lahore.

Dear Sir,

I shall be glad to join the Reception Committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference. I enclose Rs.*............ as my subscription.

Name..

Address..

....

*The minimum subscription to join the Reception Committee is Rupees twenty-five only.

From

The Local Secretary,
The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference,
University Hall, Lahore.

To

The Registrar,
University of

....

....

Sir,

The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore in November 1928. I have the honour to invite you to send delegates on behalf of your University. All individual scholars are of course welcome, but we would like to see the University represented by its own delegates as this has been the former practice.

If the University agrees to send delegates, I am to request that the names of the delegates selected may kindly be communicated to me as soon as possible.

The conference will be divided into a number of sections, including sections for the Vernaculars of the Panjab, *i.e.*, Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi. There will be a concert of classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will also be arranged.

Will you be so kind as to let me know whether the representatives of your University, if any, are likely to read any papers at the Conference. If so, the paper in full together with a short summary should be sent so as to reach me not later than April 1928. This is particularly requested, for the University of the Panjab remains closed for the summer vacations from June till the end of September, and all arrangements for printing the volume of summaries are therefore to be made before the University is closed for the summer vacations.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LAKSHMAN SARUP,

Local Secretary.

From

The Local Secretary,

The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference,

University Hall, Lahore.

4th December 1927.

To

The Secretary,

....

....

Sir,

The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore in November 1928. I have the honour to invite

you to send delegates on behalf of your Society. All individual scholars are of course welcome but we would like to see the Society represented by its own delegates as this has been the former practice.

If the Society agrees to send delegates, I am to request that the names of the delegates selected may kindly be communicated to me as soon as possible.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, including sections for the Vernaculars of the Panjab, *i.e.*, Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi. There will be a concert of classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will also be arranged.

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I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
LAKSHMAN SARUP,
Local Secretary.

———

From

Local Secretary,
INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE,
University Hall, Lahore.
2nd January, 1928.

To

The Principal,

....

....

Sir,

The Fifth Session of the Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore in November 1928. I have the honour to invite you and the members of your staff to attend, and to read papers at the Conference.

The Conference is held every second year and practically sums up the work done by Oriental Scholars in Oriental Art and Literature. Mutual exchange of thought and personal contact with scholars are stimulating to further research and also tend to co-ordination of effort. As such these Conferences are very useful and their utility was long recognized in Europe and America.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections—a provisional list of which is enclosed. There will be a concert of Classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will also be arranged.

Will you be so kind as to communicate the contents of this letter to the members of your staff and to inform me if any one is likely to attend, or to read a paper at the Conference. If so, I shall be glad to know the title of the paper or papers at your earliest convenience. The paper or papers in full together with a short summary should be

sent so as to reach me not later than April 1928. This is particularly requested as the University of the Panjab remains closed for the summer vacations from June till the end of September, and all arrangements for printing the volumes of summaries are therefore to be made before the University is closed for the summer vacations.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LAKSHMAN SARUP,

Local Secretary.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF SECTIONS.

1. Vedic.
2. Literary (Classical Sanskrit).
3. Philosophy.
4. Philology.
5. Arabic, Persian and Zend.
6. History and Archæology.
7. Fine Arts.
8. Anthropology.
9. Urdu.
10. Hindi.
11. Panjabi.

विज्ञापना।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलनम् ।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलनस्य पञ्चममधिवेशनं लवपुरे १६२८ नवम्बर-मासस्य एकोनविंशदिनादारभ्य त्रयोविंशदिनपर्यन्तं (ता० १६-२३) संघटिष्यते ।

सम्मेलनस्यास्याधोनिर्दिष्टान्युद्देश्यानि समभिलषितानि ।

(क) प्राच्यविद्यानुरागिणां सहयोगं सम्पाद्य भारतीयैरितरदेशीयैश्च प्राच्यतत्त्वानुसन्धायिभिर्विहितानामनुसन्धानानामेकत्र संग्रहः ।

(ख) प्राच्यविद्याविज्ञानविषयेऽध्ययनाय तत्त्वानुसन्धानाय परस्परसाहाय्यस्य सुलभतासम्पादनम् ।

(ग) प्रातिस्विकविशिष्टविषयेषु स्वमतप्रकाशनाय यथास्वं ज्ञानविज्ञानविशेषाधिगमेऽनुभूतानां बाधानामितरसौकार्यार्थं विवरणायावसरप्रदानम् ।

(घ) प्राच्यविद्यामर्मज्ञानां पारस्परिकसंसर्गाभिवर्धनम् ।

(ङ) परम्परागताध्ययनपरिशीलनपरिपाट्याः समुन्नयनम् ।

इदं सम्मेलनं प्रतिद्वितीयवत्सरं संघटते, प्राच्यकला-साहित्य-सम्बन्धिशाखाविशेषेषु प्राच्यविद्याकोविदैर्विहितान् अनुसन्धानादिकार्यविशेषान् संगृह्णाति च । विपश्चिदपश्चिमानां परिचयेन परस्परविचारविनिमयेन च न केवलं गवेषणायामेव समुत्साहातिरेको जञ्जन्यते, अपि तु इतरेषां पारिश्रमातिशयं पर्यालोच्य तस्याभिनन्दनेऽनुकरणेऽपि च प्रवृत्तिर्जागर्ति । अत एव यूरोपे अमेरिकायाञ्चैतादृशसम्मेलनानामुपयोगिता बहोः कालादभ्युपगता प्रथते ।

सम्मेलनमिदमधोनिर्दिष्टेषु नानाविभागेषु विभक्तमास्ते । १ वेदेषु वेदाङ्गेषु च २ रामायणे, महाभारते, काव्यनाटकादौ च, ३ दर्शनशास्त्रे, ४ भाषाशास्त्रे ५ कलासु, ६ अरबीभाषा-फारसीभाषा-जेन्दभाषासु, ७ इतिहासे पुरातत्त्वे च, ८ उर्दूभाषातत्साहित्ययोः, ९ हिन्दीभाषातत्साहित्ययोः, १० पञ्जाबीभाषातत्साहित्ययोः, ११ मानवविज्ञाने चेति ।

अत्रैका सङ्गीतगोष्ठी संघटिष्यते, यत्र प्राचीनं भारतीयं सङ्गीतं श्रुतिरसायनतां प्रपत्स्यते । एका कवितागोष्ठी, एकस्य संस्कृतनाटकस्य (भासविरचितस्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य) अभिनयश्च भविष्यति, तथा हस्तलिखितपुरातनपुस्तकरत्नानां, श्रौतस्मार्तयज्ञपात्रादीनां, चित्रप्रतिमाविशेषाणां च प्रदर्शनानि विधास्यन्ते । तक्षशिलाप्रभृत्यैतिहासिकस्थानप्रेक्षणस्यापि प्रबन्धो भविष्यति ।

श्रीमन्तः पञ्चापगवर्नरमहोदयाः सम्मेलनस्य संरक्षकतामूरीकृतवन्तः । तैरेव महानुभावैः सम्मेलनस्योद्घाटनं विधास्यते ।

श्रीमन्तो महामहोपाध्याया विद्यासागरहरप्रसादशास्त्रिणः एम ए.; डी. लिट्.; सी. आई. इ.; महोदयाः सम्मेलनस्य सभापतित्वेन निर्वाचिताः सन्ति ।

श्रीमन्तो पञ्चापविश्वविद्यालयस्य वाइस्‌चान्सलरमहोदयाः स्वागतकारिणीसमितेः सभापतिपदमलङ्कृतवन्तः ।

सर्वे संस्कृतवाङ्मयरत्नाकराः संस्कृतानुरागिणश्च सम्मेलनस्यास्य शोभां वर्धयितुं स्वकीयरत्नाकरत्वं ख्यापयितुं च सादरमामन्त्र्यन्ते । आशास्यते च महनीया विपश्चितः कृपयाऽवश्यमुपस्थाय सम्मेलनमिदं महान्तमुत्कर्षं लम्भयिष्यन्तीति ।

श्रीमतां गमनागमनयोर्व्ययभारः समित्या सहिष्यते, अत्र च स्थानाशनादिप्रबन्धः स्वयं समित्या करिष्यते, श्रीमद्भिः सह यदि परिचारकः शिष्यादिर्वा कश्चिदागमिष्यति तस्यापि व्ययादि-सहितो निखिलः प्रबन्धो विधास्यते ।

श्रीमद्भिः कस्मिन्दिने कस्मिन् समये च लवपुरमलङ्करिष्यते इत्येतदपि कृपया यावच्छक्यं शीघ्रं पत्रद्वाराऽवश्यं सूचनीयं येन प्रबन्धे सौकर्यं सम्पद्येत । सर्वमपि प्रबन्धजातं श्रीमतां पत्रोत्तरागम-मिति कृत्वाऽऽगमनासम्भवेऽनागमनमपि पत्रद्वाराऽवश्यं सूचनीयमिति

विज्ञापयति—

लक्ष्मणस्वरूपः (एम. ए.; डी. फिल.)

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलनस्य स्थानीयमन्त्री ।

University Hall,
Lahore:
28th March 1928.

To

THE REGISTRAR,
University of ....

Sir,

The Fifth Session of the Indian Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore, from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The objects of the Conference are the following:—

(a) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.

(b) To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research.

(c) To afford opportunities to Scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subject and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.

(d) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental Scholars.

(e) To encourage traditional learning.

The Conference is held every second year and practically sums up the work done by Oriental Scholars in various branches of Oriental Art and Litrature. Mutual exchange of thought and personal contact with Scholars are not only stimulating to further research, but have also a tendency to co-ordination of efforts. As such the utility of these Conferences has long been recognised in Europe and America.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, the provisional list of which is given below:—

1. Vedic. 2. Classical. 3. Philosophy. 4. Philology. 5. Fine Arts. 6. Arabic, Persian and Zend. 7. History and Archæology. 8. Urdu. 9. Hindi. 10. Panjabi. 11. Anthropology.

There will be a concert of classical Indian music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will also be arranged.

The Universities have hitherto taken a keen interest in the Indian Oriental Conference and have contributed towards the funds of the Conference. We have the honour to approach the University authorities for financial assistance. The University of the Punjab has already sanctioned a grant of Rs. 2,500 and we shall be very grateful if your University sanctions a grant for the Indian Oriental Conference.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

A. C. WOOLNER, M.A., C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer,

LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D. PHIL.,

Hon. Local Secretary.

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4. A Working Committee with Mr. A. C. Woolner as Chairman has been formed.

The first meeting of the Working Committee was held on 7th January 1928, at 11 A. M. in the Oriental College and the following Sub-Committees were elected:—

(a) Dramatic:—(Names of the members of these Sub-Committees are given above).

(b) Musha'ira:—

(c) Concert:—

(d) Exhibition:—

5. Principal Raghubar Dayal was elected Honorary Treasurer of the Working Committee.

6. A Deputation consisting of Messrs. A. C. Woolner, Mohammad Shafi, Raghubar Dayal and Lakshman Sarup went round in March and April collecting subscriptions from prominent persons of Lahore.

7. The Reception Committee is being organised. The minimum subscription to join the Reception Committee is fixed at Rs. 25 only. During the current month, Principal Raghubar Dayal and myself have been going out practically every day to enroll members for the Reception Committee.

8. The following Universities are sending Delegates to the Conference:—Calcutta, Dacca, Patna, Aligarh, Mysore, Bristrol, Aberdeen, Pennsylvania, Durham, Hamburg and University of New Zeland.

9. The following learned societies and institutions are sending representaives:—

(a) Indian Museum Calcutta.
(b) Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay.
(c) Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Mandir, Rangpur.
(d) Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bengal).
(e) Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
(f) Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, (Assam).
(g) Sanskrit, Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.
(h) Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.
(i) Council of Post Graduate Teaching, Calcutta.
(j) Royal Asiatic Society of London.
(k) Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.

10. The following Provincial Governments are being represented:—Madras, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay.

11. The Executive Committee of the Indian Oriental Conference have elected Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasada Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., as the President and the following gentlemen as Sectional Presidents:—

1. Vedic ...... Principal A.C. Woolner.
2. Classical Sanskrit ...... Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
3. Philology ...... Dr. S. K. Chatterji.
4. Philosophy ...... Prof. S. N. Dass Gupta.

5. Fine Arts .. O. C. Ganguly, Esq.
6. Arabic, Persian and Zend .... Sir Mohammad Iqbal.
7. History and Archæology .... Dr. S. K. Iyangar.
8. Urdu .. .. Nawab Sadar Yar Jang, Hyderabad, Deccan.
9. Panjabi ..... K. B. Ch. Shahab-ud Din.
10. Hindi ..... R. B. L. Sita Ram, Allahabad.
11. Anthropology .... M. M. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

12. Three thousand letters have been written and despatched during the last five months.

13. The Conference will cost about Rs. 15,000.

14. The programme of the conference was considered.

15. The following Sectional Secretaries were elected :-

1. Vedic ..... L. Raghu Vira, M.A., Panjab University, Lahore.
2. Classical Sanskrit ..... L. Gulbahar Singh, M.A., Govt. College, Lahore.
3. Philology ..... P. Gauri Shankar, M.A., Govt. College, Lahore.
4. History and Archæology .. L. Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., Govt. College, Lahore.
5. Arabic, Persian and Zend .... Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph. D., Oriental College, Lahore.
6. Philosophy ..... P. Jai Chand Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., Panjab University Research Scholar, Lahore.

7. Panjabi ...... Q. Fazl-i-Haq, M.A., Govt. College, Lahore.

8. Hindi ...... P. Ganpat Rai, M.A., Central Training College, Lahore.

9. Urdu ...... M. Zafar Iqbal, M.A., C. T. College, Lahore.

10. Fine Arts ...... Prof. S. N. Gupta, M.A., I.E.S., Mayo School of Arts.

11. Anthropology ......

16. It was agreed to have an excursion to Taxila.

17. It was agreed to print the volume of summaries during the summer vacation.

18. With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting came to an end at 5-45 P. M.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Working Committee held on Saturday, the 27th of October, 1928 at 11 A. M. in the Council Room of the Oriental College.

I. The following were present:—

1. A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B., (in the Chair.)
1a. Rai Bahadur P. N. Dutt, Esq., B. A.
2. Mohammad Shafi, Esq., M.A.
3. Siraj-ud-Din Azhar, Esq., M.A.
4. Qazi Fazl-i-Haq, M.A.
5. Dr. Mohammad Sadur-ud-Din, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D.

7. Principal, Raghubar Dayal, M.A.
8. Dr. Banarsi Das, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Pandit Bhagvad Datta, B.A.
10. Veda Vyasa, Esq., M.A.
11. M. M. Ismail, Esq., M.A.
11a. Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, D. Sc.
12. Gauri Shankar, Esq., M.A., B.T.
13. M. K. Sircar, Esq., M.A.
14. Ganpat Rai, Esq., M.A.
15. Jai Chand, Esq., M.A.
16. Dr. K. N. Sita Ram, M.A., Ph.D.
17. L. Labhu Ram.
18. Lakshman Sarup (Secretary.)

II. The programme of the Conference was finally settled (see above).

III. It was agreed to keep the exhibition open to members of the Conference only during the first 4 days, and to admit the public afterwards at a charge of 4 annas per head.

IV. The Convener, Exhibition Sub-Committee, read the following interim report regarding the progress of the Exhibition:—

1. Letters for the loan of rare, Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Manuscripts, paintings, inscriptions, Firmans, Sanads, Specimens of Calligraphy, old bindings and Historical Finds and other articles illustrating the ancient Indian Culture were issued to various individual Institutions, the Archæological Department and the Kapurthala State, the Patiala, Rampur, Bharatpur, Haidarabad, Bikaner and Kashmir Darbars were written to by the Chief Secretary, Government Panjab. The Director-

General of Archæology was further requested to circularise his orders to the various Museums under his control.

It was originally proposed to house the Exhibits in the Upper Storey of the Punjab University Library, but the Convener felt that the accomodation would not be enough. Besides the Director-General of Archæology wanted to have the pre-assurance of the safety of the Exhibits before lending them out. He therefore sought the help of Mr. S. N. Gupta and Dr. K. N. Sita Ram, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore. The Curator very kindly placed one of the rooms in the Central Museum at the disposal of the Exhibition Committee. Since August last the Secretary, Fine Arts Section (Dr. Sita Ram) has been working in close co-operation and collaboration.

In anticipation of the Exhibition Committee's sanction the Convener assured the Director-General of Archæology that the Exhibits would be insured and other suitable safeguards by way of the appointment of extra Police and Chaukidars would be undertaken.

3. The Exhibition Committee met on the 11th October 1928 and decided that the entire collection of the Exhibits be insured with Messrs. Arbuthnot Gillanders & Co., Lahore, for Rs. 50,000 for a period of a fortnight. Their charges amounting to Rs. 100 were accepted.

4. The Committee has decided to get the labels for Exhibits printed.

5. The Chairman of the Exhibition Committee has been authorised to appoint temporarily Chaukidars, etc. The District Superintendent Police has been written to for loaning the services of three Constables. Their salaries for the period of the loan will have to be met by the Exhibition Committee.

6. The Exhibits will be divided into 10 Sections:—(A). Manuscripts. (B). Firmans, Sanads and Autographs. (C). Paintings. (D). Sculptures. (E). Inscriptions. (F). Seals and Coins. (G). Old Bindings. (H). Calligraphy. (J). Pottery, Porcelain and Terra-cota. (K). Rugs and Shawls.

7. About 250 Manuscripts (Sanskrit and Persian) and other Languages have been promised. So far about 56 have been received, but a good number of these will pour in the course of the next two weeks.

8. Among the Persian Manuscripts, Professor Sirajuddin Azar's collection and R. S. L. Wazir Chand's collection are expected to be very interesting.

The Harrapa and Mahinjodaro antiquities loaned through the courtesy of the Director-General of Archaology in India number 429 and 139 respectively. These have been arranged by the representatives of the Archaeological Department. Descriptive labelling of these is in progress.

Among the Paintings, Mr. Gangoli's collection is likely to be of great interest. The display of this collection will cost us nearly Rs. 150/-. Exhibits under other heads will be mainly loaned by the local and mofussil Museums.

The Scholars of the Mughal Period will appreciate the following Firmans among others.

1. Firman of Akbar.
2. Nishan of Jahan Ara Begam.
3. Sanad of Mirza Akbar.
4. Firman of Jahangir.
5. Firman of Shahjahan.
6. Firman of Aurangzeb.

9. Expenditure:—

The Exhibition Committee will have to bear the transit charges (Railway and Postal) both ways. The estimated

expenditure including insurance and other heads would nearly amount to Rs. 800.

10. The Exhibition Committee appreciates the active co-operaton of Dr. K. N. Sita Ram, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.

V. A sum of Rs. 1,200 was sanctioned for the Exhibition.

VI. A sum of Rs. 600 was sanctioned for the Urdu, Hindi, and the Panjabi Musha'iras. It was understood that if any Section spent less than its particular share, the same could be utilised by the other sections according to their requirements.

VII. A sum of Rs. 800 was sanctioned for the performance of the Sanskrit play, 'the Vision of Vāsavadattā' by Bhāsa.

VIII. The following Sectional Secretaries were appointed:—

(a) Vedic Section: Prof. Veda Vyasa vice L. Raghu Vir gone abroad.

(b) Fine Arts. Dr. K. N. Sita Ram vice Prof. S. N. Gupta resigned

(c) Anthropology. Mr. Surya Kanta M. A.

IX. The following Sub-Committees were elected:—

(a) Boarding and Lodging.

(b) Reception Sub-Committee.

(c) Transport Sub-Committee.

(d) Light refreshments. (Names of members given above).

X. R. B. P. N. Dutt Esq., was put in charge of the arrangements to be made for the opening session at the University Hall.

XI. It was agreed to have membership cards, the details to be settled by R. B. P. N. Dutt and Lakshman Sarup. Principal Raghubar Dayal was asked to have the badges prepared for (a) Members, (b) Volunteers.

XII. It was decided to have a photograph of members on Wednesday at 9. 45 A. M.

XIII. It was agreed to invite Prof. Sohan Lal of the C. T. College to take charge of the Excursion to Taxila.

XIV. It was agreed that a limited number of invitation cards be issued for the opening ceremony.

XV. It was agreed to wear academic dress on the opening ceremony. The meeting came to an end at 1. 30 P. M.

LAKSHMAN SARUP,

Local Secretary.

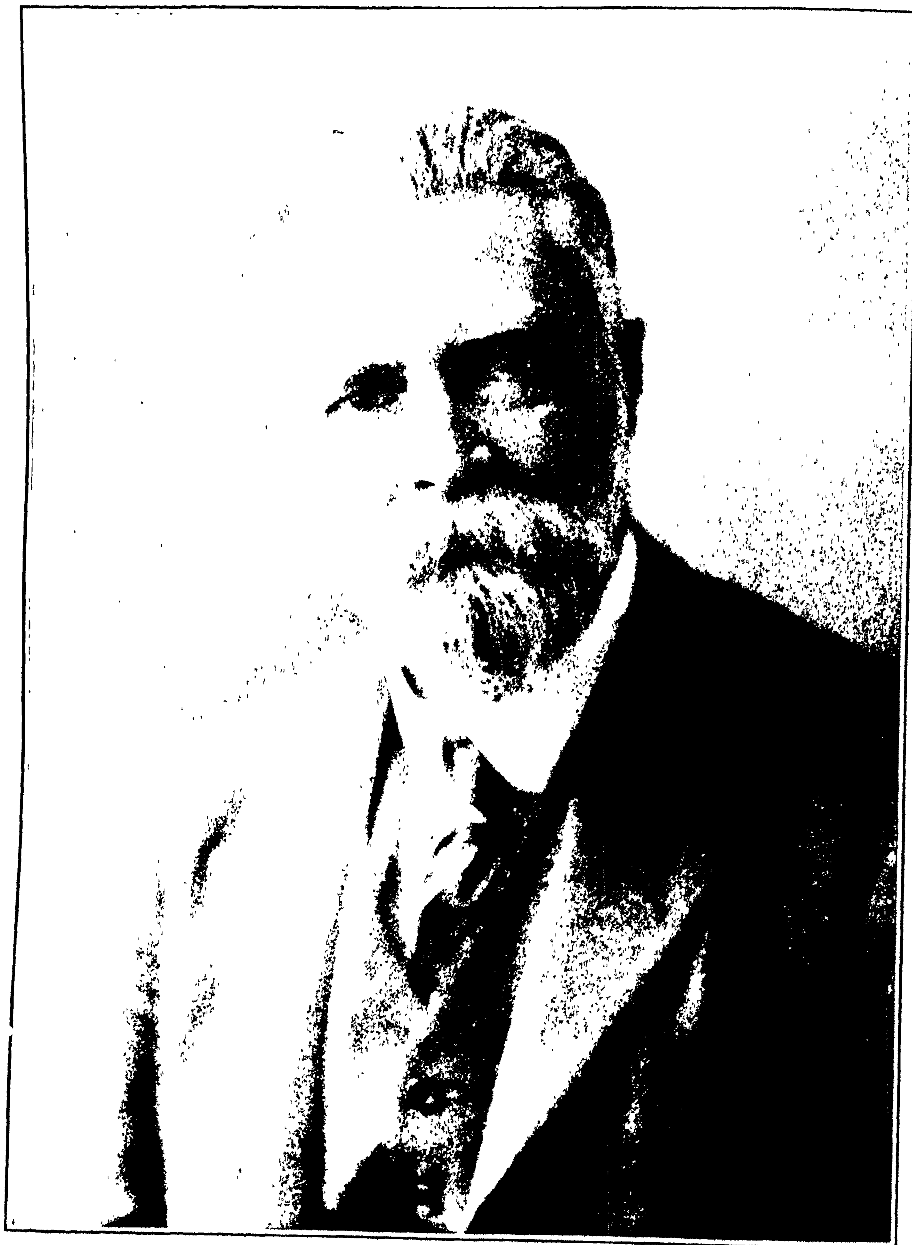
27-10-1928.

THE

Fifth Indian Oriental Conference

OPENING SESSION.

CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE



A. C. WOOLNER, M.A; C.I.E; F.A.S.B; Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab.

THE FIFTH ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

In order to give an opportunity to the members and delegates of the conference to be introduced to each other, it was thought desirable to hold a social function before the opening session of the Conference. A garden party was held at the Town Hall grounds at 4 P. M. on the 19th of November 1928. Mr. Sohan Lal was at home. About 1,000 persons, including the Ministers of the Government of the Panjab, Judges of the High Court, the aristocracy and gentry of Lahore, and the members of the Conference attended.

Opening Session.—The Conference met at the University Hall at 6 P. M. Mr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates to Lahore and requested the Patron to call upon the President to deliver his address.

It was, he said, a matter of great personal satisfaction to be able to welcome to Lahore so many old friends and colleagues from different parts of India. It was also satisfactory to note as evidence of a wider recognition of the Conference that delegates had been nominated by a number of Universities outside India, as for instance, John Hopkins, Oxford, Cambridge, Aberdeen, Durham, Bristol, and New Zealand. This welcome he could give not only on behalf of the University, where he had found so much co-operation in all the efforts to make the Conference a success, but also on behalf of the city of Lahore. In the University enthusiastic assistance had been rendered, not only by the Orientalists, but also by others, such as the Registrar of the University, the University Librarian, and even the Professor of Chemistry. Of the interest shown by many influential people in Lahore, the list of the Reception

Committee and the Programme arrangements were clear evidence.

Of the value of the Conference it was hardly necessary to speak, as this was now generally recognised. The work of the Conference might be regarded as a symptom of the increased volume of critical studies being produced in India and of the growing interest in the background and foundations of Indian civilisation. A comparison of the present programme with that of earlier Conferences showed a remarkable increase in the number of papers submitted in many of the sections. That was most conspicuous this year in the Vedic and Linguistic sections, and also in Arabic and Persian.

This Session of the Oriental Conference had been fortunate in securing as Patron His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency who was not only Governor of the Province, but had also been himself President of the Reception Committee, and had in that capacity done a great deal to promote the success of the Conference, and who had always been a keen supporter of Oriental studies.

At former Sessions of the Conference it had been necessary to follow the procedure of proposing and seconding the new President, and formally confirming an election which had really been settled beforehand. Under the new Constitution the President was elected by the Executive Committee before the Conference met. The President for the Fifth Session and up to the next one was the veteran M. M. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri. His career had been well known to scholars from the early days of his association with the late Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, whom he assisted in the compilation of his Sanskrit Buddhist

Literature of Nepal, and Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts down to his Principalship of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and his Professorship at the University at Dacca. He had received many honours. He had been President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta and Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He now became President of the Indian Oriental Conference. The Vice-Chancellor then requested the Patron to inaugurate the Fifth Session of the Conference and to instal the President by calling upon him to deliver his address.

Speech made by His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, when opening the Session of the 5th Indian Oriental Conference at Lahore, on the 19th November, 1928.

I DESIRE heartily to associate myself with the observations which have been made by the Vice-Chancellor in expressing satisfaction at the visit to Lahore of the delegates of the 5th Indian Oriental Conference, and offer them, on behalf of the province and the Panjab University, a very warm welcome to the capital of the Panjab. So powerful is the support which history, both old and recent, lends to an assertion I am about to make, that I feel no one can accuse me of undue partiality or of biassed predilection for my own province, when I state that the Panjab appears to be a very appropriate venue for an Oriental Conference, and that the University may fittingly provide the correct atmosphere for its labours.

I do not propose to attempt a discourse on ancient history or literature so far as the Panjab is concerned: suffice it to say that the Panjab and the neighbouring territory to the north-west and west seem to have been the home of the

Ṛig-Veda—the earliest monument of Indian and indeed, of Indo-European literature. Within the limits of this province is also to be found the traditional site of the battlefield of the great epic, the Mahābhārata. The ancient cities of Harappa and Taxila in this province still yield a rich mine of study and speculation to the scholar. I need not here dwell on the tradition that Pāṇini, the great grammarian, was born near Attock, or on the contributions to literary activity, for which Kashmir was famous for some centuries. But I pass on to note that it was through the Panjab, from the west and the north, that all those successive waves of invasion passed, which were to leave permanent legacies of influence on the religion, literature and art of India. Finally, in more recent times, it was in the Panjab that the Sikhs developed a special history and culture of their own. On the purely literary and linguistic side accordingly, the Panjab may boast of a remarkable connection with ancient Sanskrit literature, and of no small share also in shaping the literatures of Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi. This literary connection is not a thing of the dead past: it is still a living force, and the Panjab justly takes pride in the fact that within the memory of the present generation it has had a Hali, and that it has an Iqbal.

Nor, as I have observed, is the University an unworthy setting for the labours of the Conference. The Panjab University College, which preceded the Panjab University, laid stress on Oriental studies, and it maintained an Oriental College since 1870. The Panjab University which followed it, was the first University in India to institute a Faculty of Oriental Learning. Among the past Principals of the Oriental College have been many with more than a provincial reputation for Oriental studies—Dr. Leitner, an erudite

Arabic scholar, known for his pioneer work in the ancient languages of Dardistan; Sir Aurel Stein, a renowned Central Asian explorer, who has notably contributed to Sanskrit studies in his edition of the Kashmir history; Sir Thomas Arnold, now Professor of Arabic at London University. These were all past Principals of the College. I do not propose to allude to the present Principal and those serving on the staff, as I might bring blushes to their cheeks. But among the past staff, I may mention the names of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shiv Datta, Shams-ul-ulma Muhammad Abdullah Tonki, while Rai Bahadur Daya Ram and Pandit Hira Nand Shastri, once members of the Oriental College staff, are now serving as Deputy Director and Epigraphist in the Archæological Department of the Government of India, respectively. It is also worthy of note that very valuable and interesting collections of Sankrit manuscripts have been made by the Panjab University Library and the Lal Chand Research Library, numbering 6,000 and 5,000 respectively, while the former has also valuable collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts including the Azad collection presented by the late Professor Muhammad Hussain Azad. Important research work is proceeding in connection with these manuscripts, the results of which may be found in the University Oriental publications and in the series of publications brought out by the Daya Nand Anglo-Vedic College.

Worthy of mention also are the important collections of Gandhara sculptures and Kangra paintings in the Lahore Museum, and the volumes which the Panjab Historical Society have published from time to time. Nor should I forget to refer to the series of monographs on the history of Panjab institutions edited by the Keeper of the Government Historical Records.

Before I close, let me also inform you that it is not only the Province and the University of the Panjab that are interested in this Conference, but the Ruling Princes and Governments of neighbouring States have also shown a lively interest in the Conference in the practical shape of generous donations to the funds of the Reception Committee. I will now ask the President of the 5th Indian Oriental Conference to deliver his address.

SANSKRIT CULTURE IN MODERN INDIA PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI,
M.A., C.I.E., Hon., D. Litt., Hon., M.R.A.S.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Introductory.

I need not say that you have done me a great honour by asking me to preside on this historic occassion, for tender feelings of gratitude are better felt than expressed. You called me and I considered it a call of duty; and I am here in spite of the fact that between the call and the coming I had a fall which broke a bone and which confined me to bed for one hundred days and that in excruciating pain. The writing of this address had to be postponed for one hundred days. Under these circumstances, I am afraid, you will not be pleased with my performance, to which I could not give as much attention and time as the great occasion required. You have heard the songs of many young cuckoos,—this time, perhaps you will have to hear the cawing of an old crow,--shivering from the effects of storm and rain. But I could not resist the temptation of coming,—as these conferences are the only occassions, in which people who are not politically minded,

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE



M. M. Dr. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M.A; C.I.E. PH. D.

can come and join their comrades of the same trade. In these days of strife and party-feeling, of communal and sectarian opposition, of bickerings and recriminations, these literary conferences are places where peace and good feeling reign,—where people make smiling faces and open hearts and learn much by the association of really learned men in the land. One should not miss such a conference even at the risk of his life, and so here am I before you in this august assembly.

I am a Sanskritist by heredity, training, and profession, and I feel instinctive love for everything connected with Sanskrit, including Indology. I am now at the fag end of my life, and it has been my privilege to see oriental studies decay in our country during the period of over 70 years that I have been studying Sanskrit. I have seen the old style of deep and intensive learning flourish and decay, and I have seen the new school of study come into being and take the field; I have seen the old order giving place to the new. The old tradition is just passing away, and a new one is coming in. Great changes have altered the face of India—and also its heart—during one life-time. I think it is now time for us to take stock of the change, to cast a retrospective glance; and we might even quesion ourselves, which way is our ancient classical learning to go, and how far the path that oriental studies are taking now has been suitable for the preservation of the old learning of the land; and in what way a combination of the two can be effected. I shall place some of my readings of this history and some of my views before you, for what they are worth.

Sanskrit, the medium of education.

The 18th century of the Christian era was the palmy day of Sanskrit literature in India. Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins, whose ancestral profession

The age of the great Indian jurists.

was teaching Sanskrit, were the dominant power in India throughout the century. They not only encouraged Sanskrit learning themselves, but their example was inspiring light to others to encourage the study of Sanskrit. This was the age when great Indian jurists flourished. The earliest of them was Anantadeva, a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin who wrote in his own native district by the Godavari his learned works called the various *Kaustubhas* under the patronage of Baz Bahadura Chandra, a Raja of distant Kumayun in the Himalayas. The next was Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde—another Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin settled at Benares, whose erudite commentary is still the admiration of lawyers in India. The third was—Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Bengal who was brought at the Government House in Calcutta by the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, with military band playing, for the purpose of writing an exhaustive code of Hindu Law to be administered by the courts in British India. There were lesser lights all over India, eleven of whom in Bengal compiled the original Sanskrit work on Hindu Law of which Halhead's "Gentoo Law" was the English Translation. [The name of the work is *Vivādārṇava-Setu.* It was published from Bombay years ago as the Code prepared under orders of Maharaja Ranjit Siṃha, the Lion of the Panjab].

Nagoji Bhatta.

Not only was Law the only subject which flourished in Sanskrit, but other branches of knowledge in the same language flourished in exuberance. Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa the great *Mahā-bhāṣya* Paṇḍita wrote his exhaustive commentary of the *Mahā-bhāṣya* in Grammar and other commentaries too, on almost all branches of Sankrit literature. His learning was phenomenal, his character was exemplary and his presence inspiring. His

was perhaps one of the last examples of the height to which human mind can be raised by a liberal education through Sanskrit only. Princes and potentates vied with one another in doing him honour.

Ahobala, the great Pandit of Southern India.

Southern India produced great Paṇḍitas like Ahobala, who fleeing from the converting zeal of Tipu Sultan, came as a fugitive to Benares almost in tattered rags, and was received with open arms by the Paṇḍitas of the holy city. His learning, too, was equally phenomenal and he allowed Benares to utilise it fully.

Rama-Sastri.

On the top of these came Rāma Śāstrī, the Nyāyādhīśa or Chief-Justice of the Poona Durbar, famous for his learning, famous for his boldness and intrepidity and famous as an administrator of justice and a patron of education. For half a century, he was the earthly Providence of the Panditas of India, and no one with real learning came back disappointed from him.

Western influence spread through the classics of India.

But a change of spirit came with the advent of the 19th century. The English were the dominant race throughout the century, and they were anxious to bring their own language and its literature, their own sciences and their culture for the benefit of India. But they were very cautious in the beginning. They wanted to impart education through the classics of India whether Sanskrit or Arabic and Persian. But audacious ignorance at this period created an impression both in England and among the Court-going people of India that Sanskrit and Arabic could afford no culture. It was thought that Sanskrit specially had no literature worth naming except disputations in Grammar and Logic. It had no science, no poetry, no art, and no

culture. This, in fact, was the opinion of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

Macaulay and his terrible minute and its influence on the educational system of India.

Relying on this opinion, Macaulay wrote his terrible minute against education through the medium of Indian Classics and threw the entire weight of his name, of his learning, and of his position, for imparting education through the medium of English; and the English Government acted to his advice. There came a revolutionary change in the educational system of India. Old style Sanskrit Colleges—Tols as we call them in Bengal—and Pāṭhaśālās came to be deserted, and English schools on the other hand began to be filled. A little knowledge of English gave comfortable livelihood to clerks and lower grade officers not only in the administration of British India, but also in the offices of merchants and industrials, who for the first time began to start firms in India. I have seen with my own eyes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, how the Sanskrit Tols became empty and English schools flourished. There is a bit of personal history here; but I hope you will tolerate it as it is a commentary on what I have just said. My father died in 1861 and the charge of distributing honoraria to learned Paṇḍitas assembled on religious, festive and social occasions, in our neighbourhood devolved upon me though I was then very young. I remember, in 1864, there was a tolerably big assembly in my neighbourhood; and I distributed honoraria on behalf of the master of the house, to one hundred Paṇḍitas, all engaged in teaching Sanskrit in their own residences from Navadvīpa to Calcutta, on both sides of the Ganges. Fourteen years later in 1878, on the occassion of the Śrādh ceremony of the

father of our great novelist the famous Bankim Chandra Chatterji, I was requested to ascertain how many Panditas were engaged in teaching in their residences within this area, and I found only 26. A fall of 74 % in 14 years!

After the quelling of the Mutiny, a feeling of despair took possession of the Indian mind that the old Indian literature, old Indian culture, old Indian sciences and arts whether Hindu or Mohammedan would perish; and that, at no distant future. The situation was really desperate. Manuscripts were perishing in heaps in the houses of Panditas who were the leading educationists of past generations, or were being carried to all parts of Europe as the last remnants of Indian culture.

Loot of Mss.

I will give you some account of how Manuscripts migrated and were destroyed. In the wars of the English in the 19th century, Mss. were an object of loot. In the year 1886 within a month after the proclamation was issued for the annexation of Upper Burmah, Prof. Minayeff who was residing at Milan in Italy received a telegram from St. Petersburg to proceed to Mandalay at once. The Professor went there and found that the common soldiers were using the pages of the Mss. in the splendid Royal Library of Burmah as cigarette-papers. He complained to General Pendergast who at once put a stop to that abuse and allowed Prof. Minayeff to take as many of the Mss. as he liked. The Professor came to Calcutta and brought to me an introduction from my revered Professor, Mr. C. H. Tawney. I believe he took this precaution simply to save me from the attentions of the Police for having anything to do with Russians. He was in Calcutta for several days, but he spent several hours with me. One day I went to his place and he showed me

7 big packing cases containing the Mss.-spoils from Mandalay. I could not see the Mss. because the boxes were then all nailed, but the Professor gave me a glowing description of their contents. Some of the Mss. looted in the First Burmese War in 1826 are to be found in Bishop's College library.

The Bhagavad-Gītā which Peshwā Bāji Rāo II used to read is to be found in the India Office Library.

The Arabic Mss. looted from Tipu Sultan's library at Serangapatam are to be found in the Asiatic Society's rooms.

But there is one satisfaction, and that great one, in the fact that the Mss.-loot have been carefully preserved : much better preserved than probably it would have been their lot in India, at least for some time.

Destruction of Mss. material.

The way Mss. have been dissipated and destroyed in the house of Paṇḍitas is simply a dismal story. A Paṇḍita who in the early years of 19th century was a great educationist and considered his Mss. to be his best treasures and housed them in the best room of his house, carefully dried them in the sun after every rainy season, kept them tightly packed in thick cloth, died. His son, who had learned A, B, C, read Murray's spelling-book and the Azimgarh English Reader, had secured a small berth in the local Collectorate where his pay and perquisites, fair or unfair, amounted to at least ten times what his father could have ever earned. He saw no good in the Mss. and removed them from the best room in the house, first, to the store-room and then to the kitchen where a thick coat of soot enveloped the whole collection. The house-wife who was greatly troubled for dry fuel for preparing her husband's early meal discovered that the Mss. were kept bet-

ween two wooden-boards. These she exploited for the purpose of fuel but could not use the paper or palm-leaves for the same purpose, because there is a superstition that the paper or palm-leaf on which there is any writing is the very self of Sarasvatī and should not be consigned to fire. These papers got mixed up when the boards and the strings fastening them were removed and became a heap which in the course of a year or so were thrown in the kitchen-garden, there to rot.

Some old Paṇḍita apprehensive of the fate of his old valuable Mss. in the hands of children who he could see would not care for Sanskrit threw them in the Ganges, thus giving the river goddess the most valuable offering he could make. At Navadvīpa I have seen heaps of old Mss. rotting on the road-side. They are often used as waste-paper to cover holes in thatched roofs, or in the mud-wall, and often are sold to buyers of waste-papers, so much to the maund.

Discovery of Salihotra.

I will give one instance which happened at Udaipur. An old woman used to bring Mss. to a Bania and take whatever price he offered. But one day she brought a goodly Mss. and demanded -/4/- annas because she was in sore need, but the Bania would not give her more than two annas, so they were higgling over the price when a Charan or Rajput bard came and asked the old woman what the matter was. On examining the Mss. he thought it must be something very important, and he asked her to accompany him as he would be able to give her a better price. He took the woman to the Maharaj Kumar, and the enlightened Prince, got the Mss. examined there and then by his Court-Paṇḍitas. They all declared it to be *Śāli-hotra*, a treatise on the horse and its diseases.

Now the *Śāli-hotra* so long was lost in Sanskrit—it was known only from a Persian translation, and some people are said to have re-translated it from the Persian. The Maharaj Kumar was delighted at this discovery and gave the old woman Rs. 50. Mahāmahopādhyāya Morardan, while at Udaipur, heard the story and got a copy made for himself. I got a copy from Morardan's son, and it is now deposited in the Asiatic Society's rooms.

Story of Nepal.

The history of the Ms. collection in the Durbar Library, Nepal, is very very interesting. In the 18th century there were three big and many small principalities in the Nepal Valley the utmost extent of which is 15 by 15 miles. All the princes for generations were collectors of Mss., charts, maps, pictures on religious subjects. But at the Gorkhali conquest of 1768 their collections were all looted, so much so, that the existence of a State Library was unknown. In 1868 the Resident, Mr. Lawrence, published the list of Mss. which were considered at his time to be rare by the Paṇḍitas of Nepal. Maharaja Sir Bir Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana made a resolution to have a State Library. He collected together all Mss. in the Palaces of Nepal and housed them in the College building, where I saw them in 1897. It was a most interesting collection containing palm-leaf Mss. more than 1000 years old. Sir Bir Shamsher assured me that he will collect all the important Mss. in the Nepal Valley and put them in a Darbar Library and that he was constructing a library building with a clock tower in a most prominent place in the city. In 1907 I found the building complete and the library housed there. There were 16,000 Sanskrit Mss. on palm-leaf and paper, the whole of Buddhist literature in Tibetan and the whole of Buddhist literature in Chinese.

It was a splendid place for research students. The idea was mooted by Sir Bir and executed by his brother Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamser Jang Bahadur Rana. Sir Bir made immense efforts to collect Mss. A Bengali Paṇḍita family resident at Nepal had two villages in the Nepal dominions. The villages were sequestered at the time of financial stringency owing to the English war of 1814. For three generations the Brāhmaṇas struggled hard to get back their possessions. But Sir Bir restored the villages to them and they surrendered their Mss. to him. A Brāhmaṇa involved in a rather serious criminal case obtained his pardon by presenting to the library some of the finest Mss. to be found there.

Of the 16,000 Sanskrit Mss., the palm-leaf Mss. were generally copied in pre-Muhammedan times. The oldest of the dated Mss. in the library was copied in 908. But there are dozens which palæographically belong to an earlier age. I believe, I have given descriptions of all palm-leaf Mss. I found there.

The letter of Pandit Radha Kisan to Lord Lawrence to make provision for the search of Sanskrit Mss.

The desperate situation, however, was saved to a certain extent by the exertions of a distinguished Paṇḍita of Lahore; and Sanskrit literature owes a debt to this city which it will never be able to discharge. Rādhākishan, the son of Paṇḍita Madhusūdan, the high priest of the Lion of the Panjab, wrote a letter to Lord Lawrence, the Governor-General of India, in 1868, for the collection and conservation of Sanskrit manuscripts which under the circumstances existing at the time were sure to perish within a short time. The Governor-General as Sir John Lawrence was agent of the British Government at the court of Lahore, and he and Rādhākishan, who had great

influence there, were both friends. Lord Lawrence, at the suggestion of Paṇḍita Rādhākishan took up the work of the search of Sanskrit manuscripts and made permanent provision for the distribution of Rs. 24,000 annually to the different Provincial Governments to start operations in this search. The search languished in many provinces and dropped off in others. Bombay and Bengal were the only two provinces where the money was entrusted to the local Asiatic Societies, which are still continuing the search with good results. In 1898, in Madras, a proposal was actually made to utilise part of the grant for Archæological purposes. But since, they have done good work in Madras and the peripatetic party has brought to light immense quantity of Sanskrit works, peculiar to South India.

The result of the action taken by Lord Lawrence.

Sixty years have passed, and it is time to take stock of what has been done and what remains to be done in this direction. Already in the early years of the 19th century in spite of what audacious ignorance might have said to the contrary, Horace Hayman Wilson declared, and the historian Elphinstone echoed the same idea, that Sanskrit had more works than Latin and Greek put together. After the institution of the search, the German scholar Hofrath Buhler made his celebrated tour through Rajputana and Kashmir and brought to light new branches of literature, new schools of rhetoric and produced a report which will be read with admiration by all who are interested in Sanskrit. Following in his wake, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Peterson of Bombay brought to light many important works in all the branches of Sanskrit. The vast field of Jaina literature, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, was brought to public notice by the exertion and scholarship of these two eminent

Orientalists. The peripatetic party in Madras had recently brought to light the work of the Prabhākara School of Mīmāṃsā of which only a small work of 150 pages was all that was known upto that time. We in Bengal have also done our mite. By including Nepal within the field of our operations, and working on the wake of Brian Hodgson, we have given publicity to the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and the Śaiva and Tāntric literature of the last 500 years of the first millennium of the Christian era.

Catalogues of Mss. taken to Europe stimulated the spirit of cataloguing in India.

All the Mss. that were carried away from India to Europe, have been catalogued; and this stimulated the spirit of cataloguing in India and the European catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. are an object lesson to all of us in India who are interested in Sanskrit. It would be curious to know that the French with whom intellectual culture is instinctive instituted a search of Sanskrit Mss. in the early part of the 18th century when Dupleix was the Governor of Chandernagore, and he sent about 400 Mss. to Paris, where they will be found in the Bibliotheque Nationale. Some of the *Smṛti* works of this collection were written by one of the eleven Paṇḍitas who helped Halhead in the production of his "Gentoo Law" in 1772. But all this is by the way; let me proceed with my main theme.

The last sitxy years a preliminary period.

All that has been done during the last sixty years is only a preliminary survey. Mss. were very shy of coming out. The Paṇḍitas were, to a very great extent professional men who earn their livelihood by the study of these manuscripts; and as no one can be blamed for not revealing the sources of his income, the Paṇḍitas cannot be blamed for concealing their manuscripts and for not even giving information about them to

strangers. During the preliminary period, however, we have trained the Paṇḍitas to show their Mss. and even to part with them. The spirit is also changing with the time. Paṇḍitas and their scions now want to make their ancestral inheritance the common property of man as it is no longer a bread-earning business. I will give some examples. I went to Dacca in search of Mss. in the year 1891 with one of my veteran assistants trained by Raja Rajendralal Mitra and was further assisted by a number of patriotic Paṇḍitas of the Eastern Capital of Bengal. The result in the direction of cataloguing or acquiring was not at all encouraging at the time. But after more than 30 years, the same area which we had surveyed, has given the Dacca University, nearly 5000 manuscripts. The search in Mithila by Raja Rajendralal and myself was not very encouraging either, but it has enabled the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, within the last 10 years, to produce a big volume of catalogue for the *Smṛti* literature alone. The recent search in the District of Puri is likely to be still more successful; for I am sure there are more than two lacs of Mss. in the 32 *Śāsana* villages inhabited by Brahmins alone.

The work of the last 60 years was carried on by scholars who had other avocations of life, and that arduous ones, too, at their leisure hours, assisted by ill-paid Paṇḍitas and often interfered with by unscholarly administrators of funds.

The work done in the last sixty years.

On the death or retirement of one scholar devoted to the search it was very difficult to find a successor, for the work was honorary. There were other drawbacks too. Still, in sixty years it has produced marvellous results. The Mss. are not so shy of

coming to public notice as they had been before. Besides, Indian Princes have helped and are helping the work of search in British India. Many of them have instituted search, within their own dominions, with excellent results. The ultimate end of the search is to find good works, and to publish them. The Sanskrit series instituted for publication by the enlightened Governments of Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Kashmir are doing excellent service. They are every day bringing out marvellously 'New' works of ancient fame. The Mysore Government should be proud of the achievements of Shama Shastri in finding, editing and translating Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra* in the Mysore series. The Travancore Government should be equally proud of the late T. Ganapati Śāstri's achievements in findig, in editing and in commenting upon the works of Bhāsa, besides a whole host of other works. The Kashmir Darbar should be proud of Paṇḍita Madhusūdana Kaul's achievements in finding, editing and commenting upon numerous works on Kashmir Śaivaism. The Gaekwad's Government should be proud of the achievements of Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya for publishing and commenting upon the *Tattva-Saṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita and its commentory by Kamala-śīla, the *Sādhanamālā* and other works of later Buddhism.

These works published are deserving of the patronage of the Government and princes.

The works, which these series published, are worthy of the Governments patronising them and of the scholars engaged in editing them. They are all of such a nature that private publishers could not venture to undertake them. So it is the patriotism of the Princes that must come forward to bring our ancient literature to public notice. They are the richest inheritance we have received from our ancestors, and they

should not be allowed to lie idle in boxes of monastic Bhāṇḍārs, on bamboo scaffoldings in private houses, and on the shelves in the public libraries, with the imminent risk of being destroyed and lost to the world for ever.

Utility of hidden Mss. for historical and archæological purposes.

The preliminary period being over, the Princes and people of India should take intense interest in finding Mss. and when worthy publishing them. Every collection of manuscripts wherever found, can be expected to contain something strikingly new. Sanskrit ceased to be the medium of liberal education since the political destiny of the country passed into the hands of others. It remained as a professional study of Brahmins for the purpose of earning a livelihood, as priests and religious advisers as well as for preserving the Hindu society intact, a duty which they took upon themselves in the absence of Hindu political powers. So, in every collection you would find, as a rule, current works and standard works,—works mostly of recent date. But every Paṇḍita family had some hidden source of professional income and influence, unknown to others in the shape of some unique manuscript. This they would not part with or show to others. But, now, after 250 years of British Government, when their profession is well-nigh gone, there would be no objection to these unique manuscripts being used by others for historical and archæological purposes.

The works in Sanskrit now nearly double of what was known one hundred years ago.

The calculation of Horace Hayman Wilson and others that Sanskrit contains more works than Greek and Latin put together, has been left far behind by the preliminary work of those sixty years. The number of works in Sanskrit now is nearly double of what was known 100

years ago. Add to these the immense number of Budhist works known through translations in the languages of Budhist countries. In Tibetan there are Bstan-Hgyur and Bkah Hgyur collections which are said to contain the translation of about 8000 Buddhist Sanskrit works of which only 200 are known in the original Sanskrit. How many Sanskrit works were translated into Chinese, we do not know. Nanjio's catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka alone contains about 1300 names of Sanskrit works; a few only of which are extant so far in the original. A full stock-taking of Chinese literature translated from the Sanskrit we shall be enabled to make when Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi of the University of Calcutta completes the publication of his monumental work on Budhist literature in China of which the first volume bringing the history upto the Tang period (beginning of the 7th century) has so far appeared. The original Sanskrit works of these translations are to be sought and discovered before they are irrecoverably lost. They will certainly add much to the huge mass imperfectly guessed by Wilson.

The books referred to in later works should be deserving objects of search.

In every Sanskrit work of any authority, either in *Smṛti*, or in *Alaṃkāra*, or in Grammar, or in Philosophy or in *Artha-Śāstra*, we get quotations by hundreds from preceding works; those ancient authorities are not always forthcoming. A search is to be instituted for them without any loss of time. Sometimes the book quoted is available, but the quotation is not there. That may mean that the work quoted had many recensions. These would be a deserving object of search;

The work of search is nowhere needed so badly as in the case of the Purāṇas, the Tantras, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. I have shown elsewhere, how these works have been revised often and often during the long centuries after the time of their original composition. Some of the Purāṇas have apparently undergone, three, four or five revisions. Some have been so revised as to go almost out of recognition. Others have been so revised as to go out of existence. In many of the Purāṇas we find two or three recensions, differing from one another in toto; *e.g.*, the *Skanda-Purāṇa*: one recension of it is divided into seven *Khaṇḍas*, all dealing with religion, rituals and the holy places of Northern and Western India, and another is divided into 6 *Saṃhitās* and 51 *Khaṇḍas* dealing with all sorts of Paurāṇic subjects; a third, more ancient than the other two, is a work by itself without any division,—now lying in Ms. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, written in the Gupta character of the 6th or 7th century A. D.

The work of search badly needed in the case of the Puranas, the Tantras, the Ramayana and the Maha-bharata which have apparently undergone three, four or five revisions.

Some of the Purāṇas like the *Brahma-Vaivarta*, have an '*ādi*' recension which has nothing to do with the current ones.

The Mahābhārata which was an epic poem in the original was revised as to form a history of the Kaurava race, and as the idea of history expanded from that of mere chronicle and annals to that of a history of society in all its aspects,—it was revised again and again and many episodes were thrown into it, till it assumed the magnitude of a lakh of verses or more.

Mahabharata, an epic poem in the original turned into a history of the Kaurava race.

The Rāmāyana, too, though in the form of an epic poem was converted into the history of the Solar race with one hundred episodes thrown into it.

Ramayana—converted into the history of the Solar race.

It is a curious fact, that in the matter of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, no two manuscripts agree; and I believe, every district has its peculiar recension. As regards the Rāmāyana, the Bombay recension differs materially from the Bengal recension and the different recensions of Bengal differ from one another. If this be so with a comparatively short work, from the Sanskrit point of view, as the Rāmāyana with 24000 verses is, one can imagine how the number of recensions of the Mahābhārata, which is four times as large, must have increased and multiplied.

Every district has its peculiar recensions in the matter of Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Puranas.

To account for the differences one should remember that the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata were composed at a time when writing was unknown; and they were memorised by bards who sang them before an appreciative audience. The rhapsodists often used their own talents in adding and subtracting interesting episodes according to the tastes and propensities of the hearers. Their successors took the clue from them and improved upon it. So, there would be many schools, and schools within schools. It is expected that when writing was introduced, these differences would cease, but they did not. So there are an infinite number of recensions.

The differences accounted for.

The number of the Purānas is nearly a hundred. Their average extent is 20,000 ślokas. Of these 18 are called Mahā-Purāṇas, 18 are called Upa-purāṇas, 18 more are unsuccessful candidates for a place in

The Puranas and their variety.

the Mahā and Upa-purāṇa lists; the rest are miscellaneous works. But, as I have already told you, the same Purāṇa has two or three distinct forms. Sometimes, a Purāṇa of the same name is in both the lists but they are distinct works.

The characteristics of a Purana.

The characteristics of a Purāṇa are differently estimated; some say, they have five characteristics: they must describe, e. g. (1) Creation, (2) Details of creation, (3) Genealogies, (4) Manuages and (5) Biographies of distinguished kings. Others, *e. g.*, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* says that they have ten characteristics. But the definition given by the *Matsya purāṇa* is the most comprehensive. It practically says, "Anything old is Purāṇa."

Every single Mss. of the Puranas has it peculiar feature.

In the matter of the Purāṇas every manuscript has a peculiar feature, and so, all manuscripts are important from the point of view of a collector and a scholar.

The Tantras.

The Tantra is a vast literature but very little is known of it and very little indeed has been studied. I obtained two very old manuscripts; one *Kubjikāmatam* or *Kulālikāmnāya* written in the 8th or 9th century, and the other *Nihsvāsa-Tattva-Samhitā*, in the 9th or 10th century characters. The first work, now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal gives us the information that the Tantras came from beyond India and spread all over India at a time when the Vedic and the Paurāṇic cults were rather weak. The other manuscripts now in the Darbar Library, Nepal, treat of two different principles;—the *Mūla* and the *Guhya*, i.e., the original and the mystic, or in other words, the Vedic and the Tāntric ideas and practices.

There are two characteristics of the Tantras:—

Two characteristics of Tantras

(1) That it evolves the images of gods and goddesses from the letters of the alphabet (*Bījākṣaras*) and (2) that they prescribe the worship of deities in union with their consorts (*Saśakti*, or *Yuganaddha*). The latter when put forth in codices produces the *Yāmalas* or couples and there are so many of them, like the Viṣṇu-Yāmala, Rudra-Yāmala, Śakti-Yāmala, etc. The Tantra literature was very fruitful in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. In these centuries the literature produced a vast number of works. The Vaiṣṇava-tantra works were named *Pāñca-rātras,* and their number is nearly 200. Only a few have been discovered and one has been published by the German scholar Schroeder from Adyar, the *Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā.* The rest are to be sought for and studied. The Kashmir Śaiva School of Philosophy, founded in the last half of the 9th century, was based on a large number of Śaiva Tantras written in previous centuries. Only a few of these original Tantras, have as yet been recovered, and I believe, only two or three have been publshed in the Kashmir Sanskrit series. Here also is a wide scope for re-search which may lead to very important results. The *Matta-mayūra* sect which flourished in the 9th century near Gwalior, was a great builder of Śaiva temples, and their works, regarded as original Tantras, are vast in extent. Some of these works were found in the Darbar Library of Nepal, and one at Trivandrum in the extreme south of India. This has been edited by that indefatigable scholar the late T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. The work is by Iśāna Śiva. The rest are to be searched, studied and published.

There are so many schools of original Tantras that it

has shown that the Black Yajus has only 5 *Śākhās* current in Southern India; the other 80 are neither White nor Black. Of these 80 only two have been found out and published;—viz., the *Maitrāyaṇīya* and the *Kāṭhaka*. Where are the rest? The *Śākhās* appear at present to be geographical. If these *Śākhās* are discovered, it is likely to add to our information both historical, and geographical, about ancient India. The Black and the Whited ivisions of the Yajurveda have been so deeply rooted in the Indian mind that in the early 11th century, while founding a University for Sanskrit culture in his dominions, Rājendra Cola, as we know from his inscriptions, made provisions for two Professors only,—one for the White and the other for the Black Yajur-veda, and attached 25 students to each chair. Regardless of the 1000 recensions of the Sāma-veda, he made provisions for two chairs only in the Sāma-veda, viz., *Jaiminīyā Śākhā* and the *Kauthuma Śākhā*; and the popular belief is that the Sāmaveda has two divisions. (1) Kauthuma and (2) Rāṇāyaṇīya. An old Vedic scholar of the old school, who kept the sacrificial fire burning all through his life, told me that in Northern India, the Vedas have been made easy by Yājñavalkya and his followers. The White recensions attributed to Yājñavalkya and his followers are much easier than the Black ones current in Southern India; the Kauthuma of Northern India is much easier than the Rāṇāyaṇīya of Southern India, and the Śākala of the Ṛg-Veda is much easier than the Vāṣkala and others current in Southern India.

Divisions and Sub-divisions of the Vedas.

From a study of the Purāṇas it appears to me that Kṛṣṇa dvaipāyana analysed the heaps of mantras into three parts; (1) Ṛk, (2) Sāman and (3) Yajus, and he assigned each to one of his pupils. The differentiation into *Śākhās*

many local compilations, called *Nibandhas*. Fifty of such compilations are extant in full and are still guiding the lives of millions of Hindus; and, 200 more are known in scraps only. The recovery of these *Nibandhas* in full would be a great service to Hindu society, as well as to Sanskrit scholarship.

What the Brahmins did to save the Hindu society from the onslaughts of foreigners invading India.

The Brāhmaṇas are much maligned for their selfishness, bigotry, short-sightedness, and what not. But there is no doubt that they saved the Hindu ideals in India on two great occasions; once in the 3rd century B. C., when Aśoka wanted to level down distinctions of caste and creed and take away all privileges which the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed in matter of punishments and law-suits. They had no other alternative but to put their house in order and really deserve the respect of the people by writing the metrical Smṛtis, by making the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas available to the people who were being lured away by Buddhism with its gorgeous ritualism and its democracy. Once again in the 11th century they saved Hindu society by writing these *Nibandhas* from the onslaughts of Mahommedan preachers. They were equally clever in absorbing all conquering races into the bosom of the Hindu society in some of the most crucial turns of its history. Where are the Huns? Where are the Jaṭṭas? Where are the Śakas? Where are the Yu-chis? They form an integral part of the Hindu society. May they yet do the same and absorb western and mid-eastern culture into their own.

The influence of Indian culture.

Audacious ignorance was certain in the early 19th century that Sanskrit literature and for the matter of that even Arabic and Persian literature could afford no education. But I

Many of the *Śākhā Kalpas* are still extant. Many have been irretrievably lost but may yet be recovered. These *Kalpas* are divided into three parts viz., (1) *Śrauta* (2) *Gṛhya* and (3) *Dharma.*

The Sakhạ-kalpas and their divisions.

Each Śrauta work produced many schools, represented by different commentaries. From commentaries came treatises on sacrifices; from these treatises on sacrifices came *Prayogas* or rules, and *Paddhatis* or rituals of the sacrifices. This branch of literature is still living, though not a vigorous life. From great sacrifices they have come down to merely lighting the sacred fire, and pouring a little clarified butter into it. There are but few Vedic rites prevalent at the present day, but even these few have many *Prayogas* and many *Paddhatis.*

The Srauta works.

The other two branches of the *Śākhī Kalpa*, viz., *Gṛhya* and *Dharma*, bloomed forth, during the Brāhmaṇa domination in India from 200 B. C. to 200 A.D., into metrical Smṛtis. They are not like the *Śrauta-Sūtras*, only concerned with sacrifices and high religious life; but they concern life in general. They regulate domestic and social life in all its aspects and, therefore, they have even now a vigorous existence. The metrical Smṛti treatises began to develop their commentaries; and with the new development of life and ideas in India, the commentaries expanded their bulk and became more and more comprehensive. The *Śāstra* broke into sections like *Acāra Vyavahāra, Prāyaścitta* and so forth. But since the 11th century, when the Mahommedans set their foot in India, Kings and Brāhmaṇas became alarmed for the very existence of the *Varṇāśrama* community and began to write

The Grhya and Dharma concern life in general and give rise to metrical Smṛtis.

have shown before that Northern, Eastern, and Southern Asia were saturated with Indian culture; and I am in a position to assert that at one time even Persia and the eastern Roman Empire came greatly within the influence of Indian culture. Apart from other evidences found in those regions, we find also in a palm-leaf manuscript copied in Bengal, in the early 11th century (the *Vimalaprabhā*, commentary on the Buddhist *Kālacakra* Tantra, now in Bengal Asiatic Society) it is asserted that the Buddhist scriptures were translated in Persian and in *Nīla nadyuttare—Rohma-deśe* i.e., in the Rohma or eastern Roman country in the North of the Nile.

The mischief done by making English the medium of education.

Education through the medium of the English language was started with the idea that Sanskrit and Arabic can afford no culture. Hundred years after that mistake, as I consider it, it now appears that the whole of Asia and the Eastern portion of Europe was saturated with Indian culture. The value of Arabic in the preservation and dissemination of culture in the mediæval and early modern world, whether in Western Asia or in Europe need not be dilated upon by myself. The mischief in relegating Sanskrit (and Arabic) culture to a secondary place, and in not, modernising it (like what has been done in the mediæval universities of Europe with the Latin culture) has been great. Reparation is not yet impossible, and as a student of Sanskrit of the old type which is apparently going out of fashion, I hope that the forces against Sanskrit are not strong enough to kill it outright but that it will appear and reappear throughout in its pristine vigour but in a modified form to greatly influence the forces that may get the upper hand. In the 3rd century B. C., Vedic ritualism was not revised but modified into Paurāṇic religion.

In the 11th century A.D., Sanskrit became strong by absorbing much that was not Hindu. In the 21st century it may do the same and absorb most of the western ideas but what shape it will take is now too early to predict.

The progress made in the 20th century and a partial realisation of the dream of Radha Krishan.

With the advent of the 20th century, a change came over the spirit of the dream. The long vision of Rādhākriṣan had perhaps seen some thing of it. All of a sudden, the princes and potentates of India were seized with a patriotic fervour and started the publication of Sanskrit works. At the end of the 19th century, there were some attempts made by the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the Raja of Vizianagram to issue series of Sanskrit works but they were not very successful. But, nevertheless, they showed the way. The first decade of the 20th century saw the Mysore and the Trivandrum series start their useful career with mangnificent contributions from ancient Indian authorship. The next decade found the Gackwad and the Kashmir Darbars engaged in the same intellectual work and I anticipate, the whole body of princes and potentates of India will be busy with publishing ancient Sanskrit works of great value found within their territories. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has started a series of Arabic and Islamic works. But he occupies the very heart of the ancient Hindu civilisation in the Deccan. Many of the capitals of ancient and mediaeval Hindu rule are situated within his dominions. For the sake of his Hindu subjects and for the sake of the wider culture of modern India—he, the premier Indian Prince and true patron of arts and letters and founder of the first Vernacular University in India would only be acting according to the traditions of his great house, if he ordered not only a thorough search of Sanskrit manuscripts

in Sanskritic Languages within his dominions, but also the publication of a Sanskrit series, the value of which would be simply enormous. Already his archæological department has made many important discoveries, the most important of which is the Maski edict establishing the identity of Aśoka with Priyadarśi; his Government has undertaken as a most enlightened measure the conservation, preservation and maintenance of the famous Buddhist and Brahmanical cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora. Starting a Sanskrit series will, I suppose, be of equal value with all these. Numerous Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Jaina, and Buddhist sects had their origin within his dominions, and some of these great seats of ancient learning are situated there like Paithan and Warangal. The exploration of this vast but virgin field at his instance will bring the present ruler—already distinguished by the above enlightened measures, honour and glory as a patron of learning irrespective of caste or creed equally with that of an Akbar.

The Bibliotheca Indica and its value with regard to the spread of knowledge in Sanskrit.

We often hear of retrenchments made in this department of work on economical grounds. Such retrenchments are surely a bad economy. It is a spirit of parsimony wholly unbecoming of the great Indian states. The return from the outlay on Sanskrit series—even in pound, shilling and pence,—is not discouraging. I will give one example. The Bibliotheca Indica series was started by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1849, and within these 80 years it has pubished 1729 fasciculi of nearly a hundred pages each of 289 distinct, separate and independent works;—sold books worth Rs. 400,000 and has a stock of double that value, none of which, I believe, will prove to be a dead stock. Under proper advertisement and even supervision the sale is increasing. The Government which financed, does not even

want to take back its original capital. So the capital and profit all go to the fund. But that is a small matter. Look at the enormous knowledge that has disseminated throughout the world which would otherwise have been locked in illegible manuscripts, written on perishable material. One would be inclined to think that the entire Indology has been pushed forward by the publication of this ancient series, the name of which should be written in letters of gold—the BIBLIOTHECA INDICA.

They are valuable inspite of their defects.

One charge generally levelled against the Bibliotheca Indica series is that some of the works are not properly edited, to which the short answer of Dr. Hoernle was that they at leat multiplied bad manuscripts and that the very multiplication is a service. But in that series for one such badly edited work there are scores which are really excellent.

The Bombay series.

The Bombay Sanskrit series is another well edited series, but this seems to have aimed more at educational needs of Colleges and Universities than those of scholars who want to push forward research.

Different character of the various series started under the patronage of Indian princes.

But the various series started by the princes of India have a very different character. They do not get their inspiration from Europe. The editors are Indian scholars trained in India, belong to ancient Sankritic families which are celebrated for learning and piety and are or have been devoted to the study of Sanskrit as a part and parcel of their very lives. These scholars work with a single-minded devotion and their selection of works is more choice than in many other series; for instance, Madhusūdan Kaul of Kashmir

selects only those works on Śaiva Philosophy which in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries made Kashmir famous. He also chooses those Tāntrika works on which that system of Philosophy was based viz., *Sacchanda Tantra*, *Mālinī-vijaya Tantra*, *Tantrāloka* and others. It is a pity however that the great work of Kashmir, Abhinava-Gupta's commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* should be forestalled by the Gaekwad series at Baroda which has taken the entire credit in publishing the chapters on dance with illustrations for each dance pose from ancient Southern Indian sculpture. The first volume only is published, and the others are awaited with the highest of expectations. The Gaekwad series opened with a wonderful work,—entitled the *Kāvya-Mīmāmsā*,—a work on literary criticism of the highest value which has been edited by that excellent scholar the late Mr. C. D. Dalal. But it is very unfortunate that only a small fraction of a big series of books has been discovered and published; for it is said that the work consisted of 18 such parts;—the other 17 parts are irretrievably lost.

The value of Kavya mimamsa, Sadhana mala and Tattva-Samgraha in the field of research.

We are hearing of quinquennial assemblies in ancient India is Aśoka's inscriptions, in Hiuen Thsang's accounts but the *Kāvya-mīmāmsā* gives us an inside view of these royal assemblages for rewarding merit in science and art. The book is replete with literary legends and traditions of ancient India and was written in the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The publication of the *Sādhanāmālā* in this series completes the Buddhist iconographic literature of India. These *Sādhanās* were composed by professors of later Buddhism.—of *Mantra-Yāna*, of *Vajra-Yāna*, of *Sahajā-Yāna* and of *Kālacakra-Yāna*,—schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era; and they were collected

together in the form of *Saṅgrahas* in the 12th century. They are entirely Indian in character. We know from Tibetan sources that about this time an opinion gained ground in the Buddhist world that in the art of painting and sculpture, India as known intimately to the Tibetans, *i. e.*, Magadha and Bengal, excelled; next came the Newars of Nepal, the Tibetans came next, and the Chinese last of all. This statement has been fully justified so far as Magadha and Bengal are concerned by the iconographic sculpture that we have been getting during the last 20 years in all parts of Eastern India. The latest great work of the Gaekwad Series, is the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śānta-rakṣita who was the first great Lama of Tibet. It is a wonderful book. It refutes twenty other systems of Philosophy in India and establishes the Mahā-yāna system. It gives us materials in plenty for setting the chronology of a great deal of the Philosophical literature of India. The eighth was a wonderful century in which all the religious and philosophical sects of India put forth their best endeavours to establish their supremacy over others. Early in the century Kumārila, with his *Śloka-vārtika*, *Tantra vārtika* and *Ṭup-Ṭīkā* on the *Śabara-bhāṣya*, endeavoured to establish the supremacy of the Vedic culture. Then came the voluminous writer Haribhadra, reputed author of 1400 treatises to do the same thing for Jaina culture, Jaina religion and Jaina philosophy. The third was Śānta-rakṣita, from the Dacca District. He was closely related to the family of Indrabhūti, a Rāja of Orissa who advocated the *Vajra-yāna* system of the Mahā-yāna School. He was also closely associated with his brother-in-law Padma-sambhava who converted the Tibetans to Buddhism and is regarded by them as a second Buddha. His work the *Tattva-saṅgraha* with a commentary by his pupil Kamala-śīla is a very brilliant

achievement and H. H. the Gaekwad's Oriental Institute gets all the credit in publishing it. At the end of the century came Śaṅkarācārya with his vast learning, refuting all sectarian opinions and establishing a monism which holds its ground all over India. Śānta-rakṣita and Kamala-śīla are very brilliant men of the 8th century.

The Mysore series.

In the 20th century the first series that came out under the patronage of a big state was the Mysore series. It began to publish choice works and choice commentaries on Vedic and philosophical works. It at once attracted public attention, and people became anxious to see new issues. Two works appeared which are of immense importance for the elucidation of ancient Indian society. One is the *Gotra Pravara-Prabandha-Kadamba* i. e., a collection of treatises on *Gotras* and *Pravaras* by which the Brāhmaṇas or rather the member of the twice-born castes distinguished themselves from one another. The great attraction of the book was an index of *Gotras* with about 4000 names, and a chart showing the relation amongst the *Pravara ṛṣis*. The word *Pravara* was very little understood even by the great jurists, of India, but this Mysore treatise gave its real meaning; and the sense of term is that it means those ṛṣis in whose names the sacrificial fire is to be invoked, The theory was that in a sacrifice if a man invoked the Fire-God in his own name, he, the Fire-God would not respond. If the Fire-God was invoked in the name of all the human ancestors of the sacrificer he was not likely to respond either. But if the God was invoked in the name of that ṛṣi ancestor of the *Yajamāna* or sacrificer who was a friend of the God, then the deity would know him and would come to his descendant's sacrifice. The publication of this collection of autho-

ritative works on the genealogies of the ancient Brāhmaṇas has been a very great service to the orthodox in the Hindu community who have always believed in the *Gotras* and *Pravaras* and regulated their lines according to that belief.

Artha-Sastra.

The second Boon which the Mysore series had the honour to confer is the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya's name was well known. He was the same person as our great Cāṇakya who destroyed the Nanda empire, and installed Candra-Gupta as Emperor of India. But his *Artha Śāstra* was not known. Our friend Dr. Shamashastri discovered the work, edited and re-edited it with fresh materials, translated it into English, and gave an all-word-index to it and made many interesting researches about it. Eighty years ago the discovery of Hiuen Thsang's itinerary gave us an insight into ancient Indian life both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist of the 7th century A. D. That was by a foreigner. He noted down only those facts which appeared to be important and interesting to the Chinese Buddhists but Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra* twenty years ago laid bare the whole world of Indian life at the time of India's greatest prosperity. Hiuen Thsang, a devout Buddhist monk that he was, looked at the rich and varied life of India of his time with the eye of a religious recluse, but Cāṇakya looked upon Indian life from the point of view of a great administrator, a great organiser and a great politician. Here we find Indian life in all its aspects—the principle being the organisation of *Varṇāśrama* or the castes and stages of life on which Hindu Society is based. It is a curious fact that the account we get in Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra* agrees mainly and generally with that given by Megasthenes in the same century and at the same court.

Political economy is a modern science in Europe. It

started with Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*" published in the year 1776 A. D., and within a century and a half it has branched off into so many sciences, but *Artha-śāstra* is twenty-three hundred years old. Kauṭilya, however, was not the first writer on *Artha-śāstra* but very nearly the last. He quoted 15 or 16 different authorities and names of four different schools advocating from the primitive coercion to the regulation of the entire life of a nation. Adam Smith speaks of four different stages of development of political ideas in Europe from the Dark Ages onwards. The first is the protection of life and property alone in the Merovingian and Carlovingian times, 800 to 1200 A. D. Kings during this period thought that if they protected the lives of their subjects, they did all their duties. Commerce and trade they would not protect. That was left to the traders themselves. These began to combine to protect their trade. Nearly 150 cities of Northern Europe thus combined to protect their commercial interests. But the united traders often defied their Kings. That led kings to come forward and protect trade, a fact which finally brought about the dissolution of the Hanseatic league about the 15th century. We have here the second stage. Then came the third stage. After the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1458 A. D., and the reformation of Luther, later, it became apparent to many states in Europe, that the leadership of the Church, *i.e.*, the control of religion should no longer remain in the hands of the Pope, but should be vested in the state. The king of England became the protector of religion, and England's example was followed in other Protestant countries. As ideas advanced Government thought it fit to control the liberal education of the entire nation and we have the fourth or the last stage in the development of national polity.

Kautilya and Adam Smith.

This is the history of the advance of political life in Europe. Kauṭilya gives the history of political advance of India in a few sentences. He says Śukrācārya thought that kings should learn *Daṇḍanīti* only *i.e.*, merely coercion for the protection of life and property. Vṛhaspati thought that kings should learn not only *Daṇḍanīti* but also *Vārtā* which includes agriculture, trade and pasture. Manu thought that they should impart to them higher culture also, but Cāṇakya and his *Ācāryas* thought that they should include the *Trayī* or the Vedas also. A comparison between the progress of political ideas in Europe and India will show that Cāṇakya's political ideas were those of modern Europe. Cāṇakya was not like Adam Smith a promulgator of a new science but the heir to a long series of development of political ideas.

The importance of the publication of the *Artha-śāstra* cannot be over-rated. It has already made Doctors by the score, in the Universities of India and Europe, but the inner meaning is very little understood owing to the want of intimate and extensive acquaintance with Indian literature which a mastery of such a work as the *Artha-śāstra* requires. In this connection one cannot help admiring Prof. Samashastri who is doing every thing to help students in this direction. I may repeat: he has twice edited the work; once translated it into English: given an all-word index to it and edited the *Sūtras* of Cāṇakya in the hope that they may throw light on his *Artha-śāstra*. He has not only done much himself, but also inspired others. The late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī had edited the work with a commentary of his own, and Prof. Jolly has given a fourth edition of it with the help of a new manuscript at Tubingen. Messrs. Motilal Banarsi Das the well-known

Sanskrit publishers of this city have given Prof. Jolly the hospitality of their series.

Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

I mention the Trivandrum Sanskrit series at the end simply because I wish to say something about the late lamented Gaṇapati Śāstrī who without any knowledge of English had edited a wonderful series of works—with prefatory notices in Sanskrit which will be admired all over the world for their boldness and insight into the spirit of Sanskrit literature. He began with very select works, which cannot be found anywhere but which were very valuable to students of Sanskrit and gave valuable information about ancient India. He surprised the learned world by the publication of the 13 works of Bhāsa;—wonderful dramas giving a thorough insight into the life of India some centuries before Christ. He was criticised and the criticism was adverse to his Chronology. Some said the Sanskrit of these dramas was not so old, others said the Prākṛta was not so old. Some found in the epilogue the name of a Kāṇva king. But, I believe, that Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī was right in putting Bhāsa in the 4th century B. C.; for there are many things in the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* in the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* and in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* which show that, they cannot be written later. The enumeration of the royal families of Northern India to which Mahā-sena, the king of Ujjayinī could marry his daughter cannot be written in later centuries, when all memory of Mahā-sena was lost. The worship of the stone images of ancestors as given in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* has raised a huge controversy; one party saying that the custom was in vogue at the time of the Śiśunāgas; others say that they were much later. But it is a curious fact that in the Jāṅgala country i.e., Bikaner, all royal

Bhasa.

personages from Bika downwards have their stone images and to these stone images offerings of food in the shape of *Puris* are made to the extent of nearly a maund. In many old capitals, now in ruins, are found images of royal personages on horse-back when they died in battle, and in other positions when they died a natural death. Cremation is an old custom; to mark cremation grounds with Stūpas was also an ancient custom. But the custom of erecting stone images there is not yet known from ancient works. But Gaṇapati Śāstrī, wrote to me to say that, in the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* a custom is recorded of throwing sand in the encolsure, and this is found in Āpastamba's work only, and Āpastamba belongs to the 5th century B. C.

Manju-srimula-kalpa.

But the publication of Bhāsa's works is not the only thing on which Gaṇapati Śāstrī's fame rests. He has published three volumes of the *Mañju-Śri-mūlaKalpa*, a Buddhist work belonging to a very early period on which the *Mantra-Yāna* and other subsequent *Yānas* of the Buddhists are based. How he got the Buddhist work in the extreme South of India is one wonder, and how he unravelled the mysteries of a complicated Buddhist ritual is another. The publication of this ancient Buddhist work is likely to lead to further discoveries of the *Guhya samāja* school of Buddhism which branched off from Mahā-yāna, leaving philosophy behind, and proceeded straight to mysticism: "The *Bīja* or seed proceeds from *Bodhi* which is nothing else but *Śūnyatā*. From Bīja proceeds the image and in the image there are internal representation," and this is deep mysticism indeed. This is the same as making the letters of the alphabet represent deities only expressed in mystic and Buddhistic language.

The third great work which M. M. Gaṇapati Śāstrī

Isana siva-guru-paddhati.

produced is the *Śaiva-paddhati* by Īśāna-śiva guru-deva. In the 10th century an association of Śaivaite learned men was formed in Central India,—known as the *Matta-mayūra-vaṃśa*. The Gurus of this association ended their names with the word Śiva, viz., Īśāna Śiva, Vimala Śiva, etc. They were great builders of temples and converted many chiefs to their faith. Some of their works are to be found in the Darbar Library, Nepal. Gaṇapati Śāstrī got hold of one of their works and published it,—giving a key to the whole literature.

The versatility of M. M. Pandit Ganapti Sastri.

The versatility of M. M. P. Gaṇapati Śāstrī is very striking. He has handled works on all *Śāstras* with equal facility; *Nīti, Pāñca--rātra,* Philosophy, Architecture, Philosophy of Grammar, Rhetoric, Lexicons, *Jyotiṣa, Sphoṭa* Music—all are welcome to him. To lose him has been a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship in India. He enjoyed all the blessings of a liberal education without knowing any English. Government made him a Mahāmahopādhyāya and the Royal Asiatic Society of great Britain and Ireland made him an Honorary Member. All this was high appreciation indeed but not high enough for a man of so much industry and so great intellectual powers.

Bikaner State library.

I have already said that it is a sign of the 20th century that the Indian Princes came spontaneously and patriotically, without any impetus from outside to start the various Sanskrit series. The four series already started I have mentioned before. But other series may also be started. Appeal should be made to the enlightened Ruler of **Bikaner** to utilise nearly 7000 Mss. lying idle in the fort of

that city. These Mss. are very well preserved in strong worm-proof with *almirahs* an exhaustive nominal catalogue from which any Ms. may be immediately got. It is a storehouse of codes of Smṛtis written during the Mahommedan period. It has all the books of the Law codes written by Hemādri, by Todarmall, by Madana-Siṃha, by Ananta-deva the son of Kamalākara, by Dinakara and his son Kamalākara combined, by Mitra Miśra of Bundelkhand, and so on. You get only one or two books of these valuable codes and digests in other libraries, but in Bikaner the codes are nearly complete. Where any book is wanting the Librarian has invariably put in some Sanskrit word to mean 'missing.' The philosophical section of the library is extensive. It has works written at all times,—modern, mediæval, ancient,—and in all parts of India,—especially Bengal. It has many works of unique importance, not to be found elsewhere. The library indeed long ago published a descriptive Catalogue, edited by Raja Rajendralal Mitra. But it contains very summary description of only 1619 Mss.

Alwar State Library.

The Alwar Darbar obtained the services of Mr. Peterson to prepare a catalogue of the state collection of Mss. and it is a very useful one. There is enough material in this library to start a series.

Jodhpur State Library.

Jodhpur has a collection of about 2,000 Sanskrit Mss. well kept in a room in the fort where worms will not be able to ruin these works. But there is no catalogue and nothing has come out of it.

Bundi has a collection of about 2,000 Mss. well kept in a cave-like room on a broad road leading to

Jaipur and Rewa very carefully guarded their treasures of Mss. and never allowed strangers to use these —though very recently I hear, they have been opened up to the vulgar gaze.

All the states of Rajputana have their own collections of ancient Mss. but they have not caught the enthusiasm of Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Kashmir to issue series of rare Sanskrit works and thereby spread the old light in the Modern world.

Private libraries of Rajputana

We are all along speaking of the Raj Libraries of Rajputana. But in Rajputana, every learned Brāhmaṇa has his collection of Mss. Every Jaina monastery has also its collection of Mss.—called *Bhāṇḍars*. Many *Cāraṇas* have rich collections of Mss. In one of the Jain *Upāśrayas* or monastries in Jodhpur I found the medical work by Vopadeva still used.

Private enterprises.

Private enterprise has also done much. Since the establishment of the Printing Press in India many many religious-minded people have undertaken the task of printing or multiplying copies of religious books, such as the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Smṛtis, the Purāṇas, and distribute them among learned Brāhmaṇas. Private religious bodies also did the same thing. Paṇḍitas with business habits often undertook the publication of Sanskrit works as a matter of speculation. Traders, book-sellers often undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit Mss. for profit. In some cases, valuable series of Sanskrit Texts were started,

Anandasrama and Kavyamala.

such as the Ānandāśrama series and the Kāvyamālā series. Some confined themselves within one or two branches of Sanskrit litera-

ture according to their own choice. One published the works of the Mādhva School only; another, of Śaṅkara School only. Individuals often published books of their choice either for money or out of love for these works. But these enterprises often failed, because Sanskrit works cannot bring handsome profit within a short time

Benares Sanskrit series.

The "Pandit" of Banares after a glorious career of 40 years has now disappeared. Then it reappeared under the name of the Benares Sanskrit Series; but that also, I believe, is now moribund, if it has not disappeared. The Vizianagram Series after publishing 10 or 12 works died out. The Chowkhamba Series of Benares after publishing 400 fasciculi now appeal to the public for fresh patronage, which it fully deserves.

Chowkhamba.

The Arya Samaj is also doing a great lot,—not only by the dissemination of the Vedic Texts among the people but by also publishing other books in other branches of Sanskrit literature.

Arya-samaja.

Other religious communities and organisations like the Jaina, the Vaiṣṇava of North and South India have done meritorious work in publishing their secterian *literature*.

Other Religious organisations and Skt. literature.

But in this department of activity among the most enterprising are (1) the proprietors of the Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay, (2) the Sanskrit Publications by the late Jivananda Vidyasagar of Calcutta and (3) Messrs, Motilal Banarsi Das & Co. of this city. The name of the Nirnaya Sagara Press is a household word wherever Sanskrit is seriously studied whether in India or outside India; and their accurate and cheap editions of the

The publishers Motilal Banarsi Das.

Sanskrit classics have been a great helper in the proper study of the *Śāstras* as well as *Sāhitya*. They are an old firm; and I need not dwell much on the good work they have done and for which they have deservedly won the gratitude of scholars. Jivananda's Sanskrit series is also well-known and deserving of praise.

Jivananda Vidyasagara.

The firm of Motilal Banarasi Das have absorbed nearly the whole of Indian and much of European book-trade on Indology. They have enlisted the co-operation of some of the best men in Europe and in India in giving to the world choice books on Indian subjects; they obtained the help of men like Dr. Thomas to publish the *Vārhaspatya Sūtra* a work on economics evidently more ancient than even Kauṭilya. They entrusted men like Jolly to publish the *Mānavadharma-Sūtra* and like Caland to publish the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kāṇva* Śākhā. The *Śatapatha* has two recensions.—Mādhyandina in 14 and Kāṇva in 17 *Kāṇḍas*. The Mādhyandina was published long ago by Weber and others, but the Kāṇva was not published before this; yet the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* which Śaṅkara commented upon belongs to the Kāṇva and not the Mādhyandina Śākhā.. Therefore the publication of the Kāṇva Śākhā will be of great importance not only to Vedic scholars, but also to the scholars of *Advaita* philosophy. Another noteworthy publication of this firm is Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's work on Campā—the first publication of the Greater India Society, a body which has taken upon itself the laudable enterprise of making known to the intelligentia of India, the story of what India achieved abroad. Time and space will not permit me to give details of the work done in the field of Sanskrit by many publishers in the various provinces who

Greater India Society.

have used provincial characters and not devanāgarī which has within recent years become a sort of national character for Sanskrit; and the same apology I make for many European editions in Roman.

Mahabharata Committee—Poona.

The great epic Mahābhārata is a towering wonder in the world's literature. Its bulk is extensive and it includes within its panorama practically the whole of ancient Indian life. But when the original Mahābhārata was composed, perhaps the art of writing was not yet invented or writing materials were very scarce. So it passed from mouth to mouth, village to village, city to city, changing everywhere to the taste of the people hearing or reciting it. Even when writing came in vogue, different districts produced different recensions of the Mahābhārata. Then there were revisions. Originally, it was an epic poem; then it became a history in the form of interlocutions. Then, as the idea of history expanded, there was expasion of the Mahābhārata too. In this way a poem of 24000 verses gradually developed into a bulky work of a lakh of verses. When the Mahābhārata first went to Europe, scholars there thought of collating it. With that view they collated all Mss. of the Mahābhārata found in Europe, and then sent it down to India for further collation. The Bhandarkar Research Institute undertook the work and called upon the Viśva-Bhārati to assist them. The work is proceeding slowly. The Mahābhārata Committee, consisting of five young scholars trained in Europe and America, is proceeding with the work slowly. I have seen only one part of it containing two chapters, and I see that the Committee has done its best to go to the bottom of the thing. They have mercilessly rejected verses not found in authentic manuscripts. They have appended a critical apparatus which is admirable. I

think, the bulk of the Mahābhārata will be considerably reduced. My idea is that the work has undergone five revisions. Originally it seems that it was a short work, a table of contents in two verses only—the well-known *Ślokas—Duryodhano manyumayo mahādrumaḥ*, etc. The next revision was in the form of an epic poem with a table of contents running up to 150 verses—half of which are in the Triṣṭubh metre from '*Pāṇḍur jitvā bahūn deśān*,' etc., to the end of the *Anu-kramaṇikā* chapter. The third revision was in the form of a history in interlocution,—the table of contents being the first half of the *Anukramaṇikā* chapter. Then it was divided into 100 *parvans*— it was set by Vyāsa himself. The table of contents of this was given in the first-half of the *Parvasaṃgraha* chapter. Then came the full-fledged Mahābhārata with 18 major parvans and 84836 verses, which when reduced to a unit of 32 syllables has become 100,000 verses. I offer this suggestion of mine to the Mahābhārata Committee for consideration for whatever it is worth. It is a great undertaking and I wish them every success. After the success of this edition of the Mahābhārata, the 18 Mahā-purāṇas should be subjected to the same critical method of examination. I think, that they too, have undergone several revisions;—some are revised out of existence; some are revised out of recognition; some encyclopaedias have been transformed into the shape of Purāṇas.

The Puranas.

The prevalent idea that all the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas are from the pen of Vyāsa cannot be proved. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* is by Vyāsa's father Parāśara. The *Bhāgavata* is by Vyāsa's son Śuka. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* does not speak of Vyāsa, and the *Bhaviṣya* does not mention him. The three encyclopaedias, *Garuḍa, Nārada* and *Agni* have him as one

of the latest interlocutors,—i.e., only in the first and in the last chapters. So the idea that Vyāsa is the author of all the Purāṇas is to be given up.

Srividyapitha of Etwa.

The Śrī Vidyāpītha of Etwa founded by Śrī Svāmī Brahmanath Siddhaśrama, has the noble aim of making an index of all important branches of knowledge in Sanskrit, of all manuscripts in that language and in its derivatives, and all proper names and technical terms to be found in them. The Svāmī is no more but his disciples and admirers are sticking to the movement. It is a spontaneous Indian movement and the Indian public should look upon it with a favourable eye and, if possible, encourage it.

Archæological Department.

Another department of Oriental studies is Archæology. I have in my address as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1919, spoken of the advancement of Archæology under the guidance of Sir John Marshall. Eight years have passed since then, they were years of intense activity and wonderful results. During these years in the East we have the example of mixed Buddhist and Hindu culture of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries at Pāhārpur. Nālanda has been excavated down to the ground level revealing sculptures of the best period of Indian Art. Sarnath has yielded further treasures of inestimable value; Sanchi has been thoroughly explored and a guide-book prepared for the benfit of excursionists. Excavations at Taxila have gone to the Persian strata of the place, below the Indo-Greek and the Parthian, the Mauryan and the Macedonian. On the top of all these come the ancient treasures of Harappa and Mahenjo-daro, revealing remains of something like a new Culture. Who the

originators of this culture were, has not yet been settled or could not properly be investigated. But we get in our ancient works like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and some of the old Purāṇas that the border land of India on both sides of the Indus was inhabited by a race very different from the heroes of these epics. They would eat (the text says 'they smell of') garlic and onions, would drink camel's milk and their sexual morality was very loose. They sold their daughters in marriage. They were people without religion. The names of these peoples were: Madra, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Sindhu and Sauvīra. So from very ancient times Aryans knew that Sindhus and Sauvīras did not belong to their stock, though they often had to contract political and matrimonial alliances with them.

Thanks to Sir John Marshall, Indian Archæology has made great progress during his incumbency in the Department, but many wonderful discoveries have been made during the same period outside India in Gobi and Taklamakan deserts, in Java and Anam by archæologists of various nationalities. The discovery of a large number of Mss., objects of Buddhist worship, Buddhist flags and so on, from the cave of the thousand Buddhas in the Gobi desert, read like a romance. The sands of these deserts have preserved fresh many palm-leaves and Chinese papers within two feet of their surface. Japan is busy with Sanskrit Mss. and their translation in the Chinese. Takakusu has projected an edition of the whole of the Chinese Tripiṭaka with notes and commentaries. The French in the Eastern peninsula are bringing to the public notice relics of forgotten Hindu empires even on the borders of the Pacific. The Dutch are doing a lot of things in their possessions in the Indian Ocean to bring the rem-

nants of ancient Hindu empires superseded centuries ago by Mahommedan conquests. All these vindicate the ubiquity of Indian culture all over Asia and discredit the audacious ignorance which pronounced that Sanskrit can afford no culture.

Conclusion.

In this long address, I have not been able to say many things; and one hundred days of compulsory rest may justify my putting up a plea of want of time. But the activity of the twentieth century in these departments has raised my hopes, that Sanskrit literature will not die, and I again thank the memory of Paṇḍita Rādhākiṣan of Lahore for raising the alarm in time and giving India the signal of the danger that was ahead, and for being instrumental in enabling India to preserve and give out to the world her noblest heritage—her ancient Sanskrit literature and in this way vindicating her position among civilised nation of history.

Warnings.

But at the end of my address I think it to be my duty to give you a warning. At the present moment there is a large body of men who go as Sanskrit scholars without knowing a letter of Sanskrit. There are others again who tax the brains of poor Śāstris and make big name as Oriental scholars. At the conference of Orientalists held under the Presidency of Sir Harcourt Butler in 1911 a very great man told the august assembly that without two Śāstris at their elbows they cannot be Oriental scholars. Such Oriental scholarship should be discouraged. The Śāstris should be trained for Oriental scholarship. A historical sense should be awakened in their minds.

Do not believe in translations.

I often see big works on Sanskrit literature and special branches of it, compiled mainly, if not, wholly from translations of Sanskrit works in English, French, German and other European languages. They have a value. They advertise Sanskrit literature and bring profit to the authors, but translations are never reliable. Thibaut's translation of the *Śāṅkara Bhāṣya* was tinged with Rāmānuja's ideas, because the Śāstrī at his elbow belonged to the Rāmāuja school. Dr. Deussen's translation, is a little better because he told me at the age of 48 that he had carefully read through the Bhāṣya twenty-two times and then translated it. But he wanted one thing—the Indian tradition of the interpretation of the *Bhāṣya*. In a similar way all translations should be regarded as unreliable and all books based on these translations should be taken at their worth.

The Chinese translations of Buddhist Sanskrit works are free translations, therefore not reliable. The Tibetan translations are too pedantically literal and therefore often unintelligible. The original Sanskrit should be always sought for and consulted, if procurable, to cure the defects of these translations.

Do not make Orientalists of Europe your spiritu l guid s.

The Oriental scholars of Europe have done Sanskrit literature a great service by infusing a historical sense in those who are interested in it in India. But in the present day there is a tendency amongst the younger generation of India, to make the Oriental scholars of Europe their *Gurus* or Spiritual guides in all matters relating to India. Not being in touch with the soil of India and its traditions the interpretation of Indian life by Europeans should always

be received with caution, criticism, and discrimination. They should not be slavishly followed by Indians in matters relating to India. One instance will suffice. The Indian literary chronology set up by Oriental scholars of Europe, I do not think, will stand. It will be not only greatly modified, but I think, should also be thoroughly revised.

Conclusion.

With this warning I again say that my hopes have been greatly raised by the spontaneous action of the patriotic Indian States for the publication of valuable treasures of Sanskrit works and I hope that Sanskrit will not die. It my or may not prove strong enough to resist the influence of the almighty Eurapean culture, but it will certainly modify that influence to such an extent as to have a new character.

THE

Session of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore,

20th November 1928.



Standing:—Purushottam Shastri, Hari Nath, Shri Ram, Anant Ram, Gyan Swarup, Janki Prasad, Chiranjiva, Ram Krishna Bahuguna, Shuchi Vrata Shastri, B.A., Gopal Krishna, B.A.

Sitting:—Ram Chandra Shastri Kushal, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxford), Udaya Vir Singh Shastri, Vishnu Sharma Shastri, Jagadish Mitra Sharma.

Sitting on ground:—Ram Krishna Shastri, Som Dutt Sharma, Jagannath Sharma.

On Tuesday, the 20th of November, addresses were delivered by sectional Presidents. On previous occasions, presidential addresses of various sections were delivered simultaneously. One thus could listen to only one presidential address. As a presidential address is generally an important statement on the subject of a section and is of general interest and as several members expressed a desire to hear several presidential addresses, a separate day was fixed for their delivery. They were read one after another. Thus one could attend all of them if he so desired.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education and Industries was present at the presidential address of the philosophy section.

In the afternoon a garden party was held at Shahdara gardens. Mr. Rama Jawaya Kapur was at home. H. E. Sir Geoffrey Fitz Hervey de Montmorency, Governor of the Panjab, graced the party with his presence. The Police Band was in attendance.

At night, the 'Vision of Vāsavadattā' was staged in Sanskrit at the Mahabir Theatre outside Bhati gate. The house was packed to the full. Among others, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bakhshi Tek Chand, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice and Mrs. Bhide, M. M. Pt. Hara Narayan Śāstrī, M. M. Pt. Giridhar Śarmā Śāstrī, Drs. Belwalkar, Bhandarkar, De., R. B. Dr. Krishnaswami Iyangar, Dr. Bhattacharya, Pro. Kuppusswami Śāstrī were noticed.

The following professors and students took part in the representation:—

Patron.
A. C. Woolner, Esqr., M.A. (Oxon.)

Produced by
Lakshman Sarup.

Music by.
Ram Chandra.

Stage Director.	**Music Master.**
Sardha Ram.	Pooran Chand.

Cast of characters in the order in which they appear on the stage.

Manager	Vishnu Datta Tiwari.
Guards	Ram Krishna. Hari Nath.
Yaugandharāyaṇa	Ram Chandra Kushal.
Vāsavadattā	Vishnu Sharma.
Chamberlain	Purushottam Shastri.
Maid of Honour	Jagan Nath.
Padmāvatī	Jagdish Mitra.
A Lady Hermit	Anant Ram.
A Student	Chiranjiva.
A Nurse to Padmāvatī	Soma Datta.
Second Maid	Ram Krishna.
The Jester	Shuchi Vrata.
The King	Udaya Vira.
Padminikā	Ram Krishna.
Madhukarikā	Jagan Nath.
Chamberlian	Jagdish Shastri.
Vijayā	Ram Krishna.
Raibhya	Jagdish Shastri
Vasundharā	Soma Datta.

The play was a great success. Acting was good. Scenery and dresses being borrowed from a Professional Company, were rather too magnificent. As a mark of appreciation, three medals were offered on the spot to the best actors as follows:—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bakhshi Tek Chand medal to Vishnu Śarmā Śāstrī for appearing in the role of Vāsavadattā.

(2) Mr. M. L. Puri's medal to Shuchi Vrata Śāstrī, B. A., for good acting as Vidūṣaka.

(3) Prof. K. M. Sarkar's medal to Jagan Nath for playing the part of *Ceti.*

Dr. L. Sarup thanked in suitable terms the audience for their presence and the donors of medals for their appreciation.

A flash-light photograph of the Dramatis Personæ was taken at theTheatre.

A synopsis of the play in English, distributed among the audience to enable them to follow the course of events, is enclosed.

Bhāsa's 'Vision of Vasāvadattā'

SYNOPSIS.

King Udayana is too fond of the society of his beloved Queen Vāsavadattā and neglects the affairs of his State. An enemy Āruṇi takes advantage of the situation, defeats his army, and forces it to retire to a frontier village Lāvāṇaka. The Minister Yaugandharāyaṇa wants to recover the kingdom. The only course left open to him is to get military aid from the neighbouring kingdom of Magadha. The best way of obtaining this aid is to make a matrimonial alliance, i.e., to marry Udyana to Padmāvatī, the Princess of Magadha. But Udayana refuses to marry as long as Vāsavadattā is alive. Vāsavadattā is therefore the only obstacle in the way. The interests of State demand her sacrifice. She must disappear and in such a way that the King may believe her to be dead. She is asked to co-operate with the Minister. For the sake of her husband and her adopted country, she agrees to make the sacrifice. One day, while the King is away on a hunting expedition, the palace is burnt down, and a rumour is spread, that Vāsava-

dattā and Yaugandharāyaṇa have both perished in the conflagration. Meanwhile they both proceed to Magadha disguised as hermits.

ACT—I.

SCENE—I.

A prayer by the Manager.

SCENE II [Forest].

Two guards drive people out. Vāsavadattā feels humiliated and indignant but is consoled by the Minister. A chamberlain appears and orders the guards not to drive people out. The Minister asks him the reason of driving people out and is told that Padmāvatī is to stay there for the day.

SCENE III.—[A forest hermitage.]

Padmāvatī appears. A proclamation is issued that any hermit whatsoever may come forward and ask any boon of the Princess. This affords an opportunity to the Minister who comes forward and begs that Vāsavadattā, whom he passes off as his sister, may be accepted as a ward by the Princess for some time. His request is granted.

SCENE IV.—[A path in the forest. The Scene then changes to Scene III.]

Enter a student, who brings the latest news from Lāvāṇaka. In heart-rending words, he gives a moving description of Udayana's great sorrow and of efforts made by the courtiers to console him.

SCENE V.—[Palace garden at the capital of Magadha.]

Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā are now good friends. The latter is teasing the former about her good looks and her would-be husband. A nurse appears and announces that Padmāvatī is betrothed to King Udayana. The news gives a shock to Vāsavadattā, who forgets herself for a moment,

and exclaims 'alas'. Every body is surprised. As there is a danger of the secret getting out, she invents an excuse for her unfortunate exclamation and saves the situation.

SCENE VI. [PALACE GARDEN.]

Preparations are being made for the wedding ceremony. Vāsavadattā sits alone lamenting her lot. She believes, she has lost her husband. In this sorrowful mood, she is accosted by a maid, with a basket of flowers, and is asked to plait a wedding garland for her would-be co-wife, Padmāvatī. She does not like the task but is compelled to do it. After the departure of the maid, she can no longer control her emotion and bursts out in a mournful song, composed by P. Rama Chandra Kushala of the Oriental College.

[Curtain.]

ACT II.

SCENE I. [A courtyard in the palace of the King of Magadha.]

The wedding being over, the Jester holds conversation with a maid servant.

SCENE II. [The park of the palace of the King of Magadha.]

Padmāvatī, Vāsavadattā, and a maid are strolling in the park. The King and the Jester appear from the other side. As Vāsavadattā keeps pardah, Padmāvatī avoids meeting her lord and they hide themselves in a bower of creepers. The King and the Jester come and sit at the entrance of this very bower. The ladies now cannot get out, are virtually made prisoners and are thus forced by circumstances to overhear the conversation between the King and the Jester, who are not aware of the presence of the ladies. Believing that they are alone, the Jester asks

the King to confess, which lady he loves best; Vāsavadattā or Padmāvatī. The King first hesitates, then declares that his heart is still set on Vāsavadattā. The ladies hear this declaration with different emotions. Vāsavadattā is pleased but controls herself, and does not let Padmāvatī see her joy. Meanwhile the King is reminded of his lost love and is in tears. The Jester goes out to fetch water to wash his master's face, stained with tears. Vāsavadattā gets an opportunity to slip away. Padmāvatī alone approaches her lord, who soon after goes out to keep an appointment.

SCENE III. [A court-yard in the palace.]

A maid-servant informs the Jester that Padmāvatī is suffering from a headache and asks him to communicate the same to King Udayana.

SCENE IV. [A pavilion.]

The King with Jester comes to be near his sick wife, finds her bed empty, himself lies down and is overtaken by sleep. As it is rather cold, the Jester goes to fetch his wrap.

SCENE V. [Ladies' Court.]

A maid-servant informs Vāsavadattā of Padmāvatī's illness and directs her to the pavilion to nurse her sick friend.

SCENE IV. [Pavilion, dimly lit.]

Enter Vāsavadattā who sees a sleeping figure whom she naturally thinks to be Padmāvatī, and whom she does not want to disturb in her sleep. As the breathing is normal she imagines that Padmāvatī's headache must have been cured. As one side of the bed only is occupied, Vāsavadattā lies down by the side of her supposed friend. The King dreams of Vāsavadattā and calls on her in his dream.

Vāsavadattā jumps up but as no one is there, she stays for a while to gladden her eyes and her heart. She goes but not before the King has caught a glimpse of her. He rushes out after her but runs against a door post. The Jester enters and ridicules his Master's idea that Vāsavadattā is alive. The King is called to the palace and learns that his enemy is defeated and his kingdom is recovered.

[Curtain.]

ACT III.

SCENE I [In front of the palace gate.]

A chamberlain holds conversation with a porteress.

SCENE II. [Private court-room in the palace.]

The lute Ghoṣavatī, on which Udayana gave lessons to Vāsavadattā, is recovered. This reminds Udayana of the good old days of his romance, and he is overwhelmed with grief. A chamberlain and a nurse, sent by the father of Vāsavadattā arrive, bringing with them portraits of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. Padmāvatī is surprised to recognise her ward in Vāsavadattā's portrait. She communicates this news to the King, who sends for Vāsavadattā. Yaugandharāyaṇa now appears to claim his sister back from Padmāvatī. Vāsavadattā is brought veiled but is recognised by her nurse. Yaugandharāyaṇa throws off his disguise. Vāsavadattā is restored to the King and the play ends happily.

[Curtain.]

Reports of Various Sections.

SECTIONS.

Room No. 1.

(Law College, first floor.)

Vedic Section.

President:—A. C. WOOLNER, M. A., C.I.E.
Secretary:—VEDA VYASA, M.A.

Papers:—

1.	Prabhu Datt Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., B. Litt., Ph.D., I.E.S., Presidency College, Calcutta.	Exegesis of the Ṛgveda with special reference to the critical and Traditional Method of Interpretation.
2.	R. Shama Shastry, B.A., Ph.D., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.	The Aśvins.
3.	Ekendra Nath Ghosh, M.Sc., Calcutta.	The twin-gods Aśvins of the Ṛgveda.
4.	V. K. Rajavade, M. A., Poona.	Two Vedic Words.
5.	Bhagvad Datta, B.A., Superintendent, Research Department, D.A.V. College, Lahore.	Pre-Sāyaṇa Commentators of the Ṛgveda.
6.	Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D. Phil., (Oxon.) Prof. of Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore.	Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara.
7.	C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B., Hony. Fellow, Bombay University.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

8.	Veda Vyasa, M.A., Lahore.	The Literature of the Jaiminiyas.
9.	Bhaves Chandra Bannnerji, Professor, Kishanagar College, Kishnagar, Bengal.	Aryan Morality in the Brāhmaṇa Period.
10.	Rama Chandra Sharma, M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit, D.A.V. College, Jallandhar.	The Vedic Ṛṣis.
11.	S. V. Venkateswara, M. A., the University of Mysore.	Vedic Iconography.
12.	S. V. Venkateswara, M.A., the University, Mysore.	Traces of Pre-historic Art in the Vedic Texts.
13.	M. K. Sircar, M.A., D.A.V. College, Lahore.	The Institutes of Kāś-yapa.
14.	C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil., (Oxon), University Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras.	The Relation of Accent and Meaning in Ṛgveda.
15.	C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), University Prof. of Madras.	Commentaries on the Ṛgveda and the Nirukta
16.	R. Zimmerman, S.J., Ph.D., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.	Ṛta.
17.	M. D. Shastri., M. A., D. Phil., Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.	Harisvāmin, the Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
18.	Madhava Shastri Bhandari, Oriental College, Lahore.	Vaidikavāṅmayam (in Sanskrit.)
19.	I. J. S. Taraporewala, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.	Gāthas of Zarathustr.
20.	Agastya Sanyasi.	Aśvamedha.
21.	Agastya Sanyasi.	Aryan Races of Vedic Times.

The Vedic Section of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference held its sitting on Wednesday, November 21st, 1928 under the presidentship of Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University. The following delegates and members attended the sitting:—

(1) Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University.
(2) Dr. R. C. Zimmermann, Ph. D., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
(3) Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil (Oxon.) University, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras.
(4) Pt. Charu Deva, M.A., M.O.L., Professor of Sanskrit, D.A.-V. College, Lahore.
(5) Pt. Bhagavaddatta, B.A., Superintendent, Research Department, D.A.-V. College, Lahore.
(6) Prof. S. V. Venkateswara, M.A., the University, Mysore.
(7) Prof. K. Chattopadhya, the University of Allahabad.
(8) Prof. Ram Chand Sharma, M.A., D. A. V. College, Jallandhar.
(9) Pt. Faqir Chand, Govt. College, Ludhiana.
(10) Mr. R. C. Khanna, M.A., Government Inter. College Pasrur.
(11) Pt. Lachhmi Dhar, M.A., M. O. L., Head of Sanskrit Department, Delhi University.
(12) Dr. Siddheshvara Varma, M.A., D. Lit., Jammu.
(13) W. Norman Brown, Esq.
(14) Prof. Gulshan Rai, M.A., S. D. College, Lahore.
(15) I. J. S. Taraporewala, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta.
(16) Bhagat Ishwar Dass, The Palms, Lahore.
(17) Mr. Hans Raj, M.A., Lahore.

(18) Pt. Raghubar Dayal, M.A., M. O. L., Principal, S. D. College, Lahore.

(19) R. B. Lala Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archæology, Delhi.

(20) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, University of Calcutta.

(21) Pt. Ganpat Rai, M.A.. Govt. College, Multan.

(22) Prof. M. K. Sircar, M.A., D. A. V. College, Lahore.

(23) Mr. Veda Vyasa, M.A., Lecturer in Epigraphy, Panjab University, Lahore.

(24) Prof. Vishwanath, Gurukul Kangri, Lahore.

The following papers were read :—

1.	Ṛta.	R. Zimmermann.
2.	Gāthas of Zarthustr.	I. J. S. Taraporewala.
3.	Pre-Sāyaṇa Commentators of the Ṛgveda.	Bhagavad Datta.
4.	Commentaries on the Ṛgveda and the Nirukta.	C. Kunhan Raja.
5.	The Literature of the Jaiminiyas.	Veda Vyasa.
6.	The Vedic Ṛṣis	Ram Chandra Sharma.
7.	Vedic Iconography	S. V. Venkateswara.
8.	Traces of Pre-historic Art in Vedic Texts.	S. V. Venkateswara.
9.	The Relation of Accent and Meaning in the Ṛgveda.	C. Kunhan Raja.
10.	Dāśarājña Battle.	K. Chattopadhyaya.
11.	The three Vedic Jyotis.	Vishvanath.

Many papers elicited interesting discussions in which the President and Messrs. Taraporewala, Kunhan Raja, K. Chattopadhyaya, S. V. Venkateswara, Bhagavaddatta and others took part.

The authors of other papers were not present and their papers were taken as read.

Professor C. Kunhan Raja moved the following resolution:—

'The Vedic and Avestan section of the Fifth Vedic Oriental Conference requests the sectional president to bring to the notice of the Conference that Prof. Geldner of Marburg University, one of the foremost of Vedic and Avestan scholars, is celebrating his 75th birthday on 17th December and to move the Conference to show its appreciation of the Professor's services in a suitable way on the occasion.'

The resolution was passed unanimously. The president briefly referred to the great work of Professor Geldner and promised to convey the resolution to the Council.

VEDA VYASA,
Secretary.

ROOM No. 2.

(Law College, first floor.)

Philology-Section.

President:—S. K. CHATTERJI, M.A., D. Litt.
Secretary:—GAURI SHANKAR, M.A.,

Papers:—

	Author	Title
1.	Umakanta Vidya Sekhar, Presidency College, Madras.	Some Fundamental Principles of Indian Grammar.
2.	R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.	The unsolved Riddle of the words: Hind, Hindi, Hindu and Hindusthana.

3.	Devendra Kumar Banerji, Professor, Govt. College, Chittagong.	On the Origin of Sanskrit and the Prakrits.
4.	Lachhmidhar, M.A,, M.O.L., Head of the Sanskrit Department, University of Delhi.	Original Home of the Aryans.
5.	Siddhesvara Varma, M.A., D. Litt., Professor, P. W. College, Jammu.	The Neuter Gender in Bhadarwahi.
6.	R.N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.	Origin of the Alphabet.
7.	R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S. Benares.	Origin of the Indian numerals from the Arabic.
8.	Charudeva Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. A. V. College, Lahore.	Bhartṛhari : A Critical Study with Special Reference to the Vākyapadīya and its commentaries.
9.	Sukumar Sen, M.A., Calcutta University.	The Use of the Instrumental in Middle Indo-Aryan.
10.	Gauri Shankar, M.A., Govt. College, Lahore.	A Short Account of Ḍogarī Dialect.
11.	Andhravidyavachaspati, Sahityasarasvathi Vidyavinoda Kavibhushana Satavadhani Doma Venkataswamy Gupta, F.A.R.U., Pandita, Christian College, Madras.	Significance of Sanskrit in Telugu Language.

12.	R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.	Origin of Words.
13.	R.N. Saha, M.R.AS., Benares.	The discovery of the Maithili or Mathur Bhat lipi of Behar as is still used by the girls of Behar in their correspondence along with the Kaithi script.
14.	M. K. Sircar, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, D. A. V. College, Lahore.	The Kanawari Dialect.
15.	Udipi Venkata Krishna Rao, B.A., (Hons.), Sanskrit Pandita, Christian College, Madras.	Tulu—a few Philogical facts about the language.
16.	J. Rajagopala Rao, Superintendent, of Vernacular Studies, Christian College, Madras.	Kanarese Poets of Telugu Origin.
17.	J. Rajagopala Rao, Superintendent of Vernacular Studies, Christian College Madras.	The King Poets of Telugu.
18.	J. Rajagopala Rao, Superintendent of Vernacular Studies. Christian College, Madras.	The Andhras.
19.	J. Rajagopala Rao, Superintendent of Vernacular Studies. Christlan College, Madras.	The Telugu Language.

No.	Author	Subject
20.	Andhravidyavachaspati, Sahithyasarasvati, Vidyavinoda, Kavibhushana Satavadhani Doma Venkataswamy Gupta, F.A.R.U., Pandita Christian College, Madras.	Significance of Sanskrit in Telugu.
21.	K. Narsinga Rao, B.A., L.T., Kanarese Pandita, Christian College, Madras.	A Short Survey of Kannada Language and Literature.
22.	Frank R. Blacke, John Hopkin's University.	A Practical Method of Acquiring a large Number of Tongues.
23.	Banarsi Das, M.A., Ph. D., Oriental College, Lahore.	Nasal Vowels in Panjabi.
24.	Jivanji Jamashedji Modi.	The derivation of the Gujrātī word करंजो or कारंजो karañjo or kārañjo.
25.	Babu Ram Saksena, M.A., University of Allahabad.	A specimen of Thara Language.
26-19.	R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.	Origin of the Article. Origin of Plural Suffixes. Origin of Verbal roots.
30.	Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt, Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, University of Calcutta.	A study of the Bazaar Hindustani of Calcutta.

31.	Suniti Kamar Chatterji, M.A., D. Litt, Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, University of Calcutta.	Some more Austric words in Indo-Aryan.
31.	George N. Recrich, M.A.	Tibetan Phonetics.
33.	S. Jambunathan, M.A., University College, Rangoon.	A Prolegomenon to the study of Burmese Etymology.

Present:—

A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., (in the chair).
I.J.S. Taraporewala Esq., M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta.
S. K. Chatterji Esq., M.A., D. Litt., Calcutta.
Siddheshwara Varma, Esq., M.A., D. Litt.
Banarsi Das, Esq., M.A., Ph. D.
Lachhmi Dhar Esq., M.A., St. Stephens College, Delhi.
Vishwa Nath Shastri Dravid, Esq., Gwaliar.
Ram Swarup Shastri, Esq., Aligarh.
Bhupal Singh, Esq., Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
H. C. Sehgal, Esq., M.A.,
A. D. Azhar, Esq., M.A.,
Bhagvad Datt, Esq., B.A.,
R. Zimmermann, Esq., St. Xavier's College Bombay.
Sri Niwas Chaturvedi, Esq., M.A. Indore.
Khetresh Chattopadhya, Esq., M.A., Allahabad.
Ram Chand Esq., M.A.,
Duni Chand, Esq., M.A.,
Gauri Shankar, Esq., M.A., (Secretary).

The presidential address in the Philology section was delivered by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt., in the Hailey Hall on the 20th of November, 1928 with Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., in the chair.

After the Presidential address by Dr. Chatterjee, the Linguistic Society of India held its meeting as mentioned in the general programme of the Conference. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, M.A., Ph. D., delivered his presidential address.

The first and the second meeting of the section was held on the 21st and 22nd of November with Dr. S. K. Chatterjee in the chair.

The President at the very start ruled that the papers contributed by one R. N. Saha must be scratched as they were mere trash. Such papers, he said ought not have been included in the programme of the Conference. Out of the 37 papers in the list given in the programme only 12 were selected to be read and discussed in the meeting. Mr. Charudeva Shastri's paper was transferred to the classical section as its suitably belonged to that section. Some of the papers out of these 12 whose authors were absent were taken as read. The President read out the chief points from these papers and discussed them. Such papers were those by Messrs. Sukumar Sen on the use of Instrumental, Frank R. Blacke, Baburam Suksena, Jivanji Jamshed Modi, and George, N. Reorich. Papers of Messrs. Sukumar Sen, Baburam Saksena and Recrich were taken away by Dr. Chatterjee along with his own papers.

Dr. Banarsi Das read his paper on Nasal Vowels in Panjabi. He said that it was an extract from his Thesis 'Phonology of Panjabi.' The paper was interesting. Pt. Gauri Shankar was asked to read his paper on Ḍogrī. The chief point which was most interesting was passive voice in Ḍogrī. The President asked him to carry further researches with regard to that point.

The most interesting paper in the afternoon of the 21st was that by Dr. Siddheswar Varma. His subject was the

neuter gender in Bhadarwahi. His researches have carried us further in discovering a third Indian language which preserves the neuter of Sanskrit. His paper was very much appreciated. Messrs. Woolner, Taraporewala, Norman Brown, took part in the discussions that followed.

Dr. Chatterjee read out his papers on the Bazar Hindustani of Calcutta which he said was going astray from the rules of Grammar, and it was just possible after some time that it may establish itself as a separate language. Its chief characteristics were the non-conformity of gender and verb and number and verb.

He gave some more Austric words in Indo-Aryan. An unhappy incident in the meeting was that Mr. Lachhmi Dhar of Delhi University was excited while introducing his subject and left the meeting without finishing his paper in an angry mood. His paper was of some importance to Philology. He said that he was going to repudiate all the theories so far put forth by Western Scholars in order to settle the original home of the Aryans. He first tackled the Problem of accent in the Vedas and Greek. The President at this point said to the learned speaker that discussions on this point had already taken place and he referred the speaker to early Philology-Literature in the 20th century. At this he was enraged and went away in spite of the entreaties of the President and other members to finish his paper. This was rather unpleasant.

The remaining of the time was given to the work of the Linguistic Society of India.

8-3-1929. GAURI SHANKAR,

Secretary.

Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India held on the 20th and 22nd of November, 1928, at the Hailey Hall, Panjab University, Lahore.

Present.

1. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Esq., M. A., Ph. D., Calcutta (in the chair).
2. A. C. Woolner, Esq., M. A., C. I. E., Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University.
3. S. K. Chatter jee, Esq., M. A., D. Litt, Calcutta.
4. Siddheshwar Varma Esq., M. A., D. Litt., Jammu.
5. Banarsi Das, Esq., M. A., Ph. D., Lahore.
6. Duni Chand Esq., M. A., Lyallpur.
7. R. Zimmermann, Esq., M. A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
8. W. Norman Brown, Esq., M. A., Pennsylvania (U. S. A.)
9. K. Chattopadhyaya, Esq., M. A., Allahabad.
10. H. C. Sahgal, Esq., M. A., Lahore.
11. A. D. Azhar, Esq., M. A., Lahore.
12. Vishwa Nath Shastri Dravida, Esq., Gwalior.
13. Lachhmi Dhar, Esq., M. A., Delhi.
14. Ram Sarup Shastri, Esq., Aligarh.
15. Bhupal Singh, Esq., M. A., Lahore.
16. Ganpat Rai, Esq., M. A., Multan.
17. Ram Chandra, Esq., Shastri Lahore.
18. Shri Nivas Chaturvedi, Esq., M. A., Indore.
19. Gauri Shankar, Esq., M. A., Lahore.

(Honorary Secretary.)

The working committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference held at Lahore had very kindly allotted some time in its general programme to the Annual meeting of

the Linguistic Society of India. Accordingly at the conclusion of the Presidenial address in the Philology Section by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee on the 20th of November, 1928, at 2-30 p. m. the work of the Linguistic Society of India was begun in the Hailey Hall.

Dr. Taraporewala before he delivered his address moved the resolution congratulating Sir George A. Grierson on the conferment on him of the title of O. M. and the completion of the monumental work, *The Linguistic Survey of India.* Dr. Taraporewala remarked:—

"It was by some miraculous chance that the inauguration of the Linguistic Society of India coincided with the bestowal of the Order of Merit on the one man of all who had done the highest service to Indian Linguistics, the greatest living authority on the languages of India, Sir George Abraham Grierson. When it is remembered that the Order of Merit is the highest possible distinction the British Empire can bestow, and that it is bestowed not for any political nor for any military nor for any party service, but for *sheer merit*, our pleasure and gratification are all the greater. Quite apart from the honour done to a great scholar, who unites to great learning a modesty equally great, I look upon this Order of Merit as a recognition of Indian Languages and of their importance in the life and progress of the British Empire. This very gratifying coincidence I would look upon as a most happy augury for our future. We could not have begun any better."

Dr. Taraporewala then delivered his Presidential address full of valuable suggestions for the guidance of the Society. The chief points to which he drew attention of the Linguists are:—

1. One important part of our work should be what may be termed 'popularising' our work. A regular set of lectures by some of our members, each in his own province to explain what the principles of modern Linguistics are would be very useful and necessary propaganda. Articles on the subject may be contributed to different periodicals. We must humanize Linguistics.

2. There is a need of specialists for each Language and Dialect of India. *The Linguistic Survey of India* shall be a land mark—a beacon-light to us in all our future work. But what we should try to do now is to expand it. Grierson has blazed a trail for us through what appeared before us a pathless forest. It is for us to make *pucca* roads through it and pleasant paths for future generations of students.

3. If Linguistic studies in India are to be of any value at all for the future they ought to be co-ordinated. India to day stands not for Indian (*i.e*, Hindu) culture alone, but for Aryan or Indo-Iranian (*i.e.*, Hindu-Moslem) culture. We must bear in mind that though we may speak Hindi or Urdu, or Bengali or Gujrati, or Panjabi or any other language, we are all parts of the one great entity India.

The older *Prātishākhyās* may be carefully studied with regard to the ancient pronunciation of Sanskrit and that should be standard, at any rate as regards to Sanskrit Phonology. In Phonetics if we adopt completely the International Script, and, if need be, suggest some other symbols that may be needed, we would certainly get a very desirable uniformity in our work.

Moreover, the terminology in Sanskrit Grammar as used by *Pāṇini* and early European writers on the subject requires overhauling while applying the same terms to

modern Indian Languages and Dialects. The modern notions of Grammar and Grammatical terminology are in many respects fundamentally different from those that prevailed even so late as a generation back.

5. We have to begin at the beginning with regard to our Vernacular Grammars if we wish them to be in a line with modern ideas of Linguistic Science. The chief value of our new style of Grammar should lie in the fact that it is a Grammar of Function. We should, first of all, settle the basic terminology, taking half a dozen of important Aryan Languages of India: Hindi (including Urdu), Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Panjabi and Maithili.

The basic terminology should be such as would be as near as possible international. Along these lines the detailed Grammars should be prepared and some latitude should be left for individual differences. There should be also a central committee to co-ordinate the results and to see that uniformity is observed. It is a task which requires several years but we may be able if we set about it earnestly to present a comparative grammar of the six languages mentioned incorporating the basic terminology by the time the next Oriental Conference meets.

6. I may also suggest that similar grammars be prepared for Sanskrit and Persian. The Dravidian and other Non-Aryan languages would have also to be considered and in their case I would suggest separate committees for each separate group. And all these different committees should work in full cognisance of each other's labours.

7. We are just at the beginning and it is quite essential that from now we should be strictly scientific and accurate.

When the address was over the resolution regarding Sir George A. Grierson was seconded by Dr. Chatterjee and Principal Woolner who spoke in terms of appreciation of the great work achieved by Sir George A. Grierson. Then the resolution was put to vote and was unanimously carried.

It was resolved that a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to Sir George A. Grierson. The resolution runs thus:—" The Linguistic Society of India, congratulates Sir George A. Grierson most heartily both upon the completion of his colossal task—*The Linguistic Survey of India*—and upon the Order of Merit bestowed upon him by the King-Emperor. The Linguistic Survey of India is an achievement gigantic as well as unique. It is a work which is the first of its kind in the linguistic history of India and as regards the scale of undertaking probably unequalled in the world. It shall always be an authority as far as regards its broad and comprehensive grasp of the whole field and it shall remain authoritative for many a year to come as far as regards the individual languages. It is the most important achievement in the linguistic history of India and marks the beginning of a new epoch of scientific study of the Languages of this country.

" The honour done to Sir George A. Grierson is unique in as much as this is the first time that a great work done by a lover of this land and its people has found Imperial recognition. It is also unique in as much as it is the first time that the importance of Indian Languages has been recognised. The Linguistic Society of India feels it as a specially happy augury that so soon after they had started their work, this great honour should have been bestowed on the greatest student of Indian Languages.

"In addition to his great learning Sir George A. Grierson possesses the true marks of greatness, simplicity and perfect modesty which have won for him the admiration and affection of all who have had the happiness of coming into contact with him. The members of the Linguistic Society of India wish him many years of happiness and usefulness and desire to convey to him their hope that he may continue for a long time to guide and inspire the students of the Languages of India."

Dr. Varma moved another resolution to the effect that the Linguistic Society of India do undertake to publish "Grierson Commemoration Volume." It was seconded by Dr. Chatterjee and unanimously carried.

The meeting then adjourned for the next day.

SECOND DAY.

At 10 a.m. on the 22nd of November the Founders of the Society were photographed.

The second sitting of the Linguistic Society of India came in the afternoon in the Philology Section.

1. The Hon. Secretary read the Annual Report as contained in circular No. 7 of the Society and it was confirmed by the President. Extract from the report:

"The Society was started on the 1st of April, 1928 when its first meeting was held at Lahore under the Presidentship of Principal A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E. Opinions of eminent scholars had been invited by issuing a circular with regard to the advisability of founding such a Society and scholars of Linguistics in India and outside hailed the inauguration of such a society. Dr. I.J.S Taraporewala was elected President of the Society

for the year and Pt. Gauri Shankar was asked to act as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer for the year.

" The Society has so far been able to publish six Circulars, Proceedings of a Meeting and Fundamental Rules. These publications comprise about a hundred foolscap sheets of paper. In these Circulars the following Languages and Dialects of India have been scientifically dealt with in their various aspects:—*Bengali, Malayalam, Tibetan, Kashmiri, Bhadarwahi, Gujri, Panjabi, and Dogri.* There were five phonetic transcriptions of *The North Wind and Sun* in *Bhadarwahi, Panjabi,* *Dogri, Kashmiri and Tibetan.*"

2. The Fundamental Rules of the Society as recommended by the sub-committee came up for consideration. All members present took a keen interest in the discussion of the Rules and with many important alterations they were finally adopted. Dr. Brown of the Pennsylvania University (U.S.A.) took an active part in all the discussions regarding the codification of Rules. The Rules were finally passed and codified.

3. Sir George A. Grierson, Kt., K.C.I.E., O.M., was nominated by the Executive Committee to be the first Honorary Member of the Society, vide Fundamental Rule No. 10. The Secretary was asked to convey the information to Sir George A. Grierson.

4. The following office holders for the session 1928-1930 were elected :—

President	Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala, M.A., Ph. D.
Vice-President	Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt.
Honorary Secretary	Pt. Gauri Shankar, M.A.
Treasurer	Dr. Banarsi Das Jain M.A., Ph. D.

Nominated Members 1. Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, M.A., D. Litt.
2. Mr. Babu Ram Saksena, M.A.

5. The following were elected to act on the Board of Editors for "Grierson Commemoration Volume":—

Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. S. Varma and Pt. Gauri Shankar.

6. With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting dispersed.

GAURI SHANKAR,
Hon. Secretary,
LAHORE.

ROOM NO. 3.

(Law College, first floor.)

Classical Sanskrit Section.

President:—Prof. KUPPUSWAMI SHASTRI M. A; I. E. S.

Secretary:—GULBAHAR SINGH, M. A.

Papers:—

1. Helen M. Johnson, Guggenheim Research Fellow, America. — The Ādiśvaracaritra, the first book of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra by Hemacandrācārya.
2. S. K. De., M. A., D. Litt., Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali, University of Dacca. — A Newly discovered Sanskrit Kāvya.
3. K. A. Subramania Iyer, M. A., Reader in Sanskrit, University of Lucknow. — The Particle *mā* and Bhāsa.

4.	P. C. Sengupta, Lecturer in Mathematics, Bethune College, and Calcutta University Lecturer in Indian Astronomy.	Āryābhāṭa, the Father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy.
5.	Venkata Krishna Ram, Sanskrit Pandita, Christian College, Madras.	Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin—their relative chronology.
6.	Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.	The Budhistic and Neo-Budhistic nucleus of thought in Alaṅkāra literature.
7.	Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.	Is Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā, prior to Bāṇabhaṭṭa.
8.	V. V. Dixit, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit.	Wit and humour in Sanskrit literature.
9.	A. Govinda Warriar, B. A., B. L., Eranakulam.	Literary Patronage under the Zamorins of Calicut.
10.	V. G. Apte and D. A. Apte, Poona.	Karaṇa Kaustubha.
11.	Gulbahar Singh, M. A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Government College, Lahore.	Sanskrit Prose.
12.	Amarnatha Jha, M. A., Prof. of English Literature, Muir Central College, Allahabad.	The Maithili Drama.
13.	Gaya Prasad Dikshit, M.A., Lucknow University.	The Yayāticarita.

14.	V. H. Vader, B. A., LL. B., Chikodi, P. O. Belgaum, Dist. Bombay.	The Garuḍa Legend of the Mahābhārata and its Astronomical Interpretation.
15.	Deb Kumar Dutt, Dacca Intermediate College, Dacca.	Trend of Thought in Sanskrit and Bengali Dramas.
16.	V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, B. A., Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.	Paṇḍita Ghanaśyāma.
17.	Lakshman Sarup, M. A., D. Phil., (Oxon.,) Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental, College. Lahore.	Tirumalāmbā's Ambikāpariṇaya.
18.	Ramanoti, B.A., Hons., University Research Scholar, Madras.	The Paryyavidyā.
19.	Ramanoti, B.A., Hons., University Research Scholar, Madras.	The Pratijñāmocana of Bhīma.
20.	Makhan Lal Mukerji, Presidency College, Calcutta.	Gītagovinda and its Critics.
21.	V. Bhattacharya, Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Bengal.	The Vimala Ratnalekha or an Epistle to King Nayapala of Magadha from Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna.
22.	S. K. Belvalker, I. E. S., Deccan College, Poona.	*i.* Notes, textual and exegetical on a few Upaniṣadic passages.

23.	S. K. Belvalker, I. E. S., Deccan College, Poona.	*ii.* Notes, textual and exegetical on a few passages from the Śakuntalā.
24.	Narayan Chandra Bannerji, M. A., 30, Tarak Chatterji Lane, Calcutta.	On the Economic ideas and speculations of the Hindus.
25.	Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., 2 Mahajanpur Lane, Dacca.	A newly discovered Sanskrit Commentary on the Prakrit Epic, the Dahamuhavaha or the Rāvaṇavaha.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph. D., the President elect of the classical Sanskrit section, being unable to attend, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. S. Kuppuswāmi, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras, was requested to take the chair.

Twenty-five papers were received in the section, out of which the following ten papers were read, the rest being taken as read:—

1. "Śrī Vidyāpīṭha of Etawah (U. P.)" by Pt. Pushkar Nath Raina.

2. "A newly discovered Sanskrit Kāvya" by S. K. De., Esq., M.A., D. Litt. The chairman made a few remarks and suggestions about the paper.

3. "Karaṇa Kaustubha" by V. G. Apte., Esq., Retired Principal, New Poona College, Poona and Mr. D. V. Apte.

4. "A newly discovered Sanskrit Commentary on the Prākrit Epic, the Dahamuhavaha or the Rāvaṇavaha" by Rādhāgovinda Basāk, M.A.

The chairman and Dr. S. K. De made remarks.

5. "Notes, textual and exegetical on a few Upanişadic passages" by S. K. Belvalker, Esq., I. E. S., Deccan College, Poona.

Mr. Rādhagovinda Basak, M.A., Pt. Śrī Nivāsa Chaturvedi of the Hulkar College, Indore, and Mr. Y. V. Rāmachandra Dikshitar, Professor of Vedānta, Sanskrit College, Madras, took part in the discussion that ensued.

6. "Slavery in Ancient India" by F.C. Bannerji, Esq., M.A. Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University and the chairman joined the discussion that followed.

7. "A grammatical note on the word 'Mauryā" by Pt. Jaya Chandra Shastri, M.A., M.B.L.

The chairman, Dr. Barua and Pt. Bhagavad Datta of the Research Department, D. A. V. College, Lahore, joined discussion.

8. "Some points concerning the Mahāniddesa" by Dr. B. M. Barua, Professor, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

N.B.—The scholars attending the meeting of the section agreed to suggest that all the Sanskrit and Prakrit passages occurring in the papers should be given to Devanāgarī characters except when philological considerations require that Roman characters should be used.

"Bhartṛhari: A critical study with special reference to the Vākyapadīya and its commentaries."

By Mr. Charu Deva Shastri, M.A., M. O. L., of the D. A. V. College, Lahore.

The chairman made remarks about the paper.

10. "Economic Ideas and Speculations on Ancien' India."

By N. C. Bannerji, Esq., M.A.

After concluding remarks by the learned chairman, the Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to the chariman for kindly consenting to preside at the section and for the great tact and fairness and the ripe scholarship that he brought to bear upon the discharge of his duties.

GULBAHAR SINGH,
Secretary.

ROOM NO. 4.

(Law College, ground floor)

Philosophy—Section.

President:—S. N. DAS GUPTA, M.A., D. Litt.

Secretary:—JAICHAND SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.

Papers:—

1. Rakesh Ranjan Sharma, M.A., Dacca University. — The Yogācāra Theory of the External World.
2. M. R. Ry. K. Gopalakrishnamma, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. — The Advaitin's Theory of External Reality.
3. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharjea, M.A. Dacca. — Progress of Brahma-Vidyā from the Upaniṣads to the Sūtras.
4. Mangal Deva Shastri, M.A., D. Phil., (Oxon) Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. — Metrical Basis of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini.
5. Udaya Vira, Brahmamaha-Vidyalaya, Lahore. — Antiquity of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras.

6.	H. Sharma, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Sanatan Dharm College, Nawabganj, Cawnpore.	A short summary of the Jayamaṅgalā and other Commentaries.
7.	J. K. Sarkar, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Muzaffarpur, Bihar.	The Buddhistic Conception of Sublimation.
8.	Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Sanskrit, Calcutta.	Spiritual Implications of the Māyā Doctrine of Vedānta.
9.	D. Srinivasa Char, M.A., Maharaja's College, Mysore.	A critical review of Bhāvapradīpikā, an old and unpublished ancient commentary on Śrī Mādhvācārya's Gītā Bhāṣya.
10.	Umesha Mishra, M.A., Kavyatirtha, Lecturer, in Sanskrit, the University of Allahabad.	Murārestṛtiyaḥ Panthaḥ, views on certain topics of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā.
11.	Kanoo Mal, M.A.,	Schools and sub-schools of Vedānta Philosophy.
12.	Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, Deputy Accountant General, Calcutta.	Śrī Caitanya, his religion and Philosophy.
13.	T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Librarian, Adyar Library Madras.	The Date of Śrī-Śaṅkarācārya and some of his Predecessors.
14.	T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Librarian, Adyar Library, Madras.	Prabhākara and his Works.

15.	Prataprai M. Modi, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Samaldas College, Bhavanagar.	Bādarāyaṇa and Gauḍapāda.
16.	S. K. Ramanatha Sastrigal University of Madras, Madras.	Murārimiśra.
17.	V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar M.A., Dip. Econ., Madras University.	The place of Buddhism in Indian History.
18.	S. Krishnamachariar, Senior Pandit, Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Egmore, Madras.	An investigation on forgotten works, quoted by Vedāntadeśikā.
19.	R. M. Shastri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Allahabad University.	1. Śaṅkara and the Māṇḍukyopaniṣad.
20.	R. M. Shastri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Allahabad University.	2. The Culture of the Brāhmaṇa-Kāyasthas.
21.	Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya Principal Vidyabhavana, Visva-Bharati.	The Doctrine of Ātman and of Non-Ātman.
22.	Badri Nath Shastri, M.A., Lucknow University, Lucknow.	Place of God in the early Vaiśeṣika as represented by the Sūtras.
23.	Shyam Charan Chakravarty, Professor, Rajshahi College, Bengal.	The Influence of Sāṅkhya system on the Tantric form of worship in Bengal.

The presidential address was delivered in the Maynard Hall on the 20th November 1928 by Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, M. A., D. Litt. The other papers were read on the following day under the presidentship of Dr. Gupta. First of all Pt. Vidhu Shekhara Bhaṭṭācārya read his paper on 'The Doctrine of Ātman and of non-Ātman'. The chairman made a few remarks in appreciation. Then Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar, M. A., Ph. D., read paper on 'Spiritual Implications of the māyā doctrine of Vedānta. In this paper an attempt is made to adopt western philosophical phraseology to connote the phenomena bearing on the Indian philosophy.

Pt. Udayavīra's paper was mainly concerned with textual criticism and was read in part only. As the number of the papers was large and time short, the President proposed that only a general outline of the paper should be put before the Conference. Mr. Umera Candra Bhaṭṭācārya described the main points of his thesis. The audience seemed eager to finish the whole business, so there was no discussion. Mr. Prataprai M. Modi's paper ellicited criticism in which Pt. Vidhu Shekdar Bhaṭṭāchāryā and the President took part. In their opinion, the Kārikas of Gauḍapāda aimed at repeating the Buddhistic view and not that of Bādarāyaṇa as suggested by the author. Mr. H. Sharma of Cawnpore read his paper in the 2nd meeting, bringing the philosophical section to a close.

JAYA CHANDRA,
Shastri, M. A.,
Secretary, Philosophy Section.

ROOM NO. 5.

(Law College, groutud floor).

Arabic and Persian.

President:—SIR MOHAMED IQBAL, KT., M.A., PH. D.
Secretary:—MOHAMED IQBAL, M.A., PH. D.

Papers:—

	Author	Paper
1.	A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph. D., Professor, Dacca University, Dacca.	Fairs in Pre-Islamic Arabia.
2.	Abid Ahmad Ali, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic, Muslim University, Aligarh.	An Appreciation of Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry with special reference to the Poetry of an Nabighah-adh-Dhubyani.
3.	Khwajah Abdul Wahid, Secretary, Islamic Research Institute, Lahore.	The Scientific Spirit in the Quran.
4.	Muhammad Sadr-ud-Din, M.A., D. Litt., Professor of Arabic, Government College, Lahore.	The Quran and Freedom of Will.
5.	Z. H. ' Alawi, M.A., Inspector of Madrasas and Muhammedan Schools, U. P. (Allahabad).	The Position of Witness in Islamic Law.
6.	A. S. Tritton, M.A., D. Litt., Professor of Arabic, University of Aligarh.	Ed Dajjal, Anti-Christ.
7.	Hamid Hasan Qadiri, Lecturer in Persian and Urdu, St. John's College, Agra.	Some peculiar Aspects of Arabic Philology.

8.	R. N. Saha, M.R.A.S., Benares.	The Discovery of America and the Gulf Stream by the Arabs from the evidences of Quran about the 5th century A D.
9.	Naimur Rahman. M.A., M.R.A.S., University of Allahabad.	A Manuscript of Nasir Ali Sarhindi's "Religious" Mathnawi.
10.	Fazl-i-Haqq, M.A., P.E.S., Govt. College, Lahore.	Adina Beg, Governor of Lahore.
11.	Din Mohammad, Simla.	Formation of the Aorist in Persian—a common error in the rules on the subject.
12.	Mohammad Abdullah Chughtai, Lecturer, Islamia College, Lahore.	"Amir-ul-Umara Ali Mardan Khan"—the Engineer - in - Chief of Shah Jahan's Time.
13.	Syed Mohammad Abdullah, M.A., M.O.L., Research Student in Persian, University of the Panjab.	Hindus and the Study of Persian in the Pre-Mughal Period.
14.	M. Abdul Latif Khan Qadiri, H. P. Lecturer, Govt. Intermediate College, Jhansi.	The Peacock Throne—a Synopsis.
15.	M. Nizam-ud-Din, Ph. D., Professor of Persian, Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan.	The Magnum Opus of Muhammad Awfi. The Jawami-ul-Hikayat.

16.	Mahammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph. D., Professor, Oriental College, Lahore.	A Study of the Kulliyat of 'Imad-i-Faqih of Kirman.
17.	Mohammad Shafi, M.A., Oriental College, Lahore.	The Earliest Biographical Notice of Umar Khayyam and the author of this notice.
18.	Mohammad Shafi, M.A., Oriental College, Lahore.	The Afghan Colony at Kasur.
19.	A. F. M. Abdul Qadir, M.A., Professor, Islamia College, Calcutta.	Hindu Contribution to Persian Literature.
20.	Moulvi Syed Mozaffar-ud-Din, M.A., Islamia College Calcutta.	Brief Outline of Persian Poetry in India with special reference to Amir Khusroo's Poetry.
21.	Syed Mohd. Badr-ud-Din Alavi, Lecturer in Arabic, M.O., Intermediate College, Aligarh.	Abu Taman and his Poetry.
22.	Rashid Ahmad, M.A., Govt. Intermediate College, Ludhiana.	Zeb-un-Nisa.
23.	Mohd. Ibrar Hussain Farooqi, B.A.	Comparative Study of Nizami and Khusroo (Haft-Pekar and Pasht Behisht).
24.	Abdul Aziz Memon, Aligarh, (U. P.).	Aqdam Kitab fi'l 'Alam ('Javidan-i-Khirad',) in Arabic.
25.	M. Ilm-ud-Din Salik, B.A., Lahore.	Fughane.

26. Shakhul Jami, M.A., Bahawalpur. — Poverty of Arabic Language—a Criticism.

27. M. Hasan, M.A., Reader and Head of the Department of English, University of Dacca. — An Uuknown Persian Poet of Bengal.

ROOM NO. 6.

(Side-room to the Maynard Hall).

Anthropology, Mythology and Religion.

President:—M. M. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M.A., C. I. E., Hon. M. R. A. S.

Secretary:—SURYA KANTA, M.A.

Papers:—

1 H. W. Emerson, M.A., I.C.S., Chief Secretary, Govt. of the Panjab, Lahore. — Worship of Mother Earth in the Hills.

2. R. R. Subramanian, M. A., Lecturer in History, Mahraja's College Vizianagaram — The Religious conditions of the Thevaram Period (7th century A.D.)

3. R. N. Saha, M. R. A. S., Benares. — The Logos or the Brahma. World's Debt to India's Spiritual Idealism.

4. R. N. Saha, M. R. A. S., Benares. — The Logos of the Solar System or the Migration of the Vedic Solar Cult.

5.	R. N. Saha, M. R. A. S., Benares.	Christianity as an off shoot of Brahmanism.
6.	V. H. Vader, Pleader, Chikodi, District Belgaum.	Groups of Deities of the First Seven Manvantaras and their Interrelation if any.
7.	N. Chengalvarayan, M. R. A. S., Malleswaram, P. C. Bengalore.	The Sacred Dances of the Ancient Tamils as obtained in the Tamil Classics.
8.	N. Chengalvarayan, M. R. A. S., Malleswaram, P. C. Bengalore.	A celebrated Groundnut Festival.
9.	Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.	The so-called Images of Mother and Child from North Bengal.
10.	Hem Chandra Sastri, Lecturer, Dacca Intermediate College, Dacca.	The Abode of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.
11.	K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.	Were the Nāgas a Historical race and were they the Dasyus and the Asuras?
12.	M. K. Sircar, M.A., D.A.V. College, Lahore.	The Devayonis or the Mythological Races in the Himalayas.
13.	Adya Datta Thakur, M.A., Lucknow University, Lucknow.	Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Bhāgavata as an Apostle of Selflessness.
14.	B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph. D., Oriental Institute, Baroda.	Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb.

15.	R. N. Saha, M. R. A. S., Benares.	The Astronomical significance of Durgā Pūjā as a Vedic Solar Worship, its connection with Virgin and Jesus, and the determination of the origin of Hebrew Chronology.
16.	Kshitimohan Sen, Visva Bharati, Calcutta.	Bauls: The Folk-Mysteries of Bengal.
17.	Bhupendra Nath Datta, 3, Gour Mohan Mukerjee Street, Calcutta.	Anthropological Notes on some West Bengal castes.
18.	Jambunathan, M.A., F.R.U., B.E.S., Assistant Professor of English, University College, Rangoon.	1. A Survey of Early Religious Movements.
19.	Jambunathan, M.A. F.R.U., B.E.S., Assistant Professor of English, University College, Rangoon.	2. Burmese Buddhism.
20.	Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Rajshahi.	Short Catalogue of some aboriginal rites and customs from Chota Nagpur.

1. Reading of papers began at 10 A.M.

2. H. W. Emerson M.A., I.C.S. read extracts from his paper on "Worship of mother Earth in the Hills." The paper was much appreciated.

3. Hemacandra Shastri Lecturer Dacca Intermediate College read his paper on "The Abode of Śrī Kṛṣṇa."

4. Prof. M. K. Sirkar of the D. A. V. College Lahore read his paper on "The Devayonis or the Mythological races in the Himalayas."

5. B. Bhattacarya of Baroda Oriental Institute read his paper on "Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb".

6. Bhupendra Natha Datta of Calcutta then read his interesting paper on "Anthropological notes on some West Bengal Castes".

7. Then the paper on "A celebrated Ground nut Festival of Bengalore" was read by Pt. Chengalvarayan of Bengalore.

The authors of the rest of papers were absent, hence those papers were taken as read.

With concluding remarks from the President of the Section, the proceedings of the Section ended at about 1 P.M. on the 21st November 1928.

SURYA KANTA,
Secretary to the Section of
Anthropology, Mythology and Religion.

MAYNARD HALL.

History and Archæology.

President:—R. B. KRISHNASWAMI IYANGAR, M.A.; PH. D.

Secretary:—SITA RAM KOHLI, M. A.

Papers:—

1.	H. G. Rawlinson, M. A., I. E. S., Deccan College, Poona.	Csoma de Koros (1784-1842.)
2.	Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.	Krishna Deva Raya's Conquest of Rachol.

3.	R. K. Mukerji, M. A., Ph. D., Prof. of Indian History Lucknow University.	Parallelisms between Asoka's Edicts and Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra.
4.	R. N. Saha, M. R. B. S., Benares.	The discovery of the oldest Deva Nāgarī Inscription at the Mṛtyuñjaya Kāleśvara Śiva Temple at Benares.
5.	Upendra Nath Ghosal, M.A., Ph. D., Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta.	Megasthenes's text relating to the Land-revenue system of the Mauryas—a new interpretation.
6.	S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., B. L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.	Assamese Historical Literature.
7.	K. R. Pisharoti M. A. Principal, Trippunithpura.	Gilmpses of Cochin History from Literary Sources.
8.	K. R. Canungo, M. A., Reader in History, Dacca University.	Prince Dara and the Author of the Laṭaif-ul-Akhbar.
9.	S. N. Vishwanatha, National College, Trichinopoly.	The Early Migration of South Indian Culture to Indo-China and the East Indies.
10.	Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacarya, Jodhpur.	Rashṭrakuṭas and Gaharval.
11.	A. Banerji Sastri, M. A., D. Phil., (Oxon.) Patna.	New Light on an Archaic Civilization in the Gangetic Valley.

12.	Soma Sundara Deshikar, Tamil Lexicon Officer, Madras.	Rajadhiraja II.
13.	R. Subarao Garu, M. A., L. T., Lecturer in History, Government Cellege, Rajahmundry.	Early History of North-East Deccan from original sources: (from 3rd century A.D. to 9th century A. D.)
14.	N. Chengalvarayan, M. R. A. S., Malleswarm, P. O. Bangalore, S. I.	An account of the maritime activity in the ancient Tamil Country.
15.	Lakshmi Chandra Khurana, M. A., Lecturer, Government Intermediate College. Gujrat.	'Akṣapaṭalika,' Accounts and Record 'Officer' of Ancient Indian Administration.
16.	Kalipada Mitra, Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.	Sidelight on Ancient Buddhist Social Life.
17.	N. Chengalvarayan,, M. R. A. S., Malleswaram, P. O. Bangalore.	Some New lights on Nandivarman Pallavamallan-Who is he?
18.	N. Vaidyanath Sastri, Sahitya Siromani, Tanjore.	Sherfoji, the Maharaja of Tanjore (1712-1727.)
19.	Soma Sundara Desikar, Pandita, Madras.	Nambi Andar Nambi, its importance to South Indian History.
20.	V. R. Rama Chandra Dikshitar, M. A., Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University.	Śiva Tattva Ratnākara.
21.	R. Gopalan, M. A., University Research Scholar, Madras.	Notes on Mahābalipuram and its Bas-Reliefs.

22.	P. K. Acharya, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt. University of Allahabad.	Determination of cardinal points by means of a Gnomon.
23.	Kalidas Nag., M. A., D. Litt., Greater Indian Society, Calcutta.	Cultural data in Greater Indian Epigraphy.
24.	Kalidas Nag., M.A., D. Litt. Greater Indian Society, Calcutta.	Arts and Archæology of Greater India.
25.	Tribhüvandas L. Shah, L. M. S., 480, Managldas Building, Princess Street, Bombay.	Genealogy of the Śiśunāga Dynasty.
26.	Hiranand Shastri, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.	Nalanda in Ancient Literature.
27.	Sahityacarya Pandit Bishshwar Nath Reu, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.	False charges against King Jayachandra of Kanauj and his descendant Rao Siha.
28.	George A. Barton, Ph. D., D. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.	The Palæographic affinities of the Seals from Harappa and Mohenjodaro.
29.	R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, M. A., Special Assistant, Government Museum, Madras.	Varahas of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar.
30.	K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Siromani, Oriental Institute, Baroda,	Probable Identification of King Haravarṣa.

No.	Name	Subject
31.	K. Rangachi, M. A., B. L., Vice-Chairman, Municipal, Office, Vizianagram.	Law of Debt in Ancient India.
32.	Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. S., Bombay.	Emperor Asoka dislodged.
33.	Lochan Prasad Pandya Sarma, Kavya Vinoda, M.N. P. S., P.O. Chandrapur, *Via*, Raigarh.	A silver coin of King Prasannamitra, the grandfather of Sudeva Raja of Sarabhpur.
34.	Mahfuzul Haq., M. A., Presidency College, Calcutt.	Akbar's illiteracy.
35.	R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, Deputy Director-General. Archæological Department, Delhi.	Some Epigraphical Records.
36.	B.M. Barua; M.A., D. Litt., University of Calcutta.	Kharavela's Personal History.
37.	D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.	New light on the History of Kshatrapas of Surashtra.

The Section of History and Archaeology met on three days in Room No. 3 of the Law College Buildings, at about 10 A. M. each day. The attendance throughout was fairly satisfactory. The proceedings were in the following order:—

The papers of the absent members were taken as read.

Time allowed for each paper was ten minutes and that for discussion seven minutes. The papers were read in the order in which they are mentioned below:—

1. Presidential address.

2. Csoma de Koros (1784-1842), by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.; I. E. S.; Deccan College, Poona.

No discussion.

3. Parallelism between Asoka's Edicts and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, by R. K. Mukerji M.A., Ph. D., Prof. of Indian History, Lucknow University.

A lively discussion followed in which Messrs. U. P. Ghosal, B. M. Barua, R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, Principal Rawlinson and the President took part. M. Ghosal urged that the use of identical terms in Asoka's inscriptions and in Kauṭilya's Arthaśātra cannot be taken to prove that Kauṭilya flourished in the Mauryan period as the use of technical terms and administrative phraseology of the Mauryans might still have been current when Kauṭilya composed his treatise. There was some discussion on the term Mahāmatra. The President tried to explain the meanings of the term and the sense in which it was used in connection with certain institutions in Andhra and Tamil literature.

4. Megasthenes's text relating to the land-revenue system of the Mauryas—a new interpetation, by Upendra Nath Ghosal, M.A., Ph. D., Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta.

No discussion.

5. Assamese Historical Literature, by S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B. L., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

No discussion. Principal Rawlinson made a few interesting remarks.

6. Kharavela's Personal History, by B. M. Barua; M.A., D. Litt., University of Calcutta.

An interesting discusion followed in which Mr. Bisheshar Nath, Mr. Tribhuvan Das and Principal Rawlin-

son took part. The discussion centred round the point whether King Kharavela was anterior to Asoka or the latter flourished before Kharavela.

7. Glimpses of Cochin History from Literary Sources, by Prof. K. R. Pishāroti.

No discussion.

8. Some new lights on Nandivarman Pallavamallan—Who is he, by N. Chengalvarayan, M. R. A. S., Malleswaram, P. O. Bangalore.

No discussion

9. 'Akṣapaṭalika' Accounts and Record 'Officer' of Ancient Indian Administration, by Lakshmi Chandra Khurana, M.A., Lecturer, Government Intermediate College, Gujrat.

No discussion.

10. Genealogy of the Śiśunāga Dynasty, by Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L. M. S., 480, Managldas Building, Princess Street, Bombay.

R. B. Daya Ram Sahni made a few intersting remarks regarding the determination of the chronology of the Śiśunāga Kings.

11. Determination of cardinal points by means of a Gnomon, by P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt., University of Allahabad.

R. B. Daya Ram Sahni thanked the writer for his excellent paper.

12. False charges against King Jayachandra of Kanauj, and his descendant Rao Siha, by Sahityacarya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

No discussion.

13. Emperor Asoka dislodged by Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L. M. S., Bombay.

The most important point arising out of discussion was whether Sandracottos could at all be identified wtih Asoka there being no phonetic resemblance between the two names.

14. Akbar's illiteracy, by Mahfuz-ul-Haq., M.A., Presidency College, Calcutta.

A short discussion followed in which Professor Ramprasad Khosla, Pt. Hiranand Shastri and Mr. S. V. Venkateswara took part. The discussion centred round the point whether we have any documentary evidence to show that Akbar knew anything beyond signing his own name.

15. Cultural data in Greater Indian Epigraphy, by Kalidas Nag., M.A., D. Litt., Greater Indian Society, Calcutta.

Mr. Śāstrī praised the excellent work which the Greater Indian Society was doing by way of creating interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students of early Indian history.

16. Some Epigraphical Records by R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, Deputy Director-General, Archæological Department, Delhi.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni explained the meaning and significance of a few inscriptions that were lying in a neglected corner in the Lahore Museum. Pt. Hira Nand Śāstrī made a few interesting remarks.

17. Raṣṭrakuṭas and Gaharval, by Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacarya, Jodhpur.

No discussion.

18. An account of the maritime activity in the ancient Tamil country, by N. Chengalvarayan, M.R.A.S., Malleswaram, P. O. Bngalore, S. I.

No discussion.

19. Nalanda in Ancient Literature, by Hiranand Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

No discussion.

The following papers were taken as read; the authors being absent.

20. Krishna Deva Raya's Conquest of Rachol, by Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.

21. The early Migration of South Indian Culture to Indo-China and the East Indies, by S. N. Vishwanatha, National College Trichinopoly.

22. Rajadhiraja II, by Soma Sundara Deshikar, Tamil Lexicon Officer, Madras.

23. Early History of North-East Deccan from original sources: (from 3rd century A. D. to 9th century A. D.), by R. Subarao Garu, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in History, Government College, Rajahmundry.

24. Sidelight on Ancient Buddhist Social life, by Kalipada Mitra, Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.

25. Sherfoji, the Maharaja of Tanjore (1712-1727), by S. Vaidyanath Sastri, Sahitya Siromani, Tanjore.

26. Nambi, Andar Nambi, its importance to South Indian History, by Soma Sundara Desikar, Pandita, Madras.

27. The Palæographic affinities of the Seals from Harappa and Mohenjodaro, by George. A. Barton, Ph. D., D. D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

28. Varahas of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, by R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, M.A., Special Assistant, Government Museum, Madras.

29. Probable Identification of King Haravarṣa, by R. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Siromani, Oriental Institute, Baroda.

30. Law of Debt in Ancient India, by K. Rangachi, M. A., B. L., Vice-Chairman, Municipal Office, Vizianagram.

31. A silver coin of King Prasannamitra, the grandfather of Sudeva Raja of Sarabhpur, by Lochan Prasad Pandya Sarma, Kavya Vinoda, M.N.P.S., P. O. Chandrapur, Via Raigarh.

32. New Light on the History of Kshatrapas of Surashtra by D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

The President then thanked the audience for the patient hearing they gave to the papers. R. B. Daya Ram Sahni and Professor Sita Ram Kohli thanked the President on behalf of the audience. Then the President declared the Session to be closed.

LAHORE,
25th January, 1919.

SITA RAM KOHLI.

ROOM NO. 7.

(Oriental College, first floor.)

Fine Arts.

President:—O. C. GANGOLI.

Secretary:—K. N. SITA RAM, PH. D.

Papers:—

1.	G. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph. D., Council of Post-Graduates Teaching in Arts, Asutosh Building, Calcutta.	Indo-Javanese Arts.
2.	Hiranand Sastri, Government Epigraphist of India, Ootacamund.	Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book Illustrations.

3.	B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph. D., Oriental Institute, Baroda.	The only image of Cuṇḍā.
4.	N. C. Mehta, M.A., I.C.S., Azamgarh.	Notes on Indian Painting.
5.	Ajit Ghosh, M.A., 42, Shambazaar Street, Calcutta.	Miniatures of a newly discovered palmleaf Buddhist Manuscript from Bengal.
6.	Ajit Ghosh, M.A., 42, Shambazaar Street, Calcutta.	Schools of Rajput paintings.
7.	P. K. Acharya:	Youth and Beauty.

The following papers were read:—

(*i*) Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book Illustrations by Paṇḍita Hira Nand Śāstrī.

(*ii*) Youth and Beauty in Fine Art by Dr. P. K. Acharya.

(*iii*) Indo-Javanese Art By Professor Gauranga Nath Banerjee.

(*iv*) The only image of Cuṇḍā by Benoytosh Bhattacharya.

There was a lively discussion on the above papers.

Besides these papers a number of others also were received which were not read, because of the want of time, as well as, because their authors were not present.

An exhibition of Fine Arts was also held which was a great success. Thanks to the loans contributed by:—

1. The Central Museum, Lahore.
2. O. C. Gangoley Esq.
3. Mr. S. N. Gupta.

4. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

5. The Central Museum, Madras.

6. The Fort Museum, Delhi.

7. The Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

8. The Colombo Museum, Ceylon and the help rendered by the Governments of Mysore, Patiala as well as by the valuable collections loaned by the patriotic and the art-loving citizens of Lahore. This was kept open for a week and evoked much enthusiasm.

K. N. SITA RAM,
Secretary Fine Arts Section.

ROOM NO. 8.

(Oriental College, first floor.)

Urdu.

President:—NAWAB SADAR YAR JANG.
Secretary:—ZAFAR IQBAL, M.A.,

Papers:—

1.	B. M. Dattatreya, Bans Mandi, Anarkali, Lahore.	Importance of the Vernacular Literature.
2.	H. M. Shairani, M. A., Oriental College, Lahore.	Element of Urdu in an old Persian Dictionary.

The Presidential Address was read by the Nawab Sadar Yar Jang Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Shirwani in the Hailey Hall on the 20th of November, 1928 from 12 noon to 1-5 P. M.

Five papers were read in this Section on the 21st of November with the Nawab Sadar Yar Jang in the chair.

1. Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatreya "Kaifi" did not turn up. Mr. Abdul Latif "Tapash" of the Government Intermediate College, Pasrur, kindly read this paper for "Kaifi" Sahib.

2. Hafiz Mahmud Sherani read his paper on "Element of Urdu in an old Persian Dictionary." An English translation of the paper will be submitted direct to the local Secretary.

3. Maulvi Mahfuz-ul-Haqq of Calcutta read his paper on "Ek Bangali *Khātūn Kī* Urdu *Mathnavi.*".

4. M. Imtiaz Ali "Taj" read an exhaustive paper on "Urdu Stage aur Agha Hashr."

5. A. S. Bokhari of the Government College, Lahore, spoke for about half an hour on the "Future of Urdu Prose."

15-12-28. ZAFAR IQBAL,

ROOM No. 9.

(Oriental College, first floor.)

Hindi.

President:—AMAR NATH JHA M. A., I.E.S.

Secretary:—GANPAT RAI, M. A.,

Papers:—

1.	B. M. Bhatt, B. A., Lucknow University, Lucknow.	A Paper on the origion of some Hindi idioms.
2.	R. B. Hira Lal, B.A., Retired Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore.	Search of Hindi Manuscripts.
3.	Lakshman Sarup, M. A., D. Phil.,(Oxon.), Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore.	Some rare and recently discovered Hindi Poems.

The President-elect R. B. L. Sita Ram could not attend the Conference owing to some unavoidable circumstances. Our sincere thanks are due to P. Amar Nath Jha (the son of the renowned P. Ganga Nath Jha of Allahabad) who very kindly consented to take the presidential chair, though requested so late. At a few hours' notice he gave a very learned and illuminating presidential address. Therein he briefly traced the origin and development of the Hindi literature, described its unique contribution to the world, a blend of pessimism and optimism and emphasised the identity of Urdu and Hindi languages.

Two sessions of the Hindi Section were held, one on the 21st November and the other on the 22nd November. The attendance was good throughout.

Out of the 10 papers contributed, 8 were read in the Conference. Though the number is comparatively small, the discussion they elicited was very keen and enthusiastic—leading to the success of the section.

P. Udaya Shankar Bhatt read an interesting paper on Krishṇa Chandrikā of Gumāna. This is a book which has not been published yet. The writer tried to prove its superiority over Rāma Chandrikā of Keshav Dās—a bold suggestion indeed—well worth consideration by the Hindi critics. The president indicated the importance of the study of metrical forms for determining the dates of the Hindi poets.

P. Lalita Prashad Shukul's paper on a "Comparison between English and Hindi Literatures" evoked a very lively discussion. Three important points were raised by Professor Satya Ketu of Gurukul Kangri:—

(1) To strain after correspondence where none existed is unreasonable and useless.

(2) The idea that we got everything from the West is to be deprecated.

(3) In criticism P. Mahabir Prashad Dvivedi is, in no way, superior to P. Padma Singh. Professor Ramagya Dvivedi of Khurja disliked instituting invidious comparison between individuals. Prof. Mohan Singh of Lahore called the objections a mere jugglery of words. The writer wound up the controversy by remarking that there did exist a unique similarity between the currents of the two literatures with the inherent differences (of course) due to the separate character of the two civilisations and that P. Mahabir Prashad had been compared to Johnson—both being fathers of criticism in Hindi and English respectively.

The paper on 'The Birth place of Kālidāsa' by Vāgīś-vara Vidyālankāra of Gurukul Kangri, though it contained valuable suggestions, had little to do with the Hindi Section; hence no discussion took place.

In P. Lalita Prashad's second paper on "A glance at the modern Hindi poetry", his appreciation and advocacy of Chhāyavada in Sumitra Nandan Pant's "Pallav" was the centre of a keen controversy. P. Shri Ratna Shukula, P. Udaya Shankar Bhatt, Prof. Ramagya Dvivedi, Jagdamba Prashad Hitaishi all stressed the points that "Pallav" was too difficult to understand, that it did not contain a poetry of the highest standard and that the definition of Chhāyāvāda had not as yet been ascertained in the Hindi literature. P. Lalita Prashad did not consider under-standability to be the only criterion of good poetry which appeals to heart rather than to head.

On the 22nd November P. Shri Rattan Shukula M.A., LL.B. of Cawnpore was voted to the chair in the absence of Pt. Amar Nath Jha. The writers of the papers read were not present. In fact it was at the urgent request of the members that those papers were read by other gentlemen.

An interesting paper on "Maithila Kokila-Vidyāpati Thakur" by P. Lochan Prashad Pandaya of Raigarh raised only one controversial point *viz.*, whether Vidyāpati was a Benglai or a Hindi poet. "The Search of Hindi Manuscripts" by R. B. Hira Lal, B.A., Retired Deputy Commissioner, Jubbalpur urgently invited the attention of the Hindi loving people to the imperative need of collecting Hindi manuscripts. It, however, contained an unwarranted statement that the origin of Hindi could, if efforts were made, be traced to the 4th century A.D.

The paper on "The Origin of some Hindi Idioms" by P. Badri Nath Bhatt of Lucknow University made many valuable and original suggestions as to how some of the Hindi Idioms had arisen, but P. Lalita Prashad Shukul criticised it on the score that the writer did not differentiate between slang and idiom.

The paper of P. Bhagirathi Parshad Dikshit of Lucknow on "Mahākavi Bhūshaṇa and his Patrons" showed what a great research the learned writer had made on the subject.

GANPAT RAI,

Secretary.

A Hindi-Kavi-Sammelana (symposium of Hindi Poets) was held in the Maynard Hall, Lahore, on the 21st November, 1928, in connection with the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore. Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Har

Narayana Śāstri, Vidyāsāgara, Professor of Sanskrit and Hindi, Hindu College, Delhi, presided. The audience comprised the Lahore gentry and students, numbering more than five hundred. Several poems were received from well-known poets who were unable to attend, but the following poets were present and read their poems that were much appreciated:—

1. Śrī Ratna Shukla, M.A., LL.B., Pleader, Cawnpore.
2. Pt. Jagadambā Prasāda Hitaishī, Cawnpore.
3. Babu Śukadeva Prasada, Allahabad.
4. Pt. Rāmāgyā Ram Dvivedi, M.A., Vice-Principal, Khurja College, Khurja.
5. Pt. Lalita Prasada Shukla M.A., Allahabad University, Allahabad.
6. Pt. Udaya Shankara Bhatta Śāstrī, Lyallpur.
7. Pt. Prabhata Kumāra, B.A., of Allahabad.
8. Pt. Vidyā Bhāskara of Allahabad.
9. Pt. Rāma Chandra Śāstrī "Kuśala," Oriental College, Lahore.
10. Pt. Braj Bhushana Śāstrī "Nāyak," Lahore.
11. Pt. Chakradhara Śāstrī, Lahore.
12. Pt. Prabhu Datta Śāstrī, Delhi.
13. Pt. Ravi Datta Śāstrī, Delhi.
14. Pt. Shyāma Jee, Lahore.
15. Pt. Bharata Sharmā Śāstrī, "Siṃha," Lahore.
16. Pt. Śuchi Vrata Śāstrī.

GULBAHAR SINGH,
Secretary.

ROOM NO. 10

(Oriental College, first floor.)

Panjabi.

President:—THE HON. K. B. CH. SHAHAB-UD-DIN, B. A., LL. B.

Secretary:—QAZI FAZL-I-HAQ, M. A.

Papers:—

1. Norah Richards, Lahore.	Panjabi Drama.
2. Mohan Singh, M. A., Oriental College, Lahore.	Bhai Gurdas Bhalla's Hir.................a comparative study.

The session began on the 21st November at 2. p. m. The Hon'ble K. B. Ch. Shahab-ud-Din the president-elect was in the chair. On account of his ill health, he could not give his Presidential address.

Mrs. Norah Richards opened the proceedings with her learned paper on, "The Panjabi Drama," after which the president made appreciative remarks.

The second paper was by Professor Mohan Singh M. A., on "Bhai Gurdas Bhallas' Hir...........a comparative study" which was followed by an interesting discussion in which Professors Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, Bhupal Singh and Fazl-i-Haqq took part. The president in his closing speech summed up the arguments on both sides, after which the session came to an end.

Q. FAZL-I-HAQQ,
Secretary.

The Musha'ira was held in the Hall of the Government College, Lahore, on the 21st November 1928 at 8. p. m.

The President-elect the Hon'ble Sardar Jogindar Singh, S.B., was out of Lahore, therefore, the Hon'ble K.B. Ch. Shababud-Din, President of the Panjab Legislative Council, was requested to preside. The following prominent Panjabi poets, coming from Lyallpur, Amritsar, Gujrat, Kahuta, Rawalpindi, Patiala, Gujranwala and Lahore, recited their best poems specially written for the occasion :—

1. M. Miran Bakhsh. 2. L. Dhani Ram Chatrak. 3. Mohd. Ismail Mushtaq. 4. L. Kirpa Sagar. 5. M. Maula Bakhsh, Kushta. 6. Dr. Devi Dyal Hindi. 7. S. Sardar Sham Singh Darshan. 8. S. Santa Singh Shamshir. 9. Sain Firoz—Nagin. 10. S. Harnam Singh Dukhi. 11. M. Tasadduq Sherpuri. 12. Dr. Faqir Mohammed. 13. S. Kesar Singh Kanwal. 14. B. Abdul Karim Samar. 15. L. Sundar Das Zar 16. S. Kapur Singh. 17. M. Fazl Ahmed Hamdam. 18. S. Amar Singh Amar. 19. Ustad Ishq Lahr. 20 Ustad Hamdam. 21. Ustad Gam. 22. Ustad Sharaf. 23. Prof. Nanda.

Out of these, 18 were competition poems and the Judges (the President and Gyani Hira Singh Dard) gave their decision in favour of the following four gentlemen :—

1. M. Abdul Karim Samar (Lahore). 2. S. Kesar Singh Kanval (Student Government College Lahore). 3. M. Miran Bakhsh (Ram Devali Lyallpur). 4. S. Harnam Singh Dukhi (Kahuta, Rawalpindi).

They were awarded medals donated by, the President, Gyani Hira Singh Dard (Amritsar), Lala Durga Das B.A., Advocate, (Lahore) and Lala Dhani Ram Chatarak (Amritsar).

The Musha'ira was a great success.

The arrangements were excellent and the credit is due to Syed Lal Shah and Mian Abdus-Sami who with their colleagues, the Government College Seniors "managed the whole affair, I thank them on behalf of the Musha'ira Committee.

Q. FAZL-I-HAQQ.
Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, held on the afternoon of the 22nd November 1928.

I. The General Secretary submitted the enclosed report and statement of accounts. Resolved that the report presented be adopted including the accounts of income and expenditure, and that a vote of thanks be passed to the General Secretaries.

(Proposed by Pandit Amarnath Jha, seconded by Muhammad Shafi and carried unanimously).

II. **Date of Meeting of the Conference.**

After a considerable discussion, it was resolved, that in future the Conference meet, as far as may be possible, during the month, 15th of December to 14th of January, every year, in order that those that attend the Conference may have the advantage of the Railway concession offered during Christmas holidays.

(Proposed by Principal Raghubar Dayal, seconded by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and carried unanimously).

III. **Promotion of Oriental learning.**

The matter was discussed and no resolution was adopted, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Conference in this behalf.

IV. **Extra-Departmental Agency for carrying on Archaeological Exploration.**

A tentative proposal drafted by Professor S. K. Belvalkar was put forward to form the basis of the discussions in the Council. The question was left to be discussed by the Council and resolutions adopted therein.

V. **Venue for the next Conference.**

The invitation sent by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was considered. Resolved that the Conference gratefully accept Mr. Jayaswal's invitation on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, to assemble there for the next Session.

(Adopted unanimously).

VI. **Arrangements for the Sale of the Proceedings of the Conference.**

Resolved—

(*a*) that the Bhandarkar Oriential Research Institute, Poona, be allowed the depot commission that the Government allow them in regard to their publications, namely, 33⅓ per cent. on sales,

(*b*) that the members of the Institute and recognised book-sellers be allowed a special concession of 12½ per cent.

(*c*) that the Reports be priced at Rs. 10 for the Second and Third Conferences and Rs. 13 for the Fourth,

(*d*) that the accounts of sales, etc., be rendered once a year.

VII. In regard to the edition of the Mahābhārata on which work is proceeding at the Bhandarkar Oriental

Research Institute, the following resolutions were adopted:—

(1) that the Indian Oriental Conference in session at Lahore is gratified to find that the preparation of a critical edition of the Great Epic of India (Mahābhārata) undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, is making good progress, the first two fascicules of the final edition being already published, and the third being expected to be out soon;

(2) that, in view of the eminently satisfactory manner in which this monumental work is being carried out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, this Conference recommends that the manuscript collations, already made for the critical edition of the Epic planned by the Association of Academies in Europe, be made available for the purpose of the edition that is being brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, and that the funds collected for the European edition be utilised in further collating the manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in European libraries so as to make them available in time for the Poona edition;

(3) that this Conference wishes to draw the particular attention of Governments, States, Princes and the learned Institutions of India to the Appeal that is being issued by the Institute soliciting financial assistance for the work with a view to its being carried to a successful termination at as early a date as

may be consistent with efficiency. The undertaking is of national significance and is being carried out along the most approved lines of modern critical scholarship; and the Conference hopes that it will receive all the assistance that it so richly merits.

VIII. **The Work done by the Śrī Bhāratīya Śikshā Sammelana at Etawah.**

Resolved—

that the Conference is in sympathy with the efforts of this Sabhā and recommend that the work of the Sammelana deserves public encouragement.

IX. **Local Secretary for the Patna Section of the Conference.**

Resolved—

that, for the purpose of the next Session of the Conference, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be appointed Local Secretary for making the necessary arrangements for the next Session at Patna.

X. **The Executive Committee.**

Resolved—

that the Executive Committee be elected at the Council meeting.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
General Secretary.

22-1-1929.

A. C. WOOLNER,
Chairman.

Proceedings of the Council of the Indian Oriental Conference held on the afternoon of the 22nd November 1928.

I.—(1) The General Secretary submitted his report of work of the present Conference.

(2) Mr. Amar Nath Jha, Secretary of the Fourth Session of the Conference at Allahabad, presented the report, statements of accounts, etc., of the Fourth Conference.

Resolved that the reports, etc., be accepted and recorded.

(Proposed by Principal Raghubar Dayal, seconded by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, and carried unanimously).

II. **Date of Meeting of the Conference.**

Resolution of the Executive Committee:—"That in future the Conference meet, as far as may be possible during the month, 15th of December to 14th of January every year, in order that those that attend the Conference may have the advantage of the Railway concession offered during Christmas holidays."

Resolved—

That the recommendation of the Executive Committee be accepted.

(Proposed by Principal Raghubar Dayal, seconded by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, and carried unanimously).

III. **Extra Departmental Agency for Carrying on Archælogical Exploration.**

Resolved—

(1) that this Conference urge upon the Government of India the importance of extending the work

of archæological exploration throughout India and Burma;

(2) that, for this purpose, it recommend that the work now being done by the Department of Archæology be supplemented by enlisting the co-operation of learned societies and bodies, by permitting them to undertake exploration work in certain sites under specified conditions;

(3) that the conditions under which such supplementary exploration work is to be permitted should be settled in consultation with a committee which should have on it representatives of the Archæological Department, of the Indian Oriental Conference, and of the learned societies and bodies that have taken part in the work.

(4) The conditions referred to above should include, amongst others, the following:—

(*a*) that the explorations so permitted and undertaken be financed by the societies and bodies taking part in them;

(*b*) (*i*) that it be a condition that all finds of national importance be retained in India;

(*ii*) that in any distribution of the finds, only such finds as may be considered by the Committee as duplicates of no special national significance be allowed to be removed outside India, the other finds, as far as possible, being retained in India;

(5) that, with a view to make it possible for competent Indians to take an increasing part in the work of archæological exploration, this Conference urge upon the Government of India the need of adopting to a greater extent than has been the case hitherto a policy of stipendiary training in exploration work, a special annual provision being made in the budget for the purpose.

IV. Venue for the next Conference.

Resolution of the Executive Committee:—

"that the Conference gratefully accept Mr. Jayaswal's invitation on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, to assemble there for the next Session."

The Executive Committee's recommendation was accepted unanimously.

V. Arrangements for the Sale of the Proceedings of the Conference.

Resolutions of the Executive Committee.

(*a*) "Resolved that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, be allowed the depot commission that the Government allow them in regard to their publications, namely, 33⅓ per cent. on sales;"

(*b*) "that the members of the Institute and recognised booksellers be allowed a special concession of 12½ per cent.;"

(*c*) "that the Reports be priced at Rs. 10 for the Second and Third Conferences and Rs. 13 for the Fourth;"

(*d*) "that the accounts of sales, etc., be rendered once a year."

The resolutions of the Executive Committee on the subject were confirmed.

VI. **Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Edition of the Mahabharata.**

Resolutions of the Executive Committee:—

(1) "That the All-India Oriental Conference in Session at Lahore is gratified to find that the preparation of a critical edition of the Great Epic of India (Mahabharata) undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is making good progress, the first two fascicules of the final edition being already published, and the third being expected to be out soon;"

(2) "that in view of the eminently satisfactory manner in which this monumental work is being carried out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, this Conference recommend that the manuscript collations already made for the critical edition of the Epic planned by the Association of Academies in Europe be made available for the purpose of the edition that is being brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, and that the funds collected for the European edition be utilised in further collating the manuscripts of the Mahabharta in European libraries so as to make them available in time for the Poona edition;"

(3) "that this Conference wishes to draw the particular attention of the Governments, States, Princes, and the learned Institutions of India to the Appeal that is being issued by the Institute soliciting financial assistance for the work with a view to its being carried to a successful termination at as early a date as may be consistent with efficiency. The undertaking is of national significance and is being carried out along the most approved lines of modern critical scholarship; and the Conference hopes that it will receive all the assistance that it so richly merits."

The Executive Committee's recommendations were put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

VII. **The Work done by the Śrī Bhāratīya Śikshā Sammelana.**

"Resolved that the Conference is in sympathy with the efforts of this Sabha and recommend that the work of the Sammelana deserves public encouragement."

VIII. **Local Secretary for the Patna Session of the Conference.**

Resolution of the Executive Committee:—

"That, for the purpose of the next Session of the Conference, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal be appointed Local Secretary for making the necessary arrangements for the next Session at Patna was confirmed."

IX. **The Executive Committee.**

In regard to the election of the Executive Committee, the following were elected:—

(1) The President:—Ex. Officio.

(2) The two General Secretaries to continue.

(3) That Principal Raghubar Dayal be Treasurer.

(4) The following additional members were elected:—

(1) Professor D. R. Bhandarkar;
(2) Professor A. C. Woolner;
(3) Dr. Lakshman Sarup;
(4) Professor Muhammad Shafi;
(5) S. V. Vankateswara; and
(6) Dr. A. Haq.

Note.—In regard to resolution 9 however, rule 8 of the Constitution demands the following ex-officio members, the the President, the Joint Secretaries and the Treasurer. In addition to these fourteen members have to be elected. For the fourteen, the number actually elected is only six, of whom Dr. Haq seems ineligible, as one can be regarded a member of Council if he attended three or more meetings of the Conference and submitted a paper at one or more of the Conference sessions and accepted by the Committee of the Conference.

(2) One must have held office or must have been elected by co-option to the Council of the Conference. The last has not so far been put into operation. He is certainly not eligible under rule 2. It is doubtful if he is eligible under rule 1. Anyhow he has been addressed in regard to the matter and the only way of satisfying the condition that fourteen members should be elected can be brought about by a recommendation circulated to the members of the Conference. After the reply is received from Professor Haq, arrangements may be made for circularising it for the election.

X. In the matter of the Vedic and Avestan section held on the 21st November 1928, Professor C. Kunhan Raja moved the following resolution:—

"The Vedic and Avestan section of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference requests the sectional President to bring to the notice of the Conference that Professor K. F. Geldner of Marburg University, one of the foremost Vedic and Avestan scholars, is celebrating his 75th birthday on December 17 and to move the Conference to send its greetings to the learned Professor and show its appreciation of his services in a suitable way on the occasion."

The resolution was seconded by Professor S. V. Venkateswara and was supported by Professor Chattopadhyaya. The resolution was carried unanimously. The President referred to the great work done by Professor Geldner in the field of Vedic and Avestan scholarship and promised to convey the wishes of the section to the Council.

Resolved—

that the Council associate themselves with the Vedic and Avestan section in conveying the good wishes of the Conference to Professor Geldner and approve of the Chairman communicating the good wishes of the Conference to the learned Professor.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
General Secretary.
22nd January 1929.

A. C. WOOLNER,
Chairman.

REPORT ON THE INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

A common organisation for coordinating work in various branches of Oriental studies, centering round Indian studies in particular, was felt to be a desideratum generally by those interested in the subject, and the credit

of starting an organisation is due to those that were responsible for the founding of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. They took the first steps, in connection with the inauguration of the Institute, to call together a meeting of the Indian Oriental Conference which assembled in November 1919. At the end of the Conference, it was resolved at the business meeting that the Conference assemble every other year, as it was felt it would be expensive to hold an annual session and a session every three year, as in the case of the International Congress of Orientalists was considered to give too long an interval between session and session. As a compromise the actual resolution that the Conference assemble every other year was adopted. In the course of the session, the Council of Post Graduate Studies of the Calcutta University, under the lead of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, whose interest and enthusiasm for the promotion of Research knew no limitations, telegraphed to invite the Conference to assemble under the auspices of the Calcutta University, the first University to take the responsibility in regard to the matter. It was in the session at Calcutta that it was felt it would be desirable to give the Conference a permanent organisation. The draft of a constitution was drawn up, printed and circulated by the Calcutta Conference. The discussion took time, however, and an agreement was not reached even in the Conference at Madras, where the University, following the example of Calcutta, invited the Conference for the third session. But the discussion had the effect of clarifying ideas and advancing the realisation one step. The constitution drawn up in Calcutta was revised in the light of the discussion and circulated previously with a

view to discussion at the next Conference, which by invitation was to assemble in Allahabad, again under the auspices of the University. Dr. Ganganath Jha, who presided at the Madras Conference, made the invitation personally, and the Conference assembled actually in Allahabad in November 1926. After a fairly elaborate discussion, the Conference adopted the constitution, and the first meeting of the Conference under the new constitution is the one that is assembling under the auspices of the Panjab University, which extended its invitation to the Conference through their representatives at Allahabad, and is in session now.

Under the constitution thus drafted, the responsibility for conducting the Conference in a way became divided, as it were, and work had to be carried on by the Executive Committee of the Conference itself to a considerable extent, and the Local Secretary aided by a Local Reception Committee on the other. The division of functions in any cut and dried fashion would be a matter impossible of achievement, but, thanks to the goodwill on both sides, the work has gone on smoothly from the beginning, and work of the Conference has been done, on the whole, without any hitch whatever. At one time it looked as though the response would be comparatively poor, but, thanks to the exertions of the Committee, the discouraging features that showed themselves, gave way and the Committee may now look upon the result of the labours with satisfaction.

The work of enlisting members and doing the necessary preliminary work for carrying out the constitution of the Conference itself was begun as early as June 1927 and the work was progressing slowly, the response having been none too rapid. About the month of May 1928, the

response to the circulars seemed not adequate, and a general feeling of discouragement was the result. Further progress was however made by renewed exertions on the part of the Committee members, and what was better, the response from the public bodies and Governments also improved, so that we may now give a satisfactory account from the Treasurer in regard to the receipts for the Conference, particularly from the various Governments. The sympathy of the Government of India was obtained as well as the active co-operation of the Archæological Department through the kindness of Sir John Marshall. Several of the Local Governments have responded to the appeal for funds, and the General Secretary of the Conference is in a position to report the receipt of the following donations from the separate Governments amounting to Rs. 4,250.

		Rs.
1.	Government of Madras	1,000
2.	Government of the United Provinces	1,000
3.	Government of Bengal	500
4.	Baroda	500
5.	Indore Durbar	250
6.	Hyderabad	1,000

In the meanwhile, the Local Secretary and the Reception Committee did their work splendidly. The financial assistance secured by them was very encouraging and a good programme could be drawn up on the basis of this support. The public response in Lahore and the Panjab generally was magnificent and the Conference could now look back with great satisfaction upon the results of the

work of the Reception Committee and those that were responsible for the management of the Conference here.

The successful exertions of the Executive Committee of the Conference and of the Local Committee would be heartening to the Conference itself, and gives a good augury for the long life and prosperous existence for the Conference itself. It is to be hoped that the auspicious inauguration of the Indian Oriental Conference at Lahore would but mark the beginning of the progressive realisation of the ideals of the Conference in the course of a comparatively small number of years, so as to make it an organisation of permanent usefulness in the land.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY FOR THE FIFTH INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

	Amount spent. Rs. a. p.	Amount Received. Rs. a. p.	
Opening balance		30 4 4	
Donation from Madras Government		1,000 0 0	8
" from Baroda State		500 0 0	13
" Indore Durbar		250 0 0	15
" U. P. Government		1,000 0 0	7
" Bengal Government		500 0 0	14
" Hyderabad State		1,000 0 0	

Amount spent.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Interest calculated by the Indian Bank upto 30th June 1928		5 14 8
LESS.		
Commission charged on cheque from Indore Durbar	0 10 0	
Stamps for acknowledgment	0 4 0	
Printing and Stationery etc., Forms, Letter heads, etc.	42 8 0	
Postage from 11-9-27 to 31-10-28	17 8 6	
Cost of Dealwood Boxes and Packing Proceedings of the Conference	10 0 0	
Cartage for the above	2 11 0	
Railway freight	18 11 0	
Clerical assistance from January 1928 for ten months at Rs. 15 per mensem	150 0 0	
Amount (Imprest) with the General Secretary	500 0 0	
Amount sent to the Treasurer, Oriental Conference	2,543 14 6	

Proceedings of a meeting of the Reception Committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, held on Wednesday, the 20th of March at 6 p. m. in the Hailey Hall, Lahore.

A. C. Woolner Esq., (in the Chair.)
R. B. Shiv Narain Shamim.
Bhagat Ishar Dass.
Dr. K. N. Sita Ram.
L. Sita Ram Kohli.
Ch. Rahim Bakhsh, M. A., LL. B.,
Prof. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal.
R. B. L. Sewak Ram, M. L. C.
Prof. Mohammad Shafi.
L. Labhu Ram.
Dr. Nand Lal.
Lakshman Sarup, (Local Secretary.)

1. As Principal Raghubar Dayal was out of Lahore, the Chairman read the Hony. Treasurer's report which was adopted.

2. The following medals were awarded for good acting in the Sanskrit Play (Svapnavāsavadattam) staged on the occasion of the Conference:—

(*a*) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bakhshi Tek Chand's Medal to Vishnu Sharma Śāstrī-Vāsavadattā.

(*b*) Mr. M. L. Puri's Medal to Shuchi Vrata Śāstrī, B. A., Vidūshaka.

(*c*) Prof. M. K. Sarkar's Medal to Jagan Nath-Ceti.

3. The following resolutions were moved from the Chair and unanimously passed:—

(*a*) Resolved that grateful thanks of the Reception Committee be conveyed to His Excellency Sir Geoffrey Fitz Hervey de Montmorency for pat-

ronising the Conference and for his invaluable help in securing donations from several Indian States, which materially contributed to the success of the Conference.

(*b*) Resolved that hearty thanks of the Reception Committee be conveyed to R. B. P. N. Dutt for his excellent arrangements on the opening day and other valuable help, to Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, for arranging accomodation and conveyance for the guests, to Sir John Marshall and R. B. Daya Ram Sahni for their so kindly affording facilities to the members of the Oriental Conference for seeing Taxila, to R. S. L. Sohan Lal for accompanying the party to Taxila, to Lt. Col. H. L. O. Garrett, and L. Labhu Ram for organising the Exhibition, and to Rev. Dr. E. D. Lucas for putting the F. C. College Hall at the disposal of the conference authorities and to Mrs. Richards for looking after the Lunch-arrangements.

4. With a Vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting came to an end at 6-30 p. m.

LAKSHMAN SARUP,
Local Secretary.

3-4-29.

Confirmed.

A. C. WOOLNER,
Chairman.

Minutes of meeting of the Working Committee of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference held on the 20th April 1929 at 10 a. m. in the Council Room of the Oriental College, Lahore. The Vice-Chancellor was in the Chair.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

1. Prof. Mohammad Shafi, M. A.,
2. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M. A., Ph. D.
3. L. Labhu Ram.
4. L. Veda Vyasa.
5. Prof. Mohammad Ismail, M. A.
6. Lakshman Sarup, (Local Secretary.)

(*i*) The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

The Working Committee of the 5th Indian Oriental Conference puts on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad sudden and untimely death of its Hony. Treasurer, Principal Raghubar Dayal and expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the bereaved family.

(*ii*) Mr. Ishwar Dass, Joint-Registrar, University of the Panjab was elected Hony. Treasurer.

(*iii*) An Editorial Board consisting of (*a*) Mr. A. C. Woolner, (*b*) Prof. Shafi, (*c*) Prof. Iqbal, (*d*) Dr. Sarup with power to coopt for editing the papers submitted to the 5th. Indian Oriental Conference was elected.

(*iv*) It was agreed to ask the University Auditor to audit the accounts of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

Confirmed.

A. C. WOOLNER,
Chairman.

L. SARUP,
Local Secretary,
The Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore.

VEDIC SECTION.

VEDIC SECTION.

The President (Prof. A. C. Woolner) gave a brief address. He first alluded to the work being done for Vedic studies in Lahore, as shown by the papers in this section, the collection of Mss., the publication of texts and the compilation of Koshas. He referred to the work of Pandit Bhagavaddatta on Udgītha, and Mr. Vedavyāsa on the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and of Mr. Raghuvīra on the Varāhagṛhyasūtra.

The President then spoke on the question as to what lines of research in the Vedas are likely to be most fruitful. He described the special position of Vedic studies. So much work had been done on the main texts, especially in the West. We had Texts, Grammars, Indexes, Vocabularies, Traslations and numerous Theories. We might compare the position of the Homeric poems, where there was practically no hope of a better text, where everything had been indexed, counted and compared, and there was a body of literary criticism and historical conjecture.

The researcher started with so much done for him that he might well despair of finding another line of attack. It might be said that the only thing remaining to be done for the Veda was to *understand* it. Lines of enquiry might be (*a*) bibliographical or (*b*) comparative. There were still Mss. to be critically edited—gaps to be filled in. Nevertheless no great difference in our readings was probable, nor was any considerable accession to our knowledge along these lines.

Comparative study often involved bringing in the results of other lines of study: Astronomy, Geology,

Anthropology, Prehistory, Anthropology, Folklore, Archæology and Linguistics. It was important to note that the results of these sciences could not be taken over at second hand. The student must be familiar with the evidence on which those results are based—otherwise his argument would be vitiated by trying to combine results that lay on different planes.

A sound grounding in the Vedic language was a necessary element in an all-round Sanskrit education. It was essential for any discussion of the earliest period of Indian history (or prehistory) that lay behind the dated periods, and for the student of comparative linguistics.

For the youthful researcher it was hardly suitable ground. There was so much for him to read before he could start anew.

The first thing he might do would be something of the bibliographical kind. Or when he had the necessary linguistic training he might study some aspect of the language itself, comparing this with Avestan, and eventually with other language.

For riper scholarship should be reserved attempts at a finer determination of the meaning of words, of the religious and symbolic meaning of the imagery and allusions, and the relation of this religious poetry and theological prose to the daily life of men and women through many centuries. Nothing was gained by wild guessing, or even by building hypotheses on a few facts without considering what had already been done on the same ground. Such work might be useful exercise for the young student but he would be well-advised not to publish it.

There was much in the Veda we did not understand. There were allusions to stories we did not know, to actual events now hidden in oblivion. Some of this we should never recover, but hope lay in a lucky chance and in patient study rather than in impatient assumption or in brilliant ingenuity. The most lively imagination, like that of Samuel Butler, the author of Erawhon and of the "Authoress of the Odyssey" had done less for the elucidation of the Homeric world than the archæological discoveries at Troy, in Crete and other sites. To restore the whole picture, of which we had only fragments, would require infinite patience, modesty and a rigorous respect for truth.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF GATHIC INTERPRETATION.

I. J. S. Taraporewala, B. A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Calcutta.

The *Gāthās* of Zarathushtra are admittedly the most difficult among the Avestan texts to interpret and every translation of these done so far is more or less unsatisfactory. Leaving out of account free versions of the *Gāthās* made by various people both in the East and the West, there are a number of what may be termed "authoritative translations". Among these we may name those of Darmesteter, Bartholomae and Andreas. The first named exists, so far as I am aware, only in French. Bartholomae's version is a monumental work and it has been rendered freely into English by Moulton in his *Early Zoroastrianism* and is given there as an appendix. Andreas has only translated the *Gāthā Ahunavaiti* and his version opens out a new line of approach. I mention these three only as they are the most "authoritative" extant.

The first difficulty is settling the text, the second is the interpretation of the language, and the third is the grasping the thought. All these points I desire to consider in some detail in this paper.

1. **The Text.**—The Text of the Avesta has not been preserved with such extreme care as that of the Vedas. The number of variations—and, indeed, of very important variations—is very large. A great deal of the text, as has come down to us and has been accepted as authentic, needs very careful textual revision. Geldner's edition has been the standard so far; but even there we find occasion for accepting other readings noted by him in the footnotes, and in a few cases even to suggest emendations. To appreciate the difficulty of the problem we must try to understand the history of the collecting and the editing to the text as we possess to day, or rather of the first text—the *Urtext*—from which all the existing mss. have been derived. Leaving aside all question of the existing manuscripts, treated by Geldner in his masterly *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Avesta Texts, let us consider merely how the *Urtext* came into being.

It is here that Andreas stands out as pioneer worker. Unfortunately, his work—buried as it is in the back numbers of the *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*—are known to but few Iranists in the West and in India to still fewer. Yet without their guidance, accurate work in Avesta, and especially in the *Gāthās*, is not possible. To put it roughly the work of Andreas has been to reconstruct the *Urtext*. He has gone deep into the palaeography of the Avestan script as we know it today and he has tried to trace each letter to its original Aramaic form of about the 2nd century

B. C. By his unrivalled knowledge of Semitic language and scripts, he has shown exactly what the original sounds were, which are represented to-day by the various letters of the Avestan script. And no good scholar could ever afford to neglect these results of the work of Andreas. He has shown how the Aramaic script, though insufficient for the purposes of an Aryan language, was adapted for the taking down of the Zoroastrian texts, and he has also pointed out the principles that must have guided the transcribers, as well as their mistakes and inconsistencies. In this way he and Wackernagel have reconstructed the Urtext of the *Hās* of the *Ahunavaiti Gāthā*.

Taking then the text as fixed by Andreas our next question should be to ask ourselves why this *Urtext* should have differed from the *traditional* text as given by Geldner. Neglecting this latter would be as serious a mistake as neglecting Andreas. What we have got to do is to carefully collate the texts of the *Gāthās*, as given by Westergaard and Geldner with that given by Andreas. That work is quite easy, for Andreas himself has given Geldner's text and his own reconstructed *Urtext*, side by side in parallel columns. But the more important investigation is to find out, if possible, why these differences arose. Here we need sound knowledge of middle Iranian phonology, of Pahlavi, as well as of the various Middle Iranian dialects lately discovered in the Turfan and in other mss. Such researches would undoubtedly throw considerable light on many an obscure *Gāthic* verse.

The next step in our fixing of the text is a consideration of the *metre*. It is remarkable that so far no translator of the *Gāthās* has ever taken pains to study closely the metrical construction of the verse he is translating. The

Gāthās were compositions nearly contemporary with the *Vedas*, and the metres employed in them are fairly well-known Vedic metres, or some variants of them. So we should be quite justified in applying to the *Gāthās* the same principles as we apply to Vedic metres. It is a well-known principle that in translating a Vedic verse (especially from one of the earlier *mantras*) that each *pāda is a unit of sense as well as a unit of verse.* Each *pāda* makes a clause by itself and the sense almost never "runs over". This is a principle of prime importance in the interpretation of the *Gāthā* verses, and if it is borne in mind a great deal of needless complication may be avoided.

There is, however one important difference between the Vedic and the *Gāthā* metres, in as much as the number of *pādas* in the latter is often five or six or more. Thus in the *Ahunavaiti* we have six *pādas* of eight syllables each, and in the *Ustavaiti* there are five of eleven syllables each. In other words though the *pādas* in these two *Gāthās* correspond to those of the *anuṣṭup* or the *triṣṭup* which are very common Vedic metres, still the lengths of the verses are appreciably different. *Spentomainyu,* however, is exactly the same length as the ordinary *triṣṭup* verse, *i. e.,* it has four *pādas* of eleven syllables each. *Gāthā Vohu-Xšathra has six pādas* of seven syllables each. The metre of the last *Gāthās—Vahitišti—*is very complex; it is made up of four lines of 12 12, 19, 12, syllables.

I will here consider the metre of the *Ahunavaiti Gāthā* in some detail. In the first place we must remember that unlike the Sanskrit metres the *length* of the syllables in each *pāda* is not fixed in the Avesta. Nor are the metres dependent upon the number of *mātrās* contained in each. We have merely to count the *number of syllables.* The

Avesta accent, being a strong stress accent, also makes the recitation of these metres appreciably different from that of the Sanskrit ones. Each *pāda* has to contain a certain number of accented (*i. e.* stressed) syllables, and this causes the position of the cæsura in the middle of a line to vary. In other words in Avesta-metres the number of syllables in a *pāda* may be one more or one less than the average demanded by it. Thus in the *Ahunavaiti* the average length of the *pāda* is eight syllables, and the line (consisting of two *pādas*) is always sixteen syllables long; but the cæsura (the end of the *pāda*) may occur after the 7th or after the 9th syllable also, as well as after the 8th. Then again there is also a variation in taking the six *pādas* of the verse; they may be taken as three groups of two *pādas* each, or as two groups of three *pādas* each. In other words each verse of the *Ahunavaiti* may be taken as one *anuṣṭup* verse and a half or as two *gāyatrīs*. All these considerations are of fundamental importance in unravelling the syntax and hence the sense of the verses.

The metre, as has been already noted above, depends upon the number of syllables and owing to the fact that in the course of ages the texts came to be very seriously mispronounced, there is a good deal of difficulty in arriving at the correct number of syllables in many of the verses. There has been a tendency to introduce prothetic and other vowels, to amplify simple vowels into diphthongs and even introduce wholly needless and redundant vowels in the middle of words. Therefore it is by no means enough to count the number of syllables in a verse. The researches of Andreas do, indeed, simplify these matters a great deal. And another more or less reliable method is to transcribe the Avestan into the corresponding

Sanskrit words. This would bring the words much nearer the ancient Aryan forms and will generally give the correct number of syllables. Of course, in particular cases further details may have to be considered, but as a general rule the method here described suffices to determine the *pādas* with fair accuracy.

2. **The language.**—As regards this point, the words themselves are often quite difficult to interpret. In the absence of any extensive literature in the Ancient Iranian we very often get a verse in which every word is unique in its appearance. This would certainly make interpretation extremely difficult and doubtful. The context and the general setting of the verse would certainly help in indicating the direction in which the meaning is to be sought. Here again Sanskrit comes in useful; for if we change the word into the Sanskrit form, we find in the majority of cases, that Sanskrit word has been used in the Veda, and that the meaning found there would also suit the *Gāthā* passage more or less satisfactorily, or with a slight semantic change.

As regards the grammar and syntax of the gāthic passages, if the point regarding each *pāda* being self-contained is remembered, the task of interpreting the construction becomes appreciably lighter. The language is very close to Vedic Sanskrit in its construction and syntactical peculiarities. Hence it would be entirely foreign to its spirit to import later syntactic complications into it. And we must never lose sight of the all important fact that the *Gāthās* embody the highest thought contained in the Avesta and therefore their diction is particularly simple and direct. The language is straightforward and powerful and free from all literary and syntactical embellishments and complications. This

is invariably the case where thought soars high; witness, for instance, the utter simplicity of the language and the diction of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā,* of the *Bible* and the *Qor'ān.*

3. **The thought.**—As stated above the *Gāthās* contain the highest thought to be found in the Avesta. Indeed, they form the very core and centre of the religion of Zarathushtra. All else in Zoroastrian theology is of secondary importance, either extraneous imposition or else a later version of the ancient original doctrines. Naturally, therefore, the purest and highest form of the Prophet's teaching would be found in the reputed words of the Teacher himself. As has happened with every religion, the words of the Prophet are founded upon the loftiest spiritual wisdom. But the loftiest is necessarily clothed in the simplest and the most direct language. So in translating the *Gāthās* we should give to the words the deepest spiritual sense they are capable of bearing at the same time striving to make the construction as simple and direct as possible.

Another point to remember is that in the *Gāthās* we do not get the teaching given as a systematic whole. The verses form rather a set of points made in the course of a spiritual discourse. Each verse is complete in itself as far as the thought is concerned, each has got its point and its message to convey. But the connections between the verses themselves and the continuity of a *Hās* as a whole are to be supplied by the reader or the pupil. In fact, the point in each verse is put down very much as is to be found in the *Sūtras* of Sanskrit Literature, and the full implication of each has to be developed by meditation and deep thought. This is the ancient and familiar method always followed in the East. The Teacher gives to the pupil one

point at a time and as he follows the way indicated by the *Guru*, and leads the life and meditates thereon, the meaning of the teaching becomes clearer, and thus he passes on to the next step. The teaching of the *Gāthās* has to be understood very much in the same manner. Even in the existing translations, the *Gāthās* show a grandeur of thought and a breadth of view which is quite modern. And I sincerely believe that their inner meaning lies far deeper; for they emanated from a Divinely-inspired Teacher and the only way to interpret their Message is what the ancient Sages have taught us,—to approach them with humility, with an open mind and with devotion:

तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।

"TRACES OF PRE-HISTORIC ART IN THE VEDIC TEXTS."

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It is well known that the Aryas had passed from the Stone-Age to the Copper Age before the texts of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* were composed, and that they knew the use of bronze as well as of iron by the time of the composition of the *Yajurveda*. The three metals are found mentioned together in a passage of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (IV. 7·5) along with gold, lead and tin. This passage is found in other recensions[1] of the *Yajurveda* also, and the terms used for the three metals are *ayas*, *śyāmam* and *loham*. But it is a characteristic feature of Indian culture that traces of the older age are retained in rituals as well as linguistic survivals.

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1. *K. S.* XVII. 10; *Kapisthala Sam.*, XVIII. M. S. II. 11. 5; V. *Sam.*, XVIII. 13-15.

Let us examine, for instance, the meaning of the word, *dhiṣaṇā* which occurs in various passages of the *Ṛgveda.* It is explained in the St. Petersburg Dictionary[1] as an implement used in preparing the *soma,* and this sense is clear from numerous passages cited in the *Vedic Index*[2]. The word is used in some other passages in the dual or the plural, apparently in a figurative sense, while in a few passages it was taken to mean the *vedi* or sacrificial altar. In regard to the last meaning, Professors Macdonell and Keith cautiously sound a note of warning, as the *dhiṣaṇā* in the dual, in the *Vājasaneyi* and *Taittirīya Saṃhitās* seem to mean the planks *(adhiṣavaṇaphalake)* over which the pressing of the *soma* took place.

Let us turn to the *Yajurveda,* to which we must appeal to clear the meanings of expressions used in rituals. In the second *anuvāka* of the first *kāṇḍa* of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* we have the following passage:—

Yajñasya ghoṣadasi pratyuṣṭṃ rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arātayaḥ, preyamagād dhiṣaṇā barhiraccha manunā kṛtā svadhayā vitaṣṭā ta āvahanti kavayaḥ purastād devebhyo juṣṭam iha barhirāsade I. This passage deserves to be discussed in detail. It appears also in other recensions of the *Yajurveda,*[3] and has been commented on in the Brāhmaṇa (III. 2·2). Prof. Keith translates it as follows:—

"Thou art the substance of the sacrifice. The Rakṣas is burnt up, the evil spirits are burnt up. The *vedi* hath come to the sacrificial straw, made by Manu, fashioned

1. *S. V. Dhisana.*
2. *Vedic Index,* I, p.
3. *Kath. Sam.,* I. 2; *Kap. Sam.,* I. 2; *Mait. Sam.,* I. I. 2; also Brahmana corresponding to the above, XXXI. 1; XLVII. 1; IV. 1, 2 respectively.

with the *svadhā* call. The sages fetch it from in front, the delightful straw for the Gods to sit on here".

It is clear that Prof. Keith makes nonsense of this passage by translating *dhiṣaṇā* as *vedi* (sacrificial altar) unmindful of the warning already sounded in the *Vedic Index,* as cited above. He seeks to justify his rendering in the foot-note[2]: — "The inversion of expression by which the *vedi* is made to approach the straw, instead of the straw the *vedi,* is not difficult in the priestly terminology". This is adding insult to injury, as Prof. Keith finds himself unable to explain, according to his rendering, the significance of the second line, in the passage though he is constrained to observe that ' the reference to burning shows that some *implement* must have been heated (the italics are mine). His mistake may have been due to the misapplication to the whole passage of the ritualistic direction given by Āpastamba,[3] as well as by Baudhāyana[4] in respect of the first *yajus* only (11), viz. *Yajñasya ghoṣadasi,* which has the variant. *Yajñasya goṣadasi* in the *Kāṭhaka* and *the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās. Goṣad* might refer to the *vedi,* by analogy with *admasad* in numerous passages applied to *Agni* as *hotṛ.*

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* all the *Śrauta Sūtras* and both the commentators Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara agree in finding in this passage reference to an *implement.* The *Brāhmaṇa* calls this implement *paraśu,* but fails to understand why it is here styled *dhiṣaṇā* by which it means only *vidyā,* and is content with the observation

1. *Veda of the Black Yajus School,* Tr. I, p. 2.
2. *Ibid, vide* notes 3 and 4.
3. *Srauta Sutra,* 1. 3.
4. *Srauta Sutra,* 1. 2.

that the implement is used ' with knowledge ',[1] Sāyaṇa is worried about it too, and explains that the implement or axe (*paraśu*) is an allegorical representation of *vidyā*[2]. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is bolder, and explains the term by ' an efficient weapon for cutting ' [3] (*lavane samarthā*).

Let us turn to the other passages where *dhiṣaṇā* occurs. In the sixth *anuvāka* of the same *kāṇḍa* and *praśna* we read :

Dhiṣaṇāsi parvatyā prati tvā divaskambhanirvettu, dhiṣaṇāsi pārvateyī prati tvā parvatirvettu, which Prof. Keith translates :—" Thou art a bowl of rock, may the supporter of the sky recognize thee ; thou art a bowl made of the rock, may the rock recognize thee.[4] "

And in the foot-note he adds :—" What *dhiṣaṇā* really means here is doubtful ; Eggeling (S. B. E. XII, 38) renders it ' bowl ', and this may be right......... The use of *parvatyā* in the case of *dṛṣad* and *pārvateyī* in that of the *upala* is explained by the fact that the latter as smaller was deemed to be the offspring of the former." In other words, one ' *dhiṣaṇā* ' is ' of the *parvata* ', torn from the rock and the other a smaller piece chipped from this large piece. The ritual referred to in the passage is the crushing of the grain into pulp with the help of these pieces of stone known as *dṛṣad* and *upala*. The commentators are certain of the sense of *dhiṣaṇā* in this passage, and are helped by the ritual in arriving at the interpretation. In the words of Bhāskara[5], *Dhiṣaṇāsīti*

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1. *Vidya vai dhisana* I *Vidyayaivainadachhaiti* II (III. 224).
2. *Vidyarupatvenaghijnatavati* (com., on *Tait. Sam.*, I. 2. 3).
3. *Dhiradrsta lavane samartha.* (com., on *Tait. Sam.*, I. 1. 1). Again, *Asnapersum dhisanasabdena samkirtyan, vidyayaiva barhirabhipraptum gacchan bhavati* I (com. on *Tait. Sam.*, III. 2-2-4).
4. Tr., I. p. 6.
5. Com. on *Tait. Br.* 1 III. 2-6 ; (*Mysore Oriental Series*, No. 18., p. 85).

śamyāyām dṛṣadotyādhānam, Dhiṣaṇāsi pārvateyīti dṛṣadyupalātyādhānam. But neither he nor Sāyaṇa explains why the term *dhiṣaṇā* should be applied to the stone pieces. They might have found a key in the earlier part of the passage where the *śamyā* or huge stone slab over which the crushing of the corn takes place is described as *divaskambhanī* 'reaching to the sky', denoting a bowl of stone or rock found in nature, as contrasted with the *dṛṣad* and *upala* which are man's handiwork, having been chipped, polished and sharpened (whence the term *dhiṣaṇā*). But with this we shall deal later in connection with other passages.

If we apply the meaning 'stone piece' to *dhiṣaṇā* in the first passage, the other expressions at once become intelligible and acquire a fresh meaning. The stone implement has gone towards the felling of the sacrificial grass (*barhirachha*), and it was fashioned by the hand of man in antiquity, (*manunā kṛtā*)[1] made by Manu, the first civilized man in mythology, *āvahanti kavayaḥ* is found in the other recension[1] in the form *tayāvahante kavayaḥ*, 'knowing men get the grass cut with this (implement),' *Svadhayā vitaṣṭā* would mean 'getting sharpened with every use or application' (literally, by the exercise of its own nature, *svadhā*). The prayer that the Rākṣasas may be *prātyuṣṭa* (burnt) is quite in place as referring to the heat due to friction, in the whetting of a stone implement. It is in keeping with Vedic practice to regard the unnecessary or inconvenient parts of things as the portion of the Rākṣasas *cf. Rākṣasāṃ bhāgosi* in *Taitt. Sam.*

1. *Kathaka* and *Kapiṣṭhala*, (op. cit.) Keith notices this, but remarks that *taya* may be an instance of a rare *sandhi* and thinks that '*taḍ*' is no more than an easy correction (as in Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* p. 66, note 8).

I. 1, 5, addressed to the outer rind of corn, as contrasted with *devabhāgam* which is the grain after the husk is removed. By the friction generating heat, stone particles are rubbed off the edge of the implement.

We get a further idea of the meaning of *dhiṣaṇā* from the first *Yajus* or the fourth *praśna;*

Ādade grāvāsyadhvarakṛd devebhyo gambhīram imam adhvaram kṛdhi etc., which Keith translates:[1] "I take thee. Thou art the stone that maketh the sacrifice for the gods; make this sacrifice deep, with thy highest edge." ...."Ye *dhiṣaṇās* that are strong, be strengthened; gather strength and give me strength; let me not harm you, harm me not." The reference is clearly to sharp-edged slabs of stone.

II

We may now proceed to consider those passages which seem to contain an unwritten record of the evolution of neoliths. Prof. Roth[2] pointed out long ago that the word *dṛṣad* in the *Ṛgveda*[3] denoted not a mill-stone but a stone used to pound grain, as a pestle, *i. e.*, upper stone. *Upala* or *upara* in the *Ṛgveda*[4] denotes the mortar. But in the *Yajurveda* and Brāhmaṇas *upala* means the upper stone, (not the lower as in the *Ṛgveda*) and has the specialized meaning of upper grinding stone, for *dṛṣad* and *upala* appear in contradistinction to *ulūkhala* and *musala,* as *Yajñāyudhāni* in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā,* as well as in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* It is

1. Tr., I, p. 51.
2. St. Petersburg Dict. *s. v. Dṛṣad.*
3. *R. V.*, VII. 104. 22; VIII. 72-4.
4. *Upara* in R V., I. 79-2; X. 94-5; X. 175-3. *Upalaprakṣiṇi* (Ix. 112-3) is rendered by Yaska as *saktukarika* (Niruka, VI. 5). It means 'pounder of corn'.

clear, that pounding was the primitive method, and that the grinding stone was a later invention of neolithic man.

III

The further stages in the evolution of implements are preserved in another word, also a synonym for *paraśu* viz. *svadhiti*. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (1. 2. 1.) we have the description of *svadhiti* used in shaving, and with a wooden handle (*oṣadhe trāysvainam* is apparently a prayer to the handle to keep the blade in place). In the ritual they used axes of *bone*[1] both for cutting the sacred grass and for shaving, except in the *Atharvaveda* where we have references to copper axes (VI. 141. 2). But there are a few passages where there is indication of its having been once of stones. One may compare *ṚV*.-X. 92. 15 where *svadhiti* refers to the thunderbolt (*vajra)* of Indra, with the numerous references to *sphāyam* or *paraśu* in the *Yajurveda*[2] as *vajra*, and a few passages[3] where it is described as *yuktagrāvā*, and which Sāyaṇa explains as *pāṣāṇasadṛśo vajro grāvā.*

IV

There are passages which retain the old words side by side with the changes in the ritual brought on in the course of history. Taking for example, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2. 5) on *adhiṣavaṇamasi vānaspatyaṃ prati tvādityāstvagvettu,* we have, *adhiṣavaṇamasi vānaspatyamityāha* I *adhiṣavaṇamevainat karoti* II *adrirasi vānaspatya ityāha* I *grāvāṇamevainatkaroti* II. The difficulty of the ritualist here is that while in actual practice the pestle and the

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1. *Asvaparasu,* a bone of the horse; sometimes, *asvaparsu,* a rile of the animal, e. g., *Tait. Br.*, III. 2-2.
2. *Tait.* Br., III. 2-10.
3. *e.g., Tait. Sam.*, IV. 4-1.

mortar used were of wood(*vanaspateh*), the ritual required them of stone: hence the apologetic explanation *grāvāṇamevainal karoti*: 'the hymn makes this wooden implement as effective as if it were of stone.' That such changes in ritualistic fact were known is clearly expressed in another Brāhmaṇa passage found in the body of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (V. 1. 10), which says, that wood which was uncut by the axe *(aparaśuvṛkta)* was not used for sacrifices at first and that *Ṛṣiprayoga* (the usage of the sages) made it acceptable to *Agni*. This is obviously reminiscent of the first use of wooden material in sacrifices in place of those of stone or of earth. Relics of the older usage we have also in such passages as *abhijid asi yuktagrāvā Indrāya tvā.*

V.

As regards the form of the implement, it appears from the *Sralūa Śulras* that the sickle (*asida*) was used for cutting the grass, or a horse's rib was so used. Is it possible that we have a real reference to the knives with chipped ends, similar to European neoliths or to the Rostrocarinates discovered so largely in the Cuddappa district? In any case, Vedic culture would, like the Chaldean and the Egyptian, have to be traced to neolithic times.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE RK-TEXT FOR THE MEANING OF RTA.

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The etymology of *ṛta* leads, *via* Sanskrit *aram*, to the Greek *ararisko*, to fix, join together, and the Latin *ratus*, reckoned, calculated, fixed, certain, valid. Its close

parallel, both in etymology and meaning, is the Avestan *asha*. The etymology therefore suggests that the meaning of *ṛta* has to be extended from the material *gati* and *prāpaṇa*, which the (classical) Sanskrit Kośa gives, to the intellectual sphere, and perhaps even further. Such an extension would, within the Indo-European family, be warranted by words like intellect, understanding, which clearly show still their material origin. If this be correct, *ṛta* interpreted rightly may give an insight into the philosophical and religious views of the Vedic and pre-Vedic Āryas, such as probably no other word in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* will afford, that important and much misunderstood *kratu* not excepted.

Ṛta and *anṛta* occur in 358 *Ṛgveda* passages once or more than once, *ṛta* in all the cases of the singular (except the vocative if I am not mistaken), the nominative of the dual, the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genetive of the plural. Their examination yields surprising results. The only condition for arriving at them is to emancipate oneself from interpretations which seem to be as widely and readily accepted as they are wrong. Both Sāyaṇa and Yāska have to teach the 20th century interpreter of the *Ṛgveda* a good many things which he neglects at his own loss.

It is clear that the text of the *Ṛgveda* itself is the greatest authority in its interpretation, a parallel case to the Mīmāṃsā rule that the Śruti goes before the Smṛti. Especially where modern, medieval, and ancient commentators fail, or contradict one another, the text must be consulted again and again, by itself, in the light of what there may be of ascertained independent knowledge about the Vedic age, in the light of the context, and the numerous other

factors that influence the meaning of a word, in the *ṚV.* perhaps more than in any other text. It is not the same whether a particular word occurs in an *Itihāsa* or a relic of it, or is used by the Ṛṣi-poet in the prayer for *dakṣiṇā* at the end of his *sūkta.* In comparatively rare cases *ṛta* will stubbornly block the road to a satisfactory interpretation. Generally it will yield a natural, though in cases alternative meaning, provided the interpreter is able to transplant himself from the 20th century A. D. to the 20th or 30th century B. C., and to detach himself from views which the western group of the Indo-European family may have held or holds, but which under the circumstances in which they lived were foreign to the Indo-Iranians or Indians of the Vedic and pre-Vedic age.

Whatever may be the proportion of the extent *Ṛgveda saṃhitā* to the whole mass of *mantras* that once existed, but may have been lost in part, the present *sūktas* must be accepted as the true, though possibly incomplete, reflection of the material and intellectual life of the times in which they were written. As the bold outline of the development of the philosophical thought in ancient India is better known than probably the history of thought in any other domain, it is tempting to make the later philosophical views at least the partial basis for the interpretation of *ṛta* in the *ṚV.* How deceptive such a method is is clearly shown by Sāyaṇācārya, who in passages which cannot possibly have that bearing, unhesitatingly sees classical Vedānta. In the main, if the correct meaning of *ṛta* in the *Ṛgveda saṃhitā* has to be established the Ṛ*gveda* will have to give the first clue to it. On this ground, the view of Sāyaṇa, followed with advantage where he repeats the older tradition, has to be accepted with great caution

when he apparently reads the Ṛk-text through the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. How far the comparatively modern or medieval or even at times the ancient commentators should be blindly followed the history of the interpretation of the *Bādarāyaṇasūtrāṇi* shows, which are a much more recent text than the *ṚV*..

The explanation put in this paper on the *ṛta* passages in the *Ṛgveda saṃhitā* is based on the above principles; if they are correct, the interpretation of *ṛta* on the whole should be correct. In this or that individual case, where a difference of opinion is possible, no particular interpretation can lay claim to infallibility. A small number of cases may remain doubtful.

It has been pointed out by writers on *ṛta* that the relation between *ṛta* and certain deities, Varuṇa most notably, is one of interdependence. At times Varuṇa seems to depend on *ṛta*, at others, *ṛta* on Varuṇa. Moreover *ṛta* is brought in connection with all the gods, as they without exception obey *ṛta*. This holds good even with deities in which the anthropomorphic element is not developed much beyond the attribution of certain material actions as conscious ones, such as obedience, work and rest, in the case of *Āpaḥ*, for instance. It is for the solution of the *ṛta* problem next to immaterial to what degree the Vedic deities represent physical phenomena and forces; the one important fact remains that the mythological figures do represent natural powers. If we add this to the observation that figures which are hardly more than brute forces obey the behest of *ṛta*, the conclusion seems unavoidable that *ṛta* is a physical principle, underlying and pervading brute nature, as it does the more or less anthropomorphic figures of the Vedic pantheon. To say that dawn

moves by *ṛta* (V. 80. 1), or to stand surprised at the wonderful *ṛta* that the raw cow is found with cooked milk (IV. 3. 9), is but a poetical yet unmistakable illustration of the view that *ṛta* is the physical principle of the cosmos and governing its mechanism.

Following the road along which the primitive psychology of the Vedic Āryas in all likelihood travelled, it is not at all surprising to find that *ṛta* is the governing principle of the human being and, naturally, in the first place of its doings, which are regulated and judged by *ṛta*. That which is done according to *ṛta* is good, that which is done against it, is bad. *Ṛta* thus becomes the principle of morality, *dharma*, which takes the place of *ṛta* in later strata of Indian literature. That in those circles to which the family books of the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* are ascribed *ṛta* should obtain the meaning of *yajña*, sacrifice, and of ritual regulation, performance and perfection, seems but a matter of course. To perform the sacrifice according to the prescribed rites was the expression and proof of morality; the *yajamāna*, the *dāśvān*, was the righteous man, the non-sacrificer, whether as a tribe or an individual, was a niggard and wicked. *Ṛta* then in obvious keeping with the etymology of the word appears as the regulating principle, the norm of action, both macro and microcosmic, material and moral. It goes without saying that ṛta as norm of action touches the Sanskrit *ṛtu*, the Latin *ritus*, Old-High-German *rim*, Lithuanian *re'ju*; nor is the Avestan *rātu*, judge, arbiter, wholly outside the range of *ṛta*.

The views proposed so far are fairly in common with the interpretations current of the Ṛ*gveda*. Here however the ways seem to part. The following view, for instance, cannot be accepted. "Spaeter waeren *ṛta*, gelegentlich auch *ṛtu* dann auf Gebiete uebertragen, denen eine Vorstellung der

Bewegung fern liegt. *Ṛta* waere schliesslich in den Bereich abstrakter Begriffe gerueckt, wo es naeher als mit Bewegungsausdruecken mit av. (2) ratu, 'Richter, Schiedsrichter' sich beruehrt". *Neisser*, Zum Woerterbuch des Ṛgveda s. v., p. 190. This statement does not represent the actual facts. Truth as the meaning of *ṛta* occurs in the oldest parts of the Ṛ*gveda*, though *ṛta*, true, is apparently to be found exclusively in the younger parts, outside the family books. Nor does it correspond to the actual state of affairs when it is said:—"An Recht schliesst ferner heilige Wahrheit sich an.........". O. c., p. 191, as long as the number of passages in which *ṛta* means truth or true, is, if not the same or more than all the other meanings together, certainly much larger than any one of them individually. There are 191 passages in which *ṛta* and *anṛta* contain the concept of truth, either as substantive or as adjective. Nor has it been shown in any way that the meaning truth only follows up the other meanings and is in any manner whatsoever posterior and secondary to them.

Oldenberg's view that the Adityas, the only moral deities of any consequence in the Ṛ*gveda*, had been imported from Semitic sources, generally and justly has been declined. The main reason is, besides external grounds, that the Āryas surely need not go a begging for practically the only representatives of morality in the Ṛ*gveda*. For according to Oldenberg Varuṇa would have come over bag and baggage from Babylon (or Elam?). Those scholars who find the meaning of *ṛta* mainly equivalent with law, form of action, cannot logically deny that the Indo-Iranians possessed sufficiently well developed notions of morality of their own without a loan from outside.

That Indian mind which must be considered as the heir of the *Saṃhitā* period shows a logical, but more a metaphysical trend. This makes it likely that in the Ṛksūktas at least traces should be found of a principle not only of movement and action, but of being and truth as well. In view of the scepticism about the developed and generally accepted mythology expressed in the hymns themselves, it is more than probable that questions on the stuff out of which the world is made, into what everything has to be resolved finally, how man is put into relation with the outside world, in some form or other would arise in the minds of those who asked "*Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema?*" In other words, the problems about the first physical, logical and metaphysical principle in some primitive form occupied the minds of the Vedic poets and those around them. The very stage of thought makes it likely that one and the same principle would be considered to be at the beginning of physical evolution as as well as the basis of logic and metaphysics. The *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā* furnishes evidence that in the mind of the Vedic and pre-Vedic Aryas *ṛta* was the first and common principle of at least the physical and logical evolution.

We have it on the authority of tke *Nighaṇṭus* (1.12) and *Yāska* that *ṛta* in the *Samhitā* means water, *udaka*. This is the more remarkable since *ṛta* is not given as a synonym of *yajña* in the *Nighaṇṭu* lists. The statement of the *Nighaṇṭus* is fully borne out by the Ṛktext; no less than 67 passages show *udaka* to be the meaning of *ṛta*. That water was a physical and primary principle in the origin and construction of the world is clear from the cosmogonies of the Brāhmaṇas. It is a Vedic conception that the waters are the primeval form of existence,

(*Keith* Rel. and Philos. of the Veda, p. 603). The conclusion is therefore legitimate that *ṛta* in the sense of *udaka* was looked upon as a first physical principle out of which the world was built. *Ṛta* is thus not only the regulating principle of action both in microcosm and macrocosm, but also the material cause out of which the universe was evolved.

An obvious representative of the logical and metaphysical principle in the *ṚV*. seems to be found in *satya*; as a matter of fact, *satya* alone seems to be that principle. Phrases like *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca* appear not only to recommend *satya* as a metaphysical and logical principle, but to preclude *ṛta* from the position of the first principle of logic and metaphysics. In other words, *satya*, and not *ṛta*, has to be considered as the basis of Reality and Truth.

Against this view there stands the following. *Satya*, being according to, of the nature of, *sat*, has a metaphysical bearing, though in Vedic as well as in classical Sanskrit it stands for truth or true. Possibly we may see in the very word *satya* the correct relation between truth and reality, truth being but the intellectual representation of reality. But the surprisingly great number of passages which show the meaning of *ṛta* to be truth or true, weakens the belief that *satya* is the first and only principle of truth, especially in the absence of any explicit and decisive statement in the *Saṃhitā*. A rough estimate would suggest that *ṛta* in the sense of truth or true is more frequent than *satya* is. As it is certain from the Ṛktext that *ṛta* means truth and true, *satya* cannot be the only principle of truth. That *satya* does not represent the exclusive first logical and metaphysical principle is established by the very phrase *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca*, in which *ṛta* occurs on a level

with *satya*. The undisputable fact that *ṛta* in the *ṚV*. is the universal governing principle creates on the other hand the prejudice that it is also the first principle of truth. What is neither explicitly stated of *satya,* nor even implied, seems at least implied of *ṛta*. It should not be overlooked either that the phrase *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca* is to be found in *maṇḍala* X, *sūkta* 190. The fact that *anṛta* in the sense of untruth or untrue occurs in various cases in all the maṇḍalas except the third, sixth and ninth, and nowhere in any other sense, is a confirmation of *ṛta* meaning truth and true.

It has to be conceded that the evidence for *ṛta* as the first metaphysical principle is weak, comparatively only a few passages bearing that meaning, as barely half a dozen ṛks show *ṛta* in the sense of *sat*. That *ṛta* is even said to go back to *tapas* need no one disturb who remembers the part *tapas* is made to play, and keeps in view the cases of inter-generation mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. It comes on the other hand as a surprise that *ṛta* practically has escaped the fate of being turned into a mythological figure. Naturally the inherent abstract character *ṛta* has in the *Ṛgveda* was a safeguard against the anthropomorphisation. It is agreed on all sides, and cannot be denied as a result of the present inquiry, that *ṛta* is a sacrificial principle or norm, as well as the sacrifice itself.

Ṛta, then in the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* in the great majority of passages is (1) either (the principle of) truth itself or some aspect of it, and as such the logical basis of the thought and speculation of the primitive Vedic philosopher. *Ṛta* is (2) a cosmic principle, either as water one of the material causes, or the only material cause out of which the physical world is made; or it is the norm, the universal Law,

governing the action both of macrocosm and microcosm. As the norm of the action of man, the personal being, *ṛta* is the norm of morality. That morality, both private and public, being largely expressed by the ritual order, *ṛta* appears as the norm of sacrifice and, as a natural development of the original thought, as the sacrifice itself. *Ṛta*, therefore, in the *Ṛgveda* is the First philosophical Principle, which in nature and action ramified over the whole intellectual and moral life of the Vedic Ārya.

It is readily granted that nowhere in the *Saṃhitā* a clear statement is found about *ṛta*, its nature and all its functions. But this will not upset any student who does not expect books like Aristotle's Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics and Analytics to be found among early Vedic literature, and bears in mind that even from the *Nāsadīyasūkta* to the *Chandogya-Upaniṣad* there is a far cry. Considering moreover the fairly pronounced ritualistic tendency of the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*, it is rather a matter of surprise that *ṛta* in its various aspects is so clearly visible. *Ṛta* is a proof that the philosophical element in the *Ṛgveda* has been smothered less than the lyrical one. To have found in *ṛta* the point on which the physical, logical and moral lines of thought and evolution converge, may perhaps without presumption be considered a positive gain. And a glance at the meaning of *ṛta*, obtained from the examination of the Ṛkpassages, will show at once the similarity and the difference between *ṛta* as the (main) expression of philosophical thought in the *Saṃhitā* period and the formula *saccidānanda* of Upaniṣad times.

Note. The idea of ṛta-truth was put first into the head of the present writer by Professor Lueders, who as early as 1909-13 in his lectures at Berlin University not less emphatically than indefatigably declared:—"*Ṛta* is Truth, and not Right."

THE COMMENTARIES ON RIGVEDA AND NIRUKTA.

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Till very recently Sāyaṇa was the solitary guide in the field of the traditional interpretation of the *Ṛgveda.* There is Yāska who is supposed to have lived a few centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian Era. He, in the course of his annotations on the *Nighaṇṭu,* has commented upon a number of Ṛgvedic passages. After Yāska, till about the fourteenth century of the Christian era, there is a blank; and out of this darkness comes the figure of Sāyaṇa, who has written an exhaustive commentary on the whole of the *Ṛgveda,* besides commentaries on other Vedic texts. On account of the absence of any known predecessors to him in the field of the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda,* it is even said that Sāyaṇa having no authority to follow except the ancient Yāska who lived nearly two thousand years prior to him, has used more fancy than tradition in his Bhāṣya, and as such, even if it is conceded that the traditional method of Vedic interpretation in India is a guide to a modern student of the Vedic literature, the Bhāṣya of Sāyaṇa is no basis for our study of the Vedas according to Indian tradition. In recent years circumstances have changed. We know now of about half a dozen commentators on the *Ṛgveda.* A modern student of the *Ṛgveda* has to take into consideration these commentaries also.

When I began to study the Vedas, I started with the Sāyaṇabhāṣya on the *Ṛgveda.* I made a thorough study of

that Bhāṣya and as such the names of Mādhava, Udgītha and Skandasvāmin were quite familiar to me[1]. But it was only in 1926 that I came across the Bhāṣya on *Ṛgveda* by these three ancient authors. I was made the Director of the Adyar Library in April 1926 and it was then and in this Library that I first saw a copy of these works. I began to study the commentaries from that time. When I was studying Sāyaṇa at Oxford and at Marburg, I had also studied Devarāja's Bhāṣya on the *Nighaṇṭu*, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.[2] At that time I had not read the *Niruktālocana* by Satyavrata. I collected all the references in Devarāja to Mādhava and compared them with Sāyaṇabhāṣya. I was able to trace some of them to Sāyaṇabhāṣya. Some others were opposed to Sāyaṇa's interpretations. A large number I could not trace to Sāyaṇa. I knew that there was another Mādhava, a predecessor of Sāyaṇamādhava in the field of the interpretation of *Ṛgveda*. I knew that Devarāja must be referring to that Mādhava.

At that time I understood Devarāja to be a very recent author. I left it at that point then. Still Devarāja was very valuable to me as he preserved fragments of a large number of Vedic Bhāṣyas prior to Sāyaṇa. When Dr. L. Sarup published his Introduction to his translation of the *Nirukta*[3], I found there the theory that Devarāja was more ancient than Durga[4]. Except the quotations in Devarāja from Sāyaṇa[5] there was no evidence to the contrary that I

1. Rgvedasamhita with the commentary of Sayanacarya 2nd edition by Max Mueller Vol. 4. pp. CXXVIII and CXXXI. (SRV).
2. Nirukta edited by Satyavrata Samasramin. 4 Voll.; 1st Vol.
3. Oxford University Press, 1920.
4. Introduction to the Nirukta by Dr. L. Sarup. Oxford University Press, 1920. p. 50.
5. See below. p. 230.

could adduce and so I could not proceed any further. Perhaps Sāyaṇa was himself quoting from the same Bhāṣya as the one from which Devarāja is also quoting, from the Bhāṣya of the more ancient Mādhava. When in 1926 I actually came across the Bhāṣya of this Mādhava[1] along with the Bhāṣya of Udgītha[2] and Skandasvāmin[3], I thought I have same fresh material to work on. I was studying these commentaries ever after. It was necessary to examine Devarāja once more, as a preliminary step in the study of the newly discovered Bhāṣyas on the *Ṛgveda*, inasmuch as Devarāja gives a large number of quotations from Mādhava and Skandasvāmin.

Besides these Bhāṣyas on the *Ṛgveda*, there is another work of very great importance that has been newly discovered, and that has to be studied along with these works. This is a *ṭīkā* on Yāska's *Nirukta*.[4] The author of this work is variously[5] given in the colophons as Maheśvara, as Skandasvāmin and also as Śabarasvāmin. In this connection I have to refer to a very regretable lack of co-ordination among the scholars at present. In the introduction to the translation of the *Nirukta*, Dr. L. Sarup says that he knows of a copy of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Nirukta[6]. When Mr. H. Skold published his work on the *Nirukta*,[7] he refers to this statement,[8]

1. Adyar Library Ms. XXXVIII D. 15 in 6 Vol. The reference will be to this Ms by vol. and page.
2. Adyar Library Mss. XXXIX B. 21, The reference will be to this Ms.
3. Adyar Library Ms. XXXVIII C 24 in 2 Vol, The reference will be to this Ms. by Vol. and page.
4. Adyar Library Ms. XXXIX A 1. in 4 Vol. The reference will be to this Ms. by Vol. and page.
5. Cf. Journal of Oriental Research Madras. II. 84 and Fragments of the Commentary of Skandasvamin and Maheṣvara on the Nirukta Edited by Dr. L. Sarup Lahore 1928. Introduction p. 5. (SK. M.)
6. p. 49.
7. Nirukta by H. Skold. Lunds Universitet 1926.
8. Preface X.

and this is in 1926. In 1928 H. Skold has published a booklet called Untersuchungen zur Genesis der Altindische Etymologischen Literatur.[1] There he makes this statement[2]: Ein Freund Sarups soll in Indian eine Handschift der ṭikā entdect haben. Wenn dies wahr geworden waere wuerde es von groesster bedentung fuer die Niruktophilologie gewesen sein. Professor Varma, der die betreffenden Fragmsnte selbst studiert hat, sagte mir aber 1926, als wir uns in London trafen, die Nachricht sei falsch grewesen.

In 1926, I had published the first part of the catalogue of Manuscripts in the Adyar Library,[3] and there I have noticed the three Bhāṣyas [4] on the *Ṛgveda* and also the name commentary on the *Nirukta*.[5] which appears under the name of Maheśvara. I have sent copies of the catalogue to all the principal libraries in Europe. Mr. H. Skold has not seen this catalogue. Further Dr. Sarup was in Lahore at the time this book was published by Dr. Skold. If he had written one letter to Dr. Sarup, he could have got at the correct information. But he simply relied on the statement of Professor Varma, and I do not know which fragment of which book it is that Professor Varma has studied. I know that the Lalchand Library in Lahore has a complete manuscript of the commentary,[6] and there is a transcript of the commentary in Lahore, taken from Madras. It is, to say the least graceless on the part of Mr. Skold to have rest contended after stating that Dr. Sarup has made an irresponsible statement.

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1. Lunds Universitet 1928.
2. p. 69.
3. A catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. of the Adyar Library. Part. I. 1926.
4. p. 2 and supplement I.
5. p. 50.
6. SK.M. Introduction p. 6 Ms. C.

After studying the commentaries, I have come to the following conclusions.

1. Devarāja is later than Sāyaṇa.

2. Mādhava is prior to Sāyaṇa (this is accepted by all).

3. Udgītha and Skandasvāmin are contemporaries, and lived before Mādhava.

4. The author of the *ṭīkā* on Yāska is Maheśvara, who must be a disciple of Udgītha or Skandasvāmin.

5. Durga lived before this Maheśvara.

6. There must be still more commentaries on the *Ṛgveda*. After stating these conclusions, I take up each of these authors for detailed consideration.

I. DEVARAJAYAJVAN.

Devarāja is later than Sāyaṇa, perhaps he is a very recent author. Sāyaṇa does not mention the name of Devarāja, although he mentions the names of Mādhava,[1] Udgītha,[2] Skandasvāmin,[3] Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra[4] and Bharatasvāmin[5]. He refers to Durga[6] also. Devarāja explains every word in the *Nighaṇṭu*. And as such it is really surprising if Sāyaṇa does not quote from him or mention his name when Sāyaṇa explains in detail the Vedic words, in case Sāyaṇa wrote his Bhāṣya after Devarāja. It is true that there is a reference to a Nighaṇṭu-

1. Sayana on the *Rgveda* X. 86-1.
2. Sayana on the *Rgveda* X. 46-10.
3. Sayana on the *Rgveda* 1·88·5.
4. SRV Vol. 4 p. C XXX.
5. SRV Vol. 4 p. C XXX.
6. Cf. Sayana on the *Rgveda* X. 30-11 *etasyarco vyakhyanam niruktatikaya uddhrtam* and Durga on *Nirukta* 6-22.

bhāṣya in Sāyaṇabhāṣya,[1] and that the reference is found in Devarāja.[2] The reference is this.

Sāyaṇa.[3] *usrāśabdāt svārthe pṛṣodarāditvena ghapratyaya iti nighaṇṭubhāṣyam.*

Devarāja[4] *Usrāśabdat pṛṣodarāditvena svārthe ghaḥ*

From this it is assumed that Sāyaṇa is quoting from Devarāja.[5] Other reasons adduced for the date of Devarāja much earlier than Sayaṇa are that Devarāja does not refer to Durga.[6] although he quotes from a large number of authorities, and no quotation cited by Devarāja from Mādhava is seen in Sāyaṇa.[7] For these reasons Devarāja is held to be earlier even than Durga. Now I have to take up each of these three statements for further consideration. Let me begin with the last statement.

Does not Devarāja quote Sāyaṇa? Satyavrata[8] says that not one passage in Devarāja cited as quotations from Mādhava is found in the Sāyaṇabhāṣya which he has collected.[9] These are his very words *nāighaṇṭukakāṇḍanirvacane mādhavīyeti samudhṛtānāṃ vyākhyavacanānām ekāsyāpi taira vivaraṇavedārthaprakāśayoradarśanat,* and *iha hi naigaṇṭukanirvacane udhṛtānāṃ mādhavīyabhāṣyavacanānām ekam api nopalabhyate sāyaṇamādhavīye 'smaddṛṣṭabhāṣye.*[10]

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1. Cf. the Nirukta Edited by Dr. L. Surup, Lahore 1928. Introduction pp. 25 and 26.
2. Cf. the Nirukta Edited by Dr. L. Sarup, Lahore 1928. Introduction pp. 25 and 26.
3. Sayana on the Ṛgveda. 62-3.
4. p. 230 under usriya.
5. Cf. the Nirukta Edited by Dr. L. Sarup. Introduction p. 25.
6. Dr. L. Sarup. Introduction to the Nirukta, Lahore 1928, p. 28. Satyavrata—Nirukta (Bibliotheca Indica Edition) Vol. 4, p. de (durgacaryasya tadgranthasya va.namollekhadarsanat.)
7. Satyavrata ibid. pp. dau and dhi. (quoted below).
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid p. dau.
10. Ibid p. dhi.

Devarāja speaks of two Mādhavas,[1] one being Mādhava son of Venkaṭācārya who wrote a *bhāṣya* on the *Ṛgveda*[2] and also some *anukramaṇīs,*[3] and the other being Māhdhavadeva[4] who wrote a Bhāṣya on the *Ṛgveda*. This is the passage in Devarāja[5]; *Śrī Venkaṭācāryatanayasya Mādhavasya bhāṣyakṛtau (to?) nāmānukramaṇyāh ākhyātānukramaṇyāh svarānukramaṇyāḥ nipālānukrrmaṇyāḥ nirbandhānānukramaṇyaḥ (nirvacanānūkramaṇyāḥ) tadiyasya bhaṣyasya ca bahuśaḥ paryālocanāt..................pāṭhaḥ saṃśodhitaḥ nirvacanañ ca niruktam..................skandasvāmi..................mādhavadeva..................bharatasvāmyādi viracitāni vedabhāṣyāṇi..................nirīkṣaya kriyate.* Perhaps Deverāja is referring to the same Mādhava in both the places. When I find that some passages cited by Devarāja from Mādhava are seen in Sāyaṇa and some not, I am inclined to think that he is referring to two Mādhavas. I do not know also if Devarāja has in his mind the Mādhava who is the *vivaraṇakāra* referred to by Satyavrata[6]. One thing is certain, and that is that Devarāja explicitly gives the name of Mādhava, son of Venkaṭācārya, whose commentary has now been discovered. Also that Devarāja gives passages from Mādhava which are not in Venkaṭamādhava, which are opposed to the explanations in Venkaṭamādhava, and which are seen verbatim in Sāyaṇa.

I give below a few quotations seen in Devarāja which are found in Sāyaṇa.

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1. Nighantubhasya p. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Nirukta Bibliotheca Indica Vol. 4. p. do cf. Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue Nos. 50, 51, 52, Berlin No. 1424, Bikaner No. 276, Bodlein 917.

1. Deverāja[1].

uṣarbudham atharyo na dantam[2] *ityatra atharyo na striya iva iti mādhavaḥ.*

Sāyaṇa[2]. *atharyo na striya iva.*

Mādhava[3]. *uṣasi prabuddhyamānam atharyas? striyo maithune, dharā bhavantīti striya iva.*

2. Devarāja[4]

mahīme asya vṛṣaṇāma sūṣe māṃscatve vā pṛsane vā vadhatre[5].

ityatra mādhavasya prathamabhāṣyaṃ mahī mahatī ime asya somasya śūṣe aukhakare bhavatah ye ca karmṇī māṃscatve aśvanāmaitat mākṣu caratī-ti? aśvaiḥ kriyamāṇe yuddhe bāhuyuddhe vadhatre śatrūṇāṃ hiṃsanaśīle bhavatah so-,?-yam asvāpayat śatrūnasnehayat? ca. snehanam pradrāvaṇam atha pratyakṣakṛtah.

Sāyaṇa[5]. *mahi mahatī prabhūte. vṛṣanāma.................ime ete dve karmaṇī asya somasya śūṣe sukhakare bhavatah ye ca karmṇī māṃscatve aśvanāmaitat. makṣu earatīti aśvaiḥ kriyamāṇe yuddhe, tatsādhyatvāt yuddham iha gṛhyate vā apivā pṛśane sparśanasādhye bāhuyuddhe vadhatre śatrūṇaṃ hiṃsanaśīle bhavataḥ. so' yām niguto nīcaiḥ sabdāyamānān śatrūn asvāpayat. tābhyām asūṣupat avadhīd ity arthaḥ. kiñ ca snehayat prādravayat saṅgrāmāt atha pratyakṣakṛtaḥ.*

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1. p. 194 under the word atharyah.
2. Rgveda IV. 68.
3. III. 928.
4. p. 150 under the word mamscatva.
5. Rgveda IX. 97-54.

Mādhava.[1] *mahīme asya mahatī ime asya somasya śukhakare varṣaṇanamane saraṇaṃ varṣaṇaṃ śatrūṇāṃ namanam. aśvaiḥ kriyamāṇe' pivā sparsanasādhye bāhuyuddhe śatrūṇāṃ hiṃsanaśīle he bhagavan.......śatrūn yac-ca srav?anaṃ pradravanam atha pratyakṣaḥ.*

3. Devarāja.[2]

rudraṃ jalāṣabheṣajam[3] *iti nigamaḥ Jalāṣam udakanāma vā iti mādhavo' bhāṣayat.*

Sāyaṇa[3] *sukharūpauśadhopetam, yadvā udakarūpauṣadhopetam.*

Mādhava.[4] *sukhakarabheṣajam.*

4. Devarāja,[5]

vṛtram ā śayānaṃ sirāsu[6] *iti nigamaḥ.*

saraṇasīlāsv apsu iti mādhavabhāṣyam.

Sāyaṇa[6], *sirāsu saraṇaśīlāsvapsu.*

Mādhava.[7] *udakasya nirgamanadvāreśu.*

5. Devarāja.[8]

Yac citram apna uṣaso vahānti[9].

āpyaṃ dhanam iti mādhavaḥ.

Sāyaṇa.[9] *apna āptavyaṃ dhanaṃ.*

Mādhava.[10] *karma.*

6. Devarāja.[11]

mādhavas to phalir bhedanakarmapi bhindan gacchati phalasamyukto gacchatīti vā iti niravocat.

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1. V. 795.
2. p. 130 under the word jalasa.
3. Rgveda 1-43-4.
4. I. 95.
5. p. 107 under the word sira.
6. Rgveda 1-121-11.
7. I. 336.
8. p. 174 under the word apnah.
9. Rgveda. 1-113-20.
10. 1. 295.
11. p. 67 under the word phaligaḥ.

Sāyaṇa.[1] (*a*) *saranyabhih phaligaṃ.*

phaligaṃ partiphalaṃ pratibimbaṃ tad asminn astīti phali svaccham udakaṃ, tad gacchaty ādhāratveneti phaligah yadvā vrīhyādi phalam, tad asmin bhavatīti phali vṛṣṭijalaṃ tad gacchatīti.

(*b*)[2] *ruroja phaligaṃ raveṇa.*

Ñiphalā-viśaraṇe. phalir bhedaṇ tena gacchatīti phaligam.

Mādhava.[3] always merely *megham.* The expression given by Devarāja is seen nowhere in Mādhava.

7. Devarāja.[4]

abudhne rājā varuṇo vanasya [5] *iti nigamaḥ*
vananīyasya tejasah iti mādhavaḥ.
Sāyaṇa.[5] *vanasya vananīyasya tejasaḥ.*
Mādhava.[6] *tejasa udakasya vy?.*

If we consider these seven cases, which I have selected at random from my notes, it will be found that Devarāja is quoting from Sāyaṇa and not from Mādhava. In the first example, the expression in Devarāja is exactly as it is in Sāyaṇa. Mādhava also uses the words, only he gives the explanation of *atharyah* also in the middle. Further we do not see in Mādhava *atharyo na,* but only *atharyah,* then he gives the explanation of the word and then he gives the

1. Ṛgveda I. 62-4.
2. Ṛgveda IV. 50-5.
3. I have looked up all the instances.
4. p. 36 under the word vana.
5. Ṛgveda I. 24-7.
6. I. 33 and 34.

meaning *striya iva*. But in Sāyaṇa we find the same expression as is seen in Devarāja, namely *atharyo na striya iva.*

In the next example, the whole passage is in Sāyaṇa. The only difference is that Devarāja omits some parts. Although Mādhava gives substantially the same explanation, the words are not the same. In the same place Devarāja again quotes Mādhava in explaining the Ṛgvedic passage *bradhnam mām'catvor varuṇasya babhrum.*[1] The words are exactly as they appear in Mādhava.[2]

Further the quotation which agrees with Sāyaṇa and not Mādhava, Devarāja styles *mādhavasya prathamabhāsyam*[3], thereby implying that he was aware of another bhāṣya of Mādhava, and the second quotation is from the other Mādhava.

In the third example, Mādhava never gives the meaning *udaka* to *jalīṣa*, he always gives the meaning *sukha*. I have compared all the places where the word occurs.[4] The word occurs only four times in the *Ṛgveda*, twice[5], alone and twice[6], in *samāsa* with *theṣaja*. Although the expession *jalāṣam udakanāma vā* does not occur in Sāyaṇa. he gives the meaning *udaka* once, as an alternative meaning. The next examples *sira* and *apnah* are self evident. The expression used by Devarāja is from Sāyaṇa and cannot be from Mādhava. In the next example phaliga, there is a small bit of a *kārikā*[7], possibly it is from one of the *anukramaṇīs* written by Mādhava. The two meanings of the

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1. Rgveda VII. 44-3.
2. IV. 138.
3. p. 150 under the word mamscatva.
4. I. 95, II. 660, IV. 177, IV. 407.
5. Rgveda II. 33-7 and VII. 35-6.
6. Rgveda I. 43-4 and VIII. 29-5
7. Phaḷir bhedana karmaṇi.

word given by Devarāja are seen in Sāyaṇa and there is nothing corresponding to them anywhere in Mādhava. In the last example also, the expression is seen in Sāyaṇa and not in Mādhava.

These examples are enough to show that Devarāja was aware of Sāyaṇabhāṣya when he wrote his Nighaṇṭubhāṣya. The whole spirit of the introductory portion of Devarāja is quite modern.

Now let me take the point whether Sāyaṇa quotes Devarāja. The similarity between the reference to Nighaṇṭubhāṣya and the corresponding passage in Devarāja is so striking that one is quite justified in concluding that Sāyaṇa must be referring to Devarāja. But the presence of a large number of passages in Devarāja taken from Mādhava, their relation to Sāyaṇabhāṣya and the fact of Sāyaṇabhāṣya being known as Mādhavabhāṣya compel me to consider the question whether Sāyaṇa is quoting from Devarāja or from some earlier Nighaṇṭubhāṣya from which Devarāja also has taken the passage for his Nighaṇṭubhāṣya. The latter alternative becomes the more probable one because of the statement of Devarāja that he has as far as possible quoted verbatim from previous authorities. He says;[1] *nirvacanañ ca niruktam skamdasvāmikṛtām niruktaṭīkām kamalanayanīyanikhilapadasaṃskārāṃś ca narīkṣya kriyate tatra ca asmadvyākhyeyānām tatra (tatra) dṛṣṭānām tattatkṛtañ ca (tatas tataś ca) nirvacanam upādāya tadevāsmat prakaraṇānurūpañ ced ullikhyate, ananurūpan tu kiñcid vipariṇamayya..........niruktiḥ kriyate.* From this it is clear that as far as possible he is making use of the very words of previous commentators on the

1. pp. 4 and 5.

Nighaṇṭu. He gives the names of both Kṣīrasvāmin[1], and Anantācārya[2], as commentators on the *Nighaṇṭu.* Sāyaṇa quotes Kṣīrasvāmin in *Dhātuvṛtti**. So Sāyaṇa's reference to a *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya* and the presence of the passage in Devarāja's Nighaṇṭubhāṣya are not enough to prove that Devarāja preceded Sāyaṇa. I recognise the possibility that Sāyaṇa may be actually quoting from Devarāja and that the passages in Devarāja could be passages in earlier commentators from whom Sāyaṇa copied directly or through Devarāja. Such a possibility could have been considered, but Devarāja quotes the passages from Mādhava and the passages are not seen in the only other Mādhava known to have written a commentary on the *Ṛgveda.* So the only possibility is that Devarāja is quoting from Sāyaṇa, and the passage in Devarāja referred to by Sāyaṇa must be a passage that Devarāja took from a previous *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya.* The passage in Devarāja[3], *Kṣapa preraṇe kathādiṣv apaṭhito 'pi bahulam etan nidarśanam ity asyodāharaṇatvena dhātuvṛttau paṭhyate,* occurs[4], in *puruṣakāra*[5], also. Again, but for the presence of this passage in *puruṣakāra,* a work earlier than Sāyaṇa, this would have been another evidence to show that Devarāja is later than Sāyaṇa, as the reference occurs in Sāyaṇa's *Dhātuvrtti.* There under the *Gaṇasūtra bahulam etan nidarśanam*[6], we see the root *kṣap*

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1. P. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. See above. p. 228.
4. Commentary on Stanza 136 of Daiva.
5. Published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
6. Mysore Series Vol. II. part 2. pp. 324-250.

**cf. Dhatuvrtti Mysore edition. Vol. I. Part I. P. 73.*
Atra ksirasvamisubhuticandraprabhrtayo bheke varsa bhusabdam hrasvantam pratipdyante and Vol. II. Part 1. P. 62.
Atra dhatau Ksirasvami kasety eke iti dantyantam aniditam api papatha.

preraṇe. As a matter of fact I thought so till very recently.

Now remains only one other argument to show that Devrāja is a very early author, and that is that he does not mention Durga although he is quoting a large number of ancient authorities. Silence in itself is no proof. It can be an evidence in support when there are other proofs. It is a very strong point that when Devarāja was writing a Bhāṣya on Nignaṇṭu he would have mentioned Durga also while he mentions a large number of authorities. But as it has been shown that Devarāja lived after Sāyaṇa, and as I will show later that Durga lived before Skandasvāmin, this argument based on silence loses all its force.

I must confess that Devarāja's Bhāṣya is one of the most important works for a student of *Ṛgveda* and *Nirukts* on account of the fact that he has preserved the fragmenta of a large number of Bhāṣyas on these two works.

II. Veṅkaṭamādhava.

Veṅkaṭamādhava is earlier than Sāyaṇamādhava. Sāyaṇa refers to a Mādhavabaṭṭa[1], and it is now known that he is referring to Veṅkaṭamādhava. The passage in Sāyaṇa is as follows:—

mādhavabhaṭṭās tu vi hi sotor ity eṣarg indrāṇyā vākyam iti manyante tathā ca tadvacanam indrāṇyai kalpitam haviḥ kaścin mṛgo 'dūduṣad indraputrasya vṛṣākaper viṣaye vartamānaḥ tatrendram indrāṇī vadati[2].

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1. Sayana on X. 86-1. see above. p. 227.
2. Sayana on X. 86-4.

In Veṅkaṭmādhava we find : *vi hi sotam indrāṇyam kalpitaṃ haviḥ kaścin mṛgo dudūsam indraputrasya vṛṣākaper viṣaye vartamanas tatra..............* [1] (I have copied exactly as it is in the Ms.)

Thus it is clear that Sāyaṇa is referring to Veṅkaṭamādhava and not to any other Mādhava. We have now a nearly complete copy of the Bhāṣya on *Ṛgveda* by this Mādhava referred to by Sāyaṇa. The commentary is very brief. Mādhava does not take the words of the *Ṛgveda* for explanation but simply gives a paraphrase of the text retaining the order of the words in the text. Thus the first Ṛk :

Agnim īḷe purohitaṃ yajñasya devam ṛtvijaṃ hotāraṃ ratnadhātamam[2] is thus expalined :—*agniṃ staumi puro nihitām uttaravedyāṃ yajñasya dyusthānaṃ sve sve kāle devānāṃ yaṣṭāraṃ hvātāraṃ devānaṃ ramaṇīyānāṃ dhanānāṃ dātṛtamaṃ.*

It will be further found that Mādhava closely follows Yāska in his method of interpretation. Also in the wording of the explanation Mādhava borrows from Yāska. A comparison of Mādhava's Bhāṣya with Yāska will show the close resemblance between the two commentaries. The point will be clear from the quotation from Mādhava given above. It will be found that the words *dyusthānaṃ*

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1. VI. 1137.
2. Rgveda 1-1-1.

hvātāram, ramaṇīyāṇāṃ dhanānāṃ dātṛtamam are taken from Yāska[1].

Not only this, words not wanted in a Ṛgvedabhāṣya are introduced into this Bhāṣya from Yāska. When Yāska gives a second Ṛk passage for further explanation of a point, he has the expression *tasyottarā bhūyase nirvacanāya*[2] and Mādhava uses these words also where Yāska has them. For example the Ṛk:—

pariṣadyaṃ hy araṇasya rekṇo
nityasya rāyaḥ patayaḥ syāma
na śeṣo agne anyajātam asty
ācetanasya mā patho vi dukṣaḥ[3]

Yāska's commentary is as follows:—

Parihartavyaṃ hi nopasartavyam. araṇasya reknaḥ. araṇo' pārṇo bhavati. rekṇa iti dhananāma. ricyate prayataḥ. nityasya rāyāḥ patayaḥ syāma. pitryasyaiva dhanasya na śeṣo agne anyajātam asti. śeṣa ity apatyanāma. śiṣyate prayataḥ acetayamānasya tatpramattasya bhavati. mā naḥ patho vidūduṣa iti[4]. Then Yāska has *tasyottarā bhūyase nirvacanāya,* and then Yāska explains the next Ṛk. In Mādhava we find:—

pariṣadyaṃ parihartavyaṃ parihṛtya gantavyaṃ nopasartavyam araṇasya dhanam araṇo' anyo bhavati na ramata ity api varter araṇo' nyato gacchatīti tasya dhanam

1. Cf. Nirukta. Vii. 15.
2. Cf. Nirukta. II. 11, VII. 17 etc.
3. Ṛgveda VII. 4-7.
Nirukta III. 2.

upasīdati tasminn āgate dātavyaṃ tad bhavati tataś ca tad anityaṃ bhavati. tato vayaṃ nityasyaiva dhanasya patayaḥ syāmeti putram abhipretya vadati. tathā cāha no śeṣo agne annajātam astīti. śeṣa ity apatyanāma. śiṣyate mṛtam iti. nānyajātam manuṣyasyāpatyam bhavati tataś cetayamānasya tatpramattasya bhavati māsmāt patho vidūduśa. aurasam eva putram asmabhyaṃ dehīty asyottarā bhūyase nirvacanāya[1].

Here it will be noted that besides the expression asyottarā bhuyase nirvacanāya, the words parihartavyam nopasartavyam araṇo 'nyo (araṇo rekṇo) bhavati, annajātam asti, śeṣa ity apatyanāma, acetayamānasya, tat pramattasya bhavati, vidūdusa are all taken from Yāska. The above passage shows how closely related Mādhavabhāṣya is to Yāska. This close relation is a very important factor in that the manuscript of the Mādhavabhāṣya could be corrected by Yāska, as is also in the above passage.

There is no doubt that in the majority of cases Devarāja is quoting from Veṅkaṭamādhava and not from Sāyaṇa when he quotes from Mādhavabhāṣya on *Ṛgveda*. In the introductory portion of the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya Devarāja gives some details about Veṅkaṭamādhavabhāṣya, and he says that he has examined the Bhāṣya many times. He says that Veṅkaṭamādhava has written some *anukramaṇīs*. He mentions five *anukramaṇīs*[2], and they are *nāmānukramaṇī, nipātānukramaṇī ākhyātānukramaṇī, svarānukramaṇī, nipa-*

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1. IV. 47 and 48.
2. Nama, akhyata, svara, nipata and nirvacana, cf. p. 4 and see above p. 229.

tānukramanī and *nirvacanānukramanī*. The last is printed as *Nirbandhanānukramaṇī*, but it is a mistake for *nirvacanānukramaṇī*. This reading *nirvacanānukraman* is also met with in some manuscripts[1]. Devarāja says, *śrivenkaṭācāryatanayasya mādhavasya bhāṣyakṛtau nāmānukramaṇyāḥ* etc[2]. From this it would seem that the *anukramaṇīs* formed part of the Bhāṣya. In the manuscripts of Venkaṭamādhava that is now available there are some *kārikās* in the beginning of the various *adhyāyas*. In these *karikās* some problem connected with Vedic interpretation is discussed. The topic discussed in the beginning of an *adhyāya* has nothing particular to do with the contents of that *adhyāya*. In all the *adhyāyas* in the same *aṣṭaka* the same topic is dealt with. In the manuscript now available, the fourth *aṣṭaka* is missing. In the other seven *aṣṭakas* seven points are considered, and the seven points are, *svara*, *ākhyāta*, *nipāta*, *ṛṣi*, *chandas*, *devatā* and *mantrārtha*. Of these *svara* *ākhyāta* and *nipāta* are mentioned by Devarāja. Perhaps the *nāmānukramaṇī* is in the fourth *aṣṭaka*. Then there is nirvacana. The last *aṣṭaka* in the manuscript contains a consideration of *mantrārtha*. Perhaps this may be identified with *nirvacana* mentioned by Devarāja. But there is one difficulty. In the body of the *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya*, Devarāja mentions by name only *nirvacanānukramaṇī*, and none of the passages given by him occur anywhere in the manuscript available. Not only this, even the topic under which such passages are possible is not met with in the

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1. Cf. Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, R. 3376 p. 2,
2. p. 4,

manuscript. There are some other passages quoted by Devarāja. He simply says *iti mādhavaḥ,* without giving the name of the work from which he quotes. As the passages are in the form of *Kārikās,* they could be from one or other of the *anukramaṇīs.* All passages quoted explicitly from *Nirvacanānukramani* are in the form of *kārikās.* In some places in the manuscript, after the *kārikās* we see the name given variously in the colophons. No where is the name *nirvacanānukramanī* etc., met with. The names given are, *adhyāyārthānukramaṇikā,*[1] *anukramanikā,*[2] *adhyāyārthānukramaṇikā (kārikā),*[3] *adhyāyārthasaṃgrahakarikā,*[4] *adhyāyārthakārikā*[5] and so on. Veṅkaṭamādhava says in the beginning of each *adhyāya* what particular topic he is taking up for discussion and sometimes at the end of an *aṣṭaka* he says that he has in the whole of that *aṣṭaka* discussed such and such a topic. These are some specimens:—

> *uṣṇigādiṣu vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan,*[6]
> *amiteṣu mitarṣīṇām āgame karaṇaṃ vadan*[7]
> *aṣṭake prathame, smābhiḥ svara itthaṃ pradarśitaḥ.*[8]

There are only two manuscripts definitely known to me. There is a transcript from a Malabar palm leaf manuscript, taken by the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras,[9] and from this, copies have been taken by the Adyar Library[10] and the Lal Chand Library, Lahore.

1. IV. 81.
2. IV. 168.
3. II. 592.
4. II. 338.
5. II. 504.
6. IV. 371.
7. IV. 77.
8. I. 290.
9. R. 3076 and 3703.
10. See above p. 225.

This copy is very nearly complete, only the fourth *aṣṭaka* and ten *sūktas* in the beginning being missing. In Mysore there is a manuscript for the first *aṣṭaka*.[1] In this there are no *kārikās* in the beginning of the *adhyāyas*. I have reasons to believe that in Trivandrum there are some manuscripts independent of the Madras manuscripts. The *Bhāṣya*, I understand, is being published from Trivandrum.[2] Beyond this I was not able to get any information from Trivandrum.

Devarāja does not mention the names of *Ṛṣi*, *Devatā* and *chandas anukramaṇīs*. Perhaps the contents of these *anukramaṇīs* are not of use to him in explaining individual words. There is a possibility that these were separate *anukramaṇīs*, independent of the *Bhāṣya*. In that case the word *bhāṣyakṛtau* in Devarāja has to be read as *bhāṣyakṛtah*. But the manuscripts of Devarāja that I have examined[3] does not warrant such a change. Devarāja does not give the names of the *anukramaṇīs* in the order in which they appear in the *Bhāṣya*. It is possible that Veṅkaṭamādhava has written some other *anukramaṇīs*, from which Devarāja is quoting. This supposition becomes very probable when we take into consideration the fact that none of the quotations are traceable to the *Bhāṣya* and even the topic dealt with in the quotation cannot find a place in the *Kārikās* contained in the *Bhāṣya*. There are four quotations which Devarāja says are from *Nirvacanāukramaṇī.'* In the Introduction Devarāja says that one of the *Anukramaṇīs* is *Nāmānukramaṇī*[4]. *Nāmānukramaṇī* is not in the seven *Aṣṭakas* available, nor the

1. Mysore catalogue of.... p.....No. 2.
2. Announced in some of their recent publications. Seen No. 91.
3. Cf. Government Oriental Mss. Library Madras; R. 3376.
4. P. 4. see above.

Nirvacanānukramaṇī. The following are the quotations from *Nirvacanuānukramaṇī.*

1. *adattadānam udakaiḥ*[1]
2. *dhvasmanvat syāt dhvaṃsanavat*[2]
3. *sindhavaḥ syur nabhanvaḥ*[3]
4. *lepanād repaṇād api*[4]

The following must be from Mādhava's *Anukramaṇīs,* though Devarāja does not say that they are from *Anukramaṇīs.* They are in the form of *Kārikās.*

1. *meliḥ syāt trāṇayojanā.*[5]
2. *vācā virūpanityayā*[6]
3. *karāṃsīti kṛtāni syuḥ.*
   kriyamāṇāni kecana[7]
4. *silpāv anye Kṛturyakam*[8]
5. *vījiḥ syāt preraṇakriyā*[9].

Satyavrata says that the above quotations are from Mādhavās *Nāmānukramṇī*[10]. There is no way of verifying his conjecture.

6. *antodātto nipātaḥ syād*
   ākhyāne cādyudāttatā[11]

Satyavrata says that this quotation is from *Nipātānukramaṇī*[10]. There is a section dealing with *nipātas* in the *Bhāṣya*[12], but such a passage is not there, nor can it have

1. p. 108 under the word aravinda.
2. p. 108 under the word dhvasmanvat.
3. p. 137 under the word nabhanvah.
4. p. 13 under the word vipah.
5. p. 82 under the word melih.
6. p. 92 under the word aksaram.
7. p. 167 under the word karamsi.
8. p. 169 under the word krtvi.
9. p. 175 under the word vijam.
10. Cf. index Vol. IV. p. 150.
11. p. 373 under the word rodasi,
12. Āstaka III,

a place there. It is not in the section dealing with *svara*[1] either and it cannot find a place there also. There are two lines in the *Kārikās*

antodāttanipāteṣu[2]

and

antodattam abhūt padam[3]

But these lines cannot be what Devarāja quotes.

7. *phalir bhedanakarmāpi*[4]

8. *madhyodāttan tu vṛjinam*
   vartate balayuddhayoḥ[5].

9. *kṣiprārthe svara āditaḥ*
   antodattas tugarthas
   tūtujāno mahe mataḥ[6]

All these nine passages are in the form of *kārikas,* and could be from the introductory stanzas in the various *adhyāyas.* The only difficulty is that not one of them is seen in these *kārikās,* and not one of them could well find a place in them. Satyavrata says that the seventh passage above is from *Nirvacanānukramaṇī*[7]. Devarāja does not say so specifically. He further says that the eighth and ninth are from *svarānukramaṇī*[7]. It is only a guess, they are not in the section in the manuscript dealing with *svara*[1]. Satyavrata further ascribes some more quotations from Mādhava given by Devarāja to one or other of the *anukramaṇīs*[7]. Not a single quotation is assigned to *Akhyātā-*

1. Karikas in 1st astaka.
2. II. 718.
3. III. 770.
4. p. 67 under the word phaliga.
5. p. 220 under the word vrjana.
6. p. 263 under the word tutujana.
7. Cf. index, Vol. IV. p. 150.

nukramaṇī. They are not in the form of *kārikās* and they may be from the body of the *Bhāṣya*. I have not yet finished the work of tracing the quotations to the body of the *Bhāṣya* and till that work is finished I cannot say anything more.

Did Mādhava write a separate set of *anukramaṇīs*? Not one quotation given by Devarāja is traceable to the *Bhāṣya* now available. There is only the fourth *aṣṭaka* that is not yet available, and we have to assign both *nāmānukramaṇī* and *nirvacanānukramaṇī*. From the other *aṣṭakas*, it is clear that Mādhava discusses only one topic in the same *aṣṭaka*. The evidence is in favour of Mādhava having written other *anukramaṇīs* and it may be that he has incorporated a summary of most of them into his *Bhāṣya*. There is a copy of Mādhavabhāṣya for the first *aṣṭaka* only in Mysore. This copy does not contain the *kārikās*. From this it should not be concluded that the *kārikās* now seen at the beginning of the *adhyāyas* were originally independent pieces later added on to the *Bhāṣya*. It is clearly stated that these *kārikās* were written as an integral part of the commentary.

I have an edition of the *kārikās* ready for publication. But it is necessary to consult some more manuscripts to get at the correct text. I find that there is a manuscript in Trivandrum and I do not propose to publish the *kārikās* before consulting those manuscripts.

Veṅkaṭamādhava does not mention the names of many previous authorities. He quotes from Śāṭyāyanakas[1], from Saunaka[2] and from Yāska[3]. He mentions the names of

1. IV. 373. IV. 295.
2. III. 780, II. 568 etc.
3. IV. 595.

Udgītha[1], Skandasvāmin[2] and Nārāyaṇa[3] as earlier commentators on the *Ṛgveda.* He mentions the names of his father[4] and grandfather,[5] the names of his mother[6] and her father[7], of his brother[8] and his sons[9]. He gives also the *gotra* of himself[10] and his mother[11]. He mentions the name of the country[12] in which he lived, he describes the king of the country as *jagatām ekavira*[13]. He gives some information about the village[14] where he lived. I am giving as an appendix all the colophons in Veṅkaṭamādhava, and also the first stanza in the *kārikās* where the topic in that *adhyāya* is given. I do not say any thing about the date of Mādhava except that he is earlier than Sāyaṇa and he may have lived about the tenth or ninth century of the Christian Era.

In the main body of the *Bhāṣya* I have shown[15] above how Mādhava makes use of Yāska. In the *kārikās* also, he is adapting the passage from previous authorities for his use. I give instances below.

Sarvānukramaṇī.

> *Mantrāṇaṃ brāhamaṇārṣeyachandodaivatavid yājanādhyāpanābhyam śreyo dhigacchatiti. Etābhyām evānevamvido yātayāmāni chandāṃsi bhavanti*[16].

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1. VI. 1135.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. VI. 98.
5. IV. 412.
6. VI. 38.
7. III. 1015.
8. IV. 583.
9. IV. 623.
10. IV. 38.
11. III. 767, III. 818.
12. VI. 1328.
13. VI. 1133, VI. 1187.
14. VI. 1278, VI. 1083.
15. See above p. 238.
16. Sarvanukramani Ed. by A. A. Macdonell,

I

Mādhava

ṛṣīṇāṃ ārṣagotrāṇāṃ
jñānmānu..............................
..................*yaśasyañ ca*
svargyam dhanyaṃ amitraham
mantrāṇāṃ brāhmaṇārṣeya—
chandodaivatavin na yama (yaḥ)
yājānādhyāpanād eti
chandasāṃ yātayāmatām[1]

Bṛhaddevatā

aṣṭau yatra prayujyante
nānārtheṣu vibhaktayaḥ
tan nāma kavayaḥ prāhur
bhede vacanaliṅgayoḥ[2]

Madhava

aṣṭau yatra prayujyante
nānārtheṣu vibhaktayaḥ
tan nāma kavayaḥ prāhur
liṅgasaṅkhyāsamanvitam[3]

The *Mādhavabhāṣya* will be of great use in correcting the text of *Sarvānukramaṇī* and *Bṛhaddevatā*, and the latter will be of use in reconstructing the text of Mādhava. There are many other texts on *Vedalakṣaṇa* available. It is at present impossible to fix the chronology of these various texts. But their interdependence is plain. All these texts have to be examined for a correct understanding of any one of them.

1. IV. 1 and 2.
2. I. 43.
3. II. 339.

SKANDASVAMIN, UDGĪTHA AND MAHEŚVARA.

I must consider these three authors together. Skandasvāmin has written a commentary on the *Ṛgveda*, and the first *aṣṭaka* is available. The Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, has taken a transcript[1] from a Malabar palm leaf manuscript and there is a copy from that transcript in the Adyar Library.[2] My colleague Mr. T. R. Chintamani has supplied to me another palm leaf manuscript in Telugu script[3]. This last one is complete for the first *aṣṭaka*. The Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, transcript begins only at the close of the second *adhyāya*. In Trivandrum there is a copy which contains the first seven *adhyāyas* complete and fragments for the portion beyond[4]. I saw the notice of it in their catalogue, but I have no further information.

There is a small introductory passage in which the need for writing the *Bhāṣya* is considered. It is a very short thing compared to the *upodghāta* of Sāyaṇa. This introductory portion concludes thus:—

> *evaṃ sarvamantrāṇāṃ karmāṅgatvasiddhyarthaṃ yato boddhavyo 'rthaḥ, ata ṛgvedasyāvabodhārtham asmābhiḥ bhāṣyaṃ kariṣyate*[5].

A stanza begins in this introduction. The stanza is this:—

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1. R. 3649.
2. See above p. 225.
3. It is a very good mannscript with very few errors.
4. Cf. their cataloge III. No. 4.
5. My Telugu Mss. p. 3.

mantrāṇām avaboddhavyo
yato 'rtho' ṅgatvasiddhaye
ṛgvedasyāvabodhārtham
ato bhāṣyam kariṣyate[1].

This is in the copy that Mr. Chintamani has supplied to me.

For Udgītha there is a transcript[2] in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, taken from a Malabar palm leaf manuscript. There is a copy from this in the Adyar Library[3] and I find that the portion available is being printed at Lahore. Only the *sūktas* fifth to eighty-third in the tenth Maṇḍala are available.

Veṅkaṭamādhava says that Skandavasvāmin and Udgītha together wrote a single *Bhāṣya* on the *Ṛgveda.* This is his statement.

skandasvāmī nārāyaṇa
udgītha iti te kramāt
cakruh sahaikam ṛgbhāṣyam
padavākyārthagocaram[4]

From this it is to be inferred that Skandasvāmin wrote the *Bhāṣya* for the first portion, Nārāyaṇa for the middle anh Udgītha for the last portion. Mādhava says *kramāt.* It must also be remembered that we have got the *Bhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin only for the first *aṣṭaka* and Udgītha only for the final portions in the *Ṛgveda.* Perhaps the plural *asmābhiḥ* in the quotation from Skandasvāmin given above[5] is also significant.

1. My telugu Ms. p. 1.
2. Not yet entered in their catalogue.
3. See above p. 225.
4. VI. 1135.
5. See the quotation from Sk. given above from my Telugu manuscript.

The commentary of both Skandasvāmin and Udgītha are executed on the same plan. The *Bhāṣya* is very elaborate, and is somewhat similar to *Sāyaṇabhāṣya.* There is one difference, Sāyaṇa takes the words in their prose order. But in Skandasvāmin and Udgītha, the order of the words in the *Ṛk* is perserved. This latter is the case in Yāska and Mādhava also.

Maheśvara's commentary on Yāska's *Niruktā* is complete. It is a very elaborate commentary much more elaborate than the commentary of Durga. All the passages in Yāaka are explained. When Yāska notes a passage from the *Ṛgveda* and gives a paraphrase of it, Maheśvara comments on it in detail. When Yāska notes only a bit and explains that bit or leaves it unexplained, Maheśvara explains the whole *Ṛk*. Sometimes Maheśvara notes some previous *Ṛks* also to make the context clear.

It is this Maheśvara that gives some trouble. The name as a commentator on the *Nirukta* is not met with anywhere. The name of the author is known only from the colophon.

These is a colophon in the form of *kārikā* appearing twice in the manuscript, The *kārikā* is:—

niruktamantrabhāṣyārtha—
pūrvavṛttisamuccayaḥ
Mahevareṇa racitaḥ
sūnunā Pitṛśarmṇaḥ

The stanza appears as

mantreṇa racitaḥ[1]

in the third line, and *sunūnā* with some space between in *nu* and *nā* in the fourth line at the end of the eighth chapter (third chapter))[2] *mantreṇa* must decidedly be a

1. IV. 1675.
2. I. 450.

mistake and the name must be Maheśvara. At the end of every *pāda* there is a colophon in prose, where the name of the author is variously given as Maheśvara, Śabarasvāmin and Skandasvāmin.[1] Dr. L. Sarup says that the appearance of these names at the end of the various *pādas* and *adhyāyas* is uniform in all the manuscripts he has used.[2] I am not giving a description of the manuscripts as Dr. Sarup has already done so.[3]

The commentary is known as Skandasvāmin's commentary on the *Nirukta.* Devarāja gives a large number of quotations from Skandasvāmin. Most of them are from this commentary. There are a few which are not in this commentary,[4] they may be from the Ṛgbhāṣya of Skandasvāmin, from which Devarāja is quoting many times. There is enough evidence to show that Devarāja had made use of this *Nirukta* commentary in his *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya,* that the test he has used is substantially the same as we have now in manuscripts[5] and that he knew the commentary as Skandasvāmin's commentary. All the quotations in Skandasvāmin appearing in Devarāja have been collected by Dr. Sarup[6] and by Mr H. Skold.[7]

As the colophon in the form of *kārikā* distinctly says that the commentary is by Maheśvara, we have to accept it, unless there is evidence to the contrary. Now what is the relation of Maheśvara to Skandasvāmin, so that Maheśvara's work came to be known as Skandasvāmin's.

1. Cf. Introduction. SK.M.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. See SK.M. introduction p. 12.
5. Cf. SK.M. introduction p. 12.
6. Ibid p. 1 et seq.
7. Untersuchungen zur Genesis der altindischen etymologischen litterature. p. 72 et. seq.

What strikes at first sight as the most important thing is the fact that all the explanations of the *Ṛk* passages that appear in Maheśvara are taken from Skandasvāmin. I give only one or two instances to make the point clear.

Skandasvāmin's *Ṛgbhāṣya*

indreṇa saha tvaṃ marudagaṇa saṃ hi īkṣase. hi śabdah pādapūraṇah samyag dṛsyase sajagmānaḥ sangacchamānaḥ.[1]

Maheśvara.

indreṇa īsvaro marudgaṇah saha sangiśabdah? padapūraṇah sandṛsyate. sangamānah sangacchamānah[2]

Skandasvāmin.

apratyabhiyuktapūrva ityarthaḥ[3]

Maheśvara.

apratyabhiyuktapūrva ity arthah[4]

Skandasvāmin.

ko'sāv ucyate. angeti tu nipātah.................................vidayata ity anena sambandhayitavyah[5]

Maheśvara.

ko'sāv indrah angeti nipātah. Vidayata ity enena sambadhyate[6]

Skandasvāmin.

?—kṛṣyādeh karmaṇa aparisamāpteṣv eva karmasv ity arthah[7]

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1. *Skandasvamin on Rgveda* 1-6-7.
2. I 497.
3. II. 406.
4. II. 523.
5. II. 406.
6. II. 523.
7. II. 667.

Maheśvara.

> *karmaṇah kṛṣyādeh aparisamāpte eva kṛṣyādāv ity arthah.*[1]

It cannot be said that the commentary in Maheśvara is an exact copy of the commentary in Skandasvāmin. But Maheśvara follows Skandasvāmin, and there are certain expressions which are common to both. The commentary in Mahe´vara is much more elaborate than in Skandasvāmin. But the resemblance between the two is very striking. Maheśvara refers to Upādhyāya. He speaks of the opinion of Upādhyāya in the explanation of the stanza *na vijānāmi*[2]. Maheśvara says:—

> *evam upadhyāyena yadi gheti? tulyāyāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ yaditi ikārāntaṃ veti cety evaṃ rūpadvayam apoddhṛtya vyākhyātam.*[3]

In explaining the stanza *agnīm na svavṛktibhih*[4] Maheśvara says:—

> *mahāṃs tvam bhavasi. tatra samiddhyamānād iti śesah. ity upādhyāyāvyākhānam*[5].

Again in the explanation of the stanza *ā paprau pṛthviṃ rajo,*[6] Maheśvara says:—

> *upādhyāyas tv āha. anekārthatvād dhātūnāṃ mahat evārthasya vakter vā vahater vā sābhyāsasyedaṃ rūpam.*

This stanza is commented upon by Skandasvāmin in his *Bhāṣya* that is available. The *Bhāṣya* there reads thus:

1. I. 493.
2. *Regveda* I. 164-3.
3. III. 1061.
4. *Regveda* X. 21-1.
5. I. 387.
6. *Regveda* I. 81-5.
7. I. 386.

vavakṣithety api yady api vakter vā vahater va sābhyāsasya rūpam. Tathāpi vivakṣitha vivakṣasa iti mahandāmasu pāṭhāt vahanavacanayoś cāsambhavāt anekārthatayā dhātvantarāṇām api prasiddhatvāt vavakṣatir mahadbhāvārthaḥ[1]

I take it that the reference to the opinion of Upādhyāya is to this passage in Skandasvāmin. If that is the case (and as we find a close relation between Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara this case is very probable), then Maheśvara may be a disciple of Skandasvāmin. There is no way of checking the other references to the opinion of Upādhyāya.

Another interesting point is that whereas for the first *aṣṭaka* the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin is related to the commentary on the *Nirukta* by Maheśvara, for the portion in Udgītha. Udgīthabhāṣya has the same relation with Maheśvara's commentary on the *Nirukta*. I give an instance.

Udgītha

> *yuvaṃ yuvām aśvinau cyavanam ṛṣiṃ sanayaṃ purāṇaṃ cirantanaṃ jīrṇaṃ santaṃ yathā ratham kaścit punar navaṃ karoti evaṃ punah yuvam taruṇañ carathāya caraṇāyopagamanāya sukanyāyāḥ tatakṣuḥ kṛtavantau sthaḥ. ayañ cetihāsaḥ śatapathe sukanyābrāhmaṇe paṭhyate.*[2]

Māheśvara

> *yuvaṃ yuvāṃ cyavānaṃ cyavanam ṛṣiṃ sanayaṃ purāṇaṃ yathā rathaṃ kaścit takṣā evam yuvānaṃ carathāya caraṇāya gamanāya sukanyāyāḥ sukanyāṃ sambhoktum ity abhiprāyaḥ takṣathuḥ kṛtavantau sthaḥ. ayañ cetihāsaḥ śatapathe sukanyābrāhmane paṭhyate.*[3]

1. III. 389. 2. p. 315. 3. II. 535.

I think that this close relation is enough to show that Maheśvara is quoting from Udgītha. The relation between Udgītha and Maheśvara is much closer than that between Skandasvāmin and Udgītha. There is a reference to the opinion of Upādhyāya when commenting on a passage from the tenth *maṇḍala*[1] appearing in Maheśvara. But unfortunately that portion is missing in the copy of *Udgītha* that I have at my command.[2]

The common relation of Maheśvara to *Udgītha* and Skandasvāmin and the reference to Skandasvāmin by Maheśvara as Upādhyāya and also the closer relation of Maheśvara to Udgītha in comparison with Maheśvara's relation to Skandasvāmin lead us to the hypothesis—I have no desire to postulate anything more than a mere hypothesis—that Maheśvara was a disciple of Skandasvāmin or Udgītha, that Udgītha and Skandasvāmin were colleagues and wrote the *Bhāṣya* on the *Ṛgveda* in collaboration with each other, and that the whole of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Ṛgveda* and also the commentary on the *Nirukta* came down under the name of Skandasvāmin. From the closer relation of Maheśvara to Udgītha the impression is that Udgītha is the real Guru and that Skandasvāmin is only a co-worker of Udgītha. But as the whole *Bhāṣya* and the commentary on the *Nirukta* has come down to us as the work of Skandasvāmin and not of Udgītha,[3] the impression is that Skandasvāmin is the great Guru. I leave it at that.

Devarāja quotes from the *Ṛgvedabhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin.

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1. I. 387.
2. p. 124.
3. *Devaraja quotes only from Skandasvamin. He does not mention Udgitha See below.*

This is a very interesting point. Devarāja says:—

kṛvī savarṇām adadad vivasvate[1] *ity atra tu tvāntam tathā skandasvāminā vyākhyātatvāt*[2].

In Udgītha we read:—

kṛtvī kṛtvā[3]

Devarāja gives quotations from Skandasvāmin in other portions of this *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya*, which can find a place in the portion of Udgītha now available. But unfortunately in the body of Udgītha now available, portions here and there are missing and this is the only passage that I could now definitely trace to Udgītha. I am sure that when I examine further I will be able to find out more cases. Any way this one instance is so interesting that we can safely postulate very probable hypothesis that Udgītha's Bhāṣya has come down under the name of Skandasvāmin. This last passage from Devarāja follows a passage where Devarāja refers to Skandasvāmin's commentary on a passage in the first aṣ-*aṣṭaka*. In this passage Devarāja is referring to the *Skandasvāmibhāṣya* we have. Devarāja says:—

tvaṃ ratham etaśam? kṛtvye dhane iti nigamaḥ atra Skandasvāmibhāṣyam. kṛtīti karmanāma Karmāṇi dhane nimitte dhanārthaṃ yat karmety arthaḥ. karmātra saṃsrīmah sangrāmārtham ājih syāt[5]

The portion in Skandasvāmin is this:

kṛtvye karmaṇe dhane nimitta eṣā saptamī dhanārthaṃ yat karmety arthaḥ[6]

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1. *Rcgveda* X.17-2.
2. p. 168 under the word krtvı.
3. p. 87.
4. *Rgueda* I. 54-6.
5. p. 169 under the word kr tvį.
6. I .235,

Thus we find that Devarāja makes no distinction between Skandasvāmin and Udgītha, he quotes from both alike as Skandasvāmin.

This importance of this similarity is increased by the stanza from Veṅkaṭamādhava that was given above[1] where it is said that Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha wrote one commentary for the whole of the *Ṛgveda* in collaboration.

Skandasvāmin and Udgītha must have been living in the same place. The colophon in Skandasvāmin is:—

valabhīvinivāsy etām
ṛgarthāgamasaṃhitām
bhartur dhruvasutaś cakre
skandasvāmī yathāsmṛti[2]

Saṃhṛtim is the reading in the Telugu Manuscript that I have and that must be the reading in the Trivandrum manuscript also as the name of the work is given in their catalogue as *Ṛgarthāgamasaṃhṛti*[3]. *Bhartṛdhruvasuta* is the reading in all the manuscripts except in the Adyar Library Transcript (although it is taken from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library).

The colophon in Udgītha reads:—

vanavāsivinirgatācārysya udgīthasya kṛtau etc.[4]

This suggests that the reading in the colophon of Skandasvāmin may be *valabhīvanavāsy etām*. *Vinivāsi* is not a good expression. *Vāsī* or *nivāsī* is quite enough. The upasarga *vi* is out of place in that form.

Nothing is known of the Nārāyaṇa who, Mādhava says[5]

1. p. 249.
2. At the end of adhyayas II, III, VII.
3. Catalogue III. No. 4.
4. At the end of all adhyayas available.
5. See above p. 249.
5. Catalogue III. No. 4. See remarks.

has written the middle portion of the Bhāṣya in collaboration with Skandasvāmin and Udgītha. We have not got a manuscript of the Bhāṣya for that portion. The Trivandrum library seems to have fragments beyond the third *aṣṭaka.* Devarāja quotes some passages from the fourth, fifth and sixth *aṣṭakas* of *Skandasvāmibhāṣya.* Perhaps they were written by Nārāyaṇa.

If Maheśvara the author of the commentary on the *Nirukta* is the disciple of Skandasvāmin and if Nārāyaṇa wrote portions of the *Skandasvāmibhāṣya* on the *Ṛgveda*, I must point out that there is one Maheśvara who has written a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and who is a disciple of Nārāyaṇa[1].

As Skandasvāmin is a resident of Valabhī, I must state that the author of *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was also resident of Valabhī[2]. Bhaṭṭi is by one tradition known as a half brother of Bhartṛhari, and some commentators identify the two[3]. Bhartṛhari is known as Hari[4]. Bhaṭṭi's father is said to be Dharasvāmin, and there was the king of Valabhī, Dharasena[5] who was the patron of Bhaṭṭi. Previous to Dharasena there was a king Dhruvasena in Valabhī, and Skandasvāmin's father is Bhartṛdhruva (Dhruva?), which may be equated with Dhruvasena.

Maheśvara's commentary on the *Nirukta* is known as *Niruktabhāṣyaṭīkā*[6]. From this it should not be supposed that he was writing a *ṭīkā* on a *bhāṣya* on Yāska's

1. *Cf. Rajandralal Mitra's notes of Sanskrit Mannscripts Nos. 1268 any Mahesvaratirtharacita vamapadasamarpita tikasvtyuddha kandea samapta tatvadipika.*
2. *Kavyamidam vihitam maya Valabhyam sridharasenanarendrapalitvsy an at the close of Bhattikaaya.*
3. *Cf. under Bhattikavya in Rajendralal Mitras notes of Mrs. No. 2082. a*
4. *Author of etu.*
5. *Cf. under No. 2082 in Rajendralal Mitras' Notices of Mss.*
6. *Cf. colophons collected by Dr. L, Sarup. SKM. p. 1 ct. seq.*

Nirukta[1]. Nirukta is the name for Nighaṇṭu. So says Sāyaṇa[2]. Yāska has written the Bhāṣya on this Nirukta, and Maheśvara has written a ṭīkā on Yaska's Niruktabhāṣya (which is the same work as is commonly known to us as the Nirukta). Maheśvara expressly says so. He says:

tasya niruktasya yah go gmā jmetyevamādayo nighaṇṭavah teṣām vyākhyānārtham ṣaṣṭhaprabhṛti samāmnāyah ityādi bhagavato yāskasya bhāṣyam. tasy.................. tadvacan aikadeśān uccityoccitya................ vrttir likhyate[3]. Thus Maheś vara calls Yāska's work a Bhāṣya and he is writing a vṛtti on that Bhāṣya. To Maheśvara the whole of the work of Yāska must be Nirukta, consisting of Nighaṇṭu and the bhāṣya on it. In the Kārikā-colophons also the commentary is called a vṛtti and not a ṭīkā. The colophon is:—

niruktamantrabhāṣyārtha
pūrvavṛttisamuccayah[4]

Further wherever Maheśvara refers to Bhāṣyakāra[5], he refers to Yāska. Durga also refers to Yāska as Bhāṣyakāra.[6] So does Devarāja also[7]. For these reasons we cannot say that Maheśvara is writting a ṭīkā on a Bhāṣya. on Yāska's Nirukta.

Mahesvara refers to Durga as a former commentator on Yāska. He says:—

Bhagavad durgaprabhṛtibhir vistareṇa vyāykhātasya.[8] In the colophon in Durga's commentary Durga is referred to as Bhagavan Durga[9]. Further there are references to

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1. Cf. SK. M. p. 13.
2. SRV. upodghata p. 20.
3. I. 3.
4. See above p 250.
5. I. 5, I. 519, etc.
6. Cf. Durga on XII—1I. Durga refers to yaska as acarya also.
7. p. 179 under the word krstayah.
8. I. 3.
9. Colophon after th XI. see Dr. L. Sarup, introduction to Nirukta (1920) p. 51 and 52.

Durga in Maheśvara. I think the statement *tadvacanaika-deśān uuccityo-ccitya*[1] in Maheśvara is a reference to Durga who gives the whole of Yāska as a part of his commentary[2].

Maheśvara says:—

na saṃskāram ādriyetei saṃskārānādarasya hetuvacanam etat. neti brūmaḥ.[4]

In Durga we have:

ucyate. viṣayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti. hir ayam hetvarthe[3].

Again Maheśvara says:

varjayatīti sataḥ. prāṇair iti kecit vākyaśeṣam adhyāharanti[5].

Durga has:

varjayati viyojayati (prāṇaiḥ) prāṇinaḥ.[6]

If Maheśvara is a disciple of Skandasvāmin and if Durga is earlier than Maheśvara, we have to assign a very very early date for Durga. There is no passage in Durga that suggests a late date for Durga. His style is very archaic. For the silence of Devarāja about Durga some other explanation than that of being earlier than Durga has to be given.

I have to conclude this paper with a consideration whether there is any other commentator on the Ṛgveda than Skandasvāmin and Mādhava.

Devarāja quotes from Uvaṭa's commentary. Devaraja says that Uvaṭa is the commentator on the *Vājasaneyīsaṃhitā.*[7]

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1. I. 3.
2. See Dr. L. Sarup. Introduction to Nirukta (1920) p. 51.
3. I. 185.
4. Durga on Nirukta II. 1.
5. I. 378
6. Durga on Nirukta III. 12.
7. p. 184 under the word tasthı sah.

There is one passage given by Devarāja which cannot be a quotation from *Vājasaneyīsaṃhitābhāṣya.* Devaraja says:—

amātyam ity atra uvaṭaḥ amā gṛhavacanaḥ sahavacano vā. avyayāt tyap. tatra bhava ity arthe gṛhe satyāhvā bhavati amātyaḥ[1]

Satyavrata gives the Ṛgveda figure V. 2. 20. 1. The word occurs only once in the Ṛgveda.

The passage is:—

sa na vedo amātyam[2]

This passage occurs also in the Sāma Veda,[3] but not in Vajasaneyi Saṃhitā. The word amātya occurs only once in Vajasaneyī Saṃhitā.

The pasaage is:—

yam me niṣṭyo yam amātyo nicakhāna[4]

Uvaṭa's commentary on the word is:—

yam valagam me mama niṣṭyaḥ. sa hi nirgatsya śarīrāt tato vistīrṇo bhavati. yam ca amātyaḥ valagama nicakhāna.[5]

Where is the quotation from, that Devaraja gives? Is it from a Ṛgvedabhāṣya that Uvaṭa has written?

Devarāja gives a large number of quotations from Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra. Some vedic passages commented upon by Bhaṭṭabhāskarami´ra, as given in Devarāja, do not occur in any Yajus text. Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra has commented upon the Taittirīyaśākhā of Yajus.

Devarāja says:—

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1. p. 309 under the word ama.
2. Ṛgveda VII. 15—3.
3. Samaveda II. 731.
4. V. 23.
5. p. 106. Benares edition.

ya usrāṇām apīcyam[1]. *ity atra. apipūrvād āñcater ṛtvigityādinā kvippratyayaḥ. tato bhāve chandasi ca iti yac. acaḥ ity akāralopaḥ. cau iti pūrvapadasya dīrghah. apīcyo 'prakāśaḥ. iti bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśrah*[2].

This vedic passage does not occur in any of the Yajus texts. again:—

> *sarvatātā ye kṛpaṇanta ratnam*[3] *ityatra kṛpaṇanta stuvanti iti Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśrah*[4].

Does this suggest that Bhaṭṭabhaskaramisra also has wriitten a Bhāsya on the Ṛgveda? I have yet to see if the explanations of words quoted from Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra by Devarāja occur in the Bhāṣya on Yajus texts by Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra, where the passage commented upon is in one or other of the Yajus texts. I have only to add that Oppert notes a commentary on the Ṛgveda by Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskaramiśra in his catalogue.[5] I tried to get at that work. But I find that the owner of the manuscript[6] as noted in the catalogue is long dead and his grandson, who is now living, has no idea where the manuscripts have gone. I am now trying to trace up the manuscripts.

Before I conclude I must state that I have no theories. I have only some hypotheses round which I can collect facts. I have not attempted at any chronology. I have only stated the interrelation of some authors. There is much more to be done before anything definite can be arrived at. I have only placed here some of the facts that I have collected. I have much more facts awaiting examination. Many of the quotations I have copied down with the mistakes in the original.

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1. Rgveda VIII. 41-5.
2. p. 366 under the word apicyam. cf. Bhattabhaskara on T. S. 7. 4. 19.
3. Rgveda X. 74-3 (not in yajus).
4. p. 333 under the word kspayanh.
5. II. 511.
6. Samannacari of srimusnam, chidambaram (Madras).

APPENDIX.

1. COLOPHONS.

Extracts from the colophons at the end of the various *adhyāyas* in the various *aṣṭakas* of *Veṅkaṭamādhava's Ṛgvedabhāṣya*, where information regarding him is given:

First aṣṭaka (Compare the fifth *aṣṭaka*)

adhyāya 1. *kuśikānāṃ kule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ.* Cf. V. I.

„ 2. *gāthinir mādhavo.* Cf. V, 2.

„ 3. *viśvāmitrakule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ.* Cf. V. 3.

„ 4. *aṣṭakasya kule jāto mādhavo veṅkaṭātmajaḥ.* Cf. V. 4.

„ 5. *lohitasya kule jāto mādhavo veṅkaṭātmajaḥ.* Cf. V. 5.

„ 6. *bharatasya kule jāto mādhavo veṅkaṭātmajaḥ.* Cf. V. 6.

„ 7. *jāto gopanakule (jāto govardhanakule)* Cf. V. 7.

„ 8. *kartā śrīveṅkaṭāryasya tanayo mādhavāhvayaḥ* (colophon at the end of all the adhyāyas.)

Second aṣṭaka (Compare the sixth *aṣṭaka*).

adhyāya 1. *baṇṇayasya kule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ.* Cf. VI. 1.

„ 2. *mādhavāryasya pautrah śrīveṅkaṭātmajah.* Cf. VI. 2.

„ 3. *veṅkaṭāryasya tanayo mādhavāhvayaḥ.* Cf. VI. 3.

„ 4. *pautraś cintayantyāḥ..........mādhavāhvayaḥ..... ....veṅkaṭasuto.* Cf. VI. 4.

„ 5. *mādhavaḥ suṇḍarīsutaḥ.* Cf. VI. 5.

adhyāya 6. *saṅkarṣaṇānujo yasya bhrātāsīd anujaḥ kaviḥ*. Cf. VI. 6.

" 7. *govindo yasya tanayo jyeṣṭhaḥ putraś ca veṅkaṭaḥ*. Cf. VI. 7.

Third aṣṭaka. (Compare the seventh *aṣṭaka*).

adhyāya 1. *jāto (tā) vasiṣṭhasya kule sundarī yam ajījanat*. Cf. VII. 1.

" 2. *mitrāvaruṇayor vaṃśe mātur yasya samudbhavaḥ*. Cf. VII 2.

" 3. *kuṇḍinasya kule jātā mātābhūd yasya sundarī*. Cf. VII. 3.

" 4. *bhavagolakule yasya mātur āsīd samudbhavaḥ*. Cf. VII. 4.

" 5. *yajñanārāyaṇa kule yasya mātus samudbhavaḥ*. Cf. VII. 5.

" 6. *duhitā bhavagolasya sundarī yam ajījanat.*

" 7. *mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ śrīveṅkaṭātmajaḥ*. Cf. VII. 7.

Fifth aṣṭaka. (Compare the first *aṣṭaka*).

adhyāya 1. *kuśikānāṃ kule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ*, Cf. I. 1.

" 2. *gāthineyakule jāto mādhavaḥ veṅkaṭātmajaḥ*. Cf. I. 2.

" 3. *viśvāmitrakule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ*. Cf. I. 3.

" 4. *aṣṭakasya kule jāto mādhavo veṅkaṭātmajaḥ*. Cf. I. 4.

" 5. *lohitasya kule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ*. Cf. I. 5.

" 6. *bharatasya kule jāto mādhavo veṅkaṭātmajaḥ*. Cf. I. 6.

" 7. *govardhanakule jāto mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ*. Cf. I. 7.

Sixth aṣṭaka. (Compare the second *aṣṭaka*).

adhyāya 1. *baṇayasya (baṇṇayasya) kule jātaḥ*. Cf. II. 1.
„ 2. *pautraḥ śrīmādhavāryasya*. Cf. II. 2.
„ 3. *śrī (?)veṅkaṭāryasya tanayaḥ*. Cf. II. 3.
„ 4. *pautraś cintayantyāḥ*. Cf. II. 4,
„ 5. *mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ*. Cf. II. 5.
„ 6. *saṅkarṣaṇānujo yasya bhrātāsīd anujaḥ kaviḥ*. Cf. II. 6.
„ 7. *ātmajo venkaṭo yasya govindas tadanantaram*. Cf. II 7.

Seventh aṣṭaka. (Compare the third *aṣṭaka*).

adhyāya 1. *jāta(tā) vasiṣṭhasya kule sundarī yam ajījanat*. Cf. III. 1.
„ 2. *mitrāvaruṇayor vaṃśe mātur yasya samudbhavaḥ*. Cf. III. 2.
„ 3. *kuṇḍinasya kule jātā mātābhūd yasya sundarī*. Cf. III. 3.
„ 4. *bhavagolakule yasya mātur āsīd samudbhavaḥ*. Cf. III. 4.
„ 5. *yasya (jña) nārāyaṇakule yasya mātus samudbhavah*. Cf. III. 5.
„ 6. *duhitā bhavagolasya sundarī yam ajījanat*. Cf. III. 6.
„ 7. *mādhavaḥ sundarīsutaḥ............śrī......kanatmajah itham śrīvenkaṭātmajah*. Cf. VIII 7.

Eighth aṣṭaka.

adhyāya 1. *jajāna yo jahnukule lohityo mādhavāhvayaḥ āryeṣu kaścana*
„ 2. *dakṣiṇāpatham āśritya vartamāneṣu mādhavaḥ*.
„ 3. *jagatām ekavīrasya viṣaye nivasan sukham*.
„ 4. *coleṣu nivasan kaścit (sasyamāliṣu ?) sarvadā*.

adhyāya 5. *nadīm āśritya nivasan kāverīṃ lokam āśritām (lokasaṃśritām?)*
„ 6. *tīram āśritya nivasan kāveryā dakṣiṇam sukham* (also 8).
„ 7. *coleṣu nivasan grāme komatyaryais* (?) *samāvṛte.*

Note I.—

It will be found that aṣṭakas I, II, and III correspond to aṣṭakas V, VI, and VII. From this it is clear that aṣṭaka VIII must correspond to aṣṭaka IV, which is not yet available. In aṣṭaka VIII, we get information about the country in which Mādhava lived, about his native village and about the king of his country. But from the close resemblance even in the wording of the colophons, I fear that even if we had the fourth aṣṭaka, we may not get anything more than what we have in the eighth aṣṭaka.

Note II.—

His forefathers are Aṣṭaka, Lohita, Bharata, Govardhana, Baṇṇaya, (great-grand-father); Mādhava (grandfather); Veṅkaṭa (father).

His forefathers on the maternal side are Kuṇḍina, Bhavagola, Yajñanārāyaṇa, Bhavagola (maternal grandfather) and Cintayantī (maternal grandmother). His younger brother is the poet Saṅkarṣaṇānuja and his two sons are Veṅkaṭa and Govinda.

In the first aṣṭaka, Mādhava gives his gotra and his ancestors. In the second aṣṭaka he gives the name of his great grandfather (Baṇṇaya) grandfather (Mādhava), father (Veṅkaṭa), grandmother (Cintayantī), mother (Sundarī), his brother and two sons.

In the third aṣṭaka he gives the gotra of his mother, the ancestors of his mother, the names of her father and moחhtr.

These are repeated again in the fifth, sixth and seventh aṣṭakas respectively.

In the eighth aṣṭaka Mādhava gives some information about the country and the village he lived in.

The names of his father and mother are given very often.

The colophon at the end of the aṣṭakas is the same for all, except for the eighth.

The following is the specimen of a colophon at the end of adhyāyas:

saptamasyāṣṭakasyādyam adhyāyaṃ vyākarod iti
jātā vasiṣṭhasya kule sundarī yam ajījanat.

Adhyāyas fifty-eight, fifty-nine and sixty are given as such and not as the second, third and fourth in the eighth aṣṭaka.

Note III.

In the colophons Mādhava gives some idea of the nature of the Bhāṣya he has written. I give below all the expressions that will throw light on it.

1. *nāmasaṅgrahārthaṃ pradarśayan* I. 2.
2. *taṃ paśyantu ca paṇḍitāḥ* II. 5.
3. *sadvṛttyarthaṃ pradarśayan* VI. 1.
4. *varjayan śabdagauravam* VI. 2.
5. *samyag arthān pradarśayan* VI. 3.
6. *śabdaiḥ katipayair iti* VI. 4.
7. *tat paśyantu ca paṇḍitāḥ* VI. 5.

Note IV.

I give below an analytical table of the various names that occur in the colophons:—

1. Father—Veṅkaṭa: I. 8, II. 3, 4, 8, III. 7, V. 4, 6, 8, VI. 3, 8, VII. 7, 8.

2. Mother—Sundarī: I. 1, II. 5, III. 1, 3, 6, 7, V. 7, VI. 5, VII. 1, 3, 7.

3. Grandfather—Mādhava: II. 2, VI. 2.
4. Maternal grandfather-Bhavagola: III. 6, VII. 6.
5. Maternal grandmother—Cintayantī: II. 4, VI 4.
6. Forefathers:
   (a) Aṣṭaka: I. 4, V. 4.
   (b) Lohita I. 5, V. 5, VIII. 1.
   (c) Bharata I. 6, V. 6.
   (d) Govardhana: I. 7, V. 7.
7. Great-grand-father—Baṇṇaya: II. 1, VII. 1.
8. Maternal forefathers:
   (a) Kuṇḍina: III. 3, VII. 3.
   (b) Bhavagola: III. 4, VIII. 1.
   (c) Yajñanārāyaṇa: III. 5, VII. 5.
9. Sons—Veṅkaṭa and Govinda: II. 7, VI. 7.
10. Brother—Saṅkarṣaṇānuja: II. 6, VI. 6.
11. Gotra:
    (a) Kuśika: I. 1, V. 1.
    (b) Gāthina: I. 2, V. 2.
    (c) Viśvāmitra: I. 3, V. 3.
12. Mother's gotra:
    (a) Vasiṣṭha: III. 1, VII. 1.
    (b) Mitrāvaruṇa: III. 2, VII. 2.

III. SUBSTANCE OF KĀRIKĀS.

Extracts from the beginning of the adhyāyas where the subject matter in the kārikās is given:—

Aṣṭaka I. Svara.

Adhyāya 2. *tatrāmantritaśabdānām ādau vṛtiṃ pradarśayan.*

" 3. *samāsānāṃ svarād vṛttir ādau tatra pradarśyate.*

" 4. *pradarśayan samastānāṃ svaravyatyāsakāraṇam.*

adhyāya 5. *avagrahavihīnānāṃ ādāv arthaṃ pradarśayan.*

„ 6. *sarvānudāttaśabdānāṃ ādāv arthaṃ pradarśayan.*

„ 7. *anvādeśasya viṣaye vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 8. *rūpe bhinne svare bhinne śabdavṛttiṃ pradarśayan.*

End: *aṣṭake prathame smābhiḥ svara ittham pradarśitaḥ sthāpanīyam prayatnena...... ....paṇḍitair ayam. andhakāre dīpikābhir gacchan na skhalati kvacit, evaṃ svaraiḥ praṇītānāṃ bhavanty arthāḥ sphuṭā iti.*

Aṣṭaka II. Ākhyāta.

adhyāya 1. *yatkiñcid iha vaktavyam ākhyāteṣv asti vaidikaiḥ.*

„ 2. *pradarśayan liṭo vṛttim.*

„ 3. *pradarśayan laṭo vṛttiṃ luṅaś ca tadanantaram.*

„ 4. *pradarśayan liṅo vṛttim.*

„ 5. *loṭaḥ pradarśayan vṛttiṃ leṭaś ca tadanantaram.*

„ 6. *lṛṭaḥ pradarśayan vṛttiṃ luṭaś ca tadanantaram.*

„ 7. *tatrākriyeṣu vākyeṣu kartavyam upadiśyate.*

„ 8. *darśayann ātmanepadaprayuktam bhedam āditaḥ.*

Aṣṭaka III. Nipāta.

adhyāya 1. *yad vaktavyaṃ nipāteṣu brāhmaṇaiś chāndasair iha.*

adhyāya 2. *saṅgateṣu nipāteṣu vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 3. *nipāteṣv eva keṣāñcid vṛttibhedam pradarśayan.*

„ 4. *cāhāṅgānāṃ nipātānām artham ādau pradarśayan.*

„ 5. *ādau pradarśayan............raṇvitaḥ.*

„ 6. *nipāteṣv eva vaktavyam prāganuktam pradarśayan.*

„ 7. *upasargeṣu vaktavayam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 8. *upasargeṣu vaktavyam anuktaṃ sampradarśayan*

end: *tṛtīyasyāṣṭakasyettham adhyāyādiṣu darśitaḥ, upasarganipātārthāḥ sarve vedopakāriṇaḥ*

Aṣṭaka V. *Ṛṣi.*

adhyāya 1. *ṛṣirnāmārṣagotreṣu vijñeyam iha vaidikaih.*

„ 2. *gotreṣv ṛṣīṇām vaktavyam ādāveva pradarśayan.*

„ 3. *amiteṣu mitarṣīṇām āgame kāraṇaṃ vadan.*

„ 4. *anekarṣiṣu sūkteṣu vaktavyaṃ sampraśayan.*

„ 5. *aṣṭakādiṣu vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 6. *kāraṇaṃ sūktabhedasya mukhataḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 7. *ṛṣir vārṣe ca vaktavyam prāganuktam pradarśayan.*

„ 8. *pitṛputrasamāveśe vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

end: *ṛṣīṇām ārṣagotrāṇi pañcame smābhir aṣṭake, adhyāyādiṣu vaktavyaṃ vibhajyoktaṃ kramād iti.*

Aṣṭaka VI. Chandas.

adhyāya 1. *yac chandasīha vaktavyaṃ vidyāt chāndasair dvijaiḥ*

„ 2. *uṣṇigādiṣu vaktavyam ādāv eva pradarśayan.*

„ 3. *pradarśayan bṛhatyāder lakṣaṇāni pṛthak pṛthak.*

„ 4. *pradarśayaṃs triṣṭubhāder lakṣaṇāni pṛthak pṛthak.*

„ 5. *aticchandassu vaktavyaṃ dvipādeṣu ca darśayan.*

„ 6. *pragātheṣu ca vaktavyaṃ sampattiṃ ca pradarśayan.*

„ 7. *pādeṣūneṣu vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 8. *avasāneṣu vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

end: *iti chandassu vaktavyam adhyāyādiṣu darśitam, asmābhir aṣṭake ṣaṣṭhe jānann etad vimucyate.*

Aṣṭaka VII. Devatā.

adhyāya 1. *yatkiñcid iha vaktavyaṃ devatāsv asti bahvṛce.*

„ 2. *tatra pratyakṣadeveṣu vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 3. *aśrūyamāṇadeveṣu vācyam mantreṣu darśayan.*

„ 4. *aśvādyauṣadhiparyante vācyaṃ devagaṇe vadan.*

„ 5. *prayājadevajāsvādau vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 6. *devānāṃ yajñasambandhe vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

adhyāya 7. *pavasvādiṣu vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 8. *yad ātmaviṣaye vācyaṃ tadāso sampradarśayan.*

Aṣṭaka VIII. *Mantrārtha.*

adhyāya 1. *yatkiñcid asti mantrārthe vaktavyam iha bahvṛce.*

„ 2. *mantrabrāhmaṇayor arthe vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 3. *aparair api vedārthe vaktavyam iti darśayan.*

„ 4. *ṛgbhāṣyakṛdbhir vaktavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 5. *anarthakṛtasandehamantreṣv ādāv apānudan.*

„ 6. *brāhmaṇokteṣu cārtheṣu vaktavyaṃ sampradarśayan.*

„ 7. *ṛgartham avagantavyam āditaḥ sampradarśayan.*

„ 8. *vedārthasya parārthebhyo vaiśeṣyaṃ sampradarayan.*

Note. I have copied from the manuscripts without correcting lapses. I will make the corrections in the critical edition of the karikas now ready.

CANDRA.

V. K. Rajwade, M.A.

We find this word used as an adjective and qualifying

(1) रयि, रत्न, वसु, राधस्, क्षेत्र, वहतु, रथ, and हिरण्य;

(2) भानु, and धाराः;

(3) बुध्न and निर्णिक् occurring in compounds with चन्द्र;

(4) अग्नि, उषस्, मरुत्, सोम, मित्र, वरुण and आप्.

We also find पुरु, सु, विश्व, अश्व, and हरि prefixed to चन्द्र which then becomes पुरुश्चन्द्र, सुश्चन्द्र, विश्वश्चन्द्र, अश्वश्चन्द्र and हरिश्चन्द्र. पुरुश्चन्द्र qualifies रयि, राय, वसु, वाज, अग्नि, नासत्य and देव; सुश्चन्द्र qualifies वर्ण and अग्नि; विश्वश्चन्द्र qualifies वाज, इष्, रयि and आप्; अश्वश्चन्द्र qualifies वाजश्रवसः and पृक्षः; हरिश्चन्द्र qualifies पवमान *i.e.* Soma (सोम), चन्द्र everywhere seems to mean delightful, desirable, attractive, bright etc. पुरु and सु intensify the sense of चन्द्र. पुरुश्चन्द्र and सुश्चन्द्र. mean exceedingly delightful etc. विश्वश्चन्द्र delightful, desirable etc. universally. अश्वश्चन्द्र delightful or conspicuous on account of horses, हरिश्चन्द्र delightful etc. like gold.

We find it used as a noun also.

गोमत् अश्वावत् रथवत् सुवीरं चन्द्रवत् राधो मरुतो ददानः (५।५७।७)

here the constituents of riches (राधः) or prosperity are cows, horses, chariots, brave sons and चन्द्र.

दक्षिणाश्वं दक्षिणा गा ददाति दक्षिणा चन्द्रमुत यत् हिरण्यम् (१०।१०७।७)

gifts made to Brahmanas bring into the giver horses, cows, चन्द्र and also gold.

सहस्रे पृषतीनामधिश्चन्द्रं बृहत्पृथु ।

शुक्रं हिरण्यमाददे (८।६८।१२)

I have received from a certain king two thousand spotted cows (पृषतीनां) and over and above (अधि) large quantities (बृहत् पृथु) of bright (चन्द्र) and gold. शुक्र may qualify चन्द्र or हिरण्यं or both.

I take चन्द्र to mean silver, though the निघण्टु understands gold by it. The days of the demand for silver were over long before the time of the *Rgveda,* immense quantities of gold were available. The word रजत occurs only once, हिरण्यु, हरि, हिरि etc. these words by themselves and in compounds occur about 190 times. Poor silver had lost its attraction before gold.

चन्द्रमिव सुरुचं (2-2-4)=to Agni as resplendent as चन्द्र. मही मित्रस्य वरुणस्य माया चन्द्रेव भानुं विदधे पुरुत्रा (३।६१।७) (3-61-7) = great is the miracle-working power, the thaumaturgy, of Mitra and Varuṇa that (by their action) Agni spreads (विदधे) his light in all places (पुरुत्रा) like चन्द्र. चन्द्र in these two similes is the Moon.

The Moon is altogether a minor deity in the *Rgveda* when compared with the Sun. Agni is also compared with the Sun. I have not found चन्द्र qualifying the sun anywhere. I think it must mean the Moon here.

Just as हिरण्य, हरि, हिरि, हरित् originally meant yellow, and afterwards the yellow metal, so चन्द्र, originally meant white, and then the white metal and the white Moon. I find a trace of the sense of white in चन्द्रं रयिं पुरुवीरं बृहन्तं चन्द्र चन्द्राभिर्गृणते युवस्व (6-6-7) = Oh delightful (चन्द्र) Agni, give the praising devotee (गृणते) prosperity (रयिं) delightful (चन्द्रं), great (बृहन्तं) conspicuous by many brave sons (पुरुवीरं) together with white cows.

स नो रासत् शुरुधः चन्द्राग्राः (6-49-8) = May Pūshan grant us riches or gifts (शुरुधः) having at their head white cows. चन्द्रा अग्रे यासाम् चन्द्राग्रे उदा वर्धन्तामभिषाता अर्णाः (5-41-4) = Many riches (अर्णाः), granted us (अभिषाताः), and having white cows at their head, increase and multiply (उदावर्धन्ता). The following quotations will show why I take चन्द्रा to be a white cow ;—

त्वं॰ इन्द्र॰ रदा॰ शुरुधः गो अग्राः (1-169-8) गावः अग्रे यासां ताः रद देहि C/o शुरुधः चन्द्राग्राः (6-49-8)

इषो युवस्व गृणते गो अग्राः (6-39-1)

इषः धनानि युवस्व=देहि.

ये स्तोतृभ्यो गो अगां॰ रातिमुप सृजन्ति (2-1-16)

रातिं—दानम्, उपसृजन्ति—ददति

उषो गो अग्रान् उपमासि वाजान् (1-92-7)

उपमासि—ददासि

Marathi-speaking people know that white cows are often called चंद्री.

The several meanings of चन्द्र may have been thus evolved.

(1) The word originally meant white. We do not find even a single instance of this meaninig in the *Rgveda* unless it be by inference, for उषस् is called both चन्द्रा and अर्जुनी which latter word does certainly mean white.

(2) The word came to be applied to white things such as silver, the Moon and white cows.

(3) The Aryan race had naturally partiality for white which carried with it associations of beauty, charm, attraction, brightness, agreeableness, desirability. Gold etc. are bright, charming attractive etc., so are the gods.

There is a peculiarity about this word when it is preceded by a short vowel both in compounds and otherwise. पुरुश्चन्द्र, सुश्चन्द्र, विश्वश्चन्द्र अश्वश्चन्द्र, and हरिश्चन्द्र are compounds पृथुश्चन्द्र, अधिश्चन्द्र are not.

But this rule, if it can be called one, has as many exceptions; as for instance चन्द्र चन्द्राभिः, स चन्द्रः, पुरूणिचन्द्रा, आभिचन्द्रा, सच्छन्तु चन्द्रा, and कथनि चन्द्र शुम्नः We expect अभिश्चन्द्राः like अधिश्चन्द्रा.

Whence came the श् in certain cases and why?

If it be for the convenience of pronunciation, we find greater ease in reading अश्वावत: पुरुचन्द्रस्य रायः than अश्वावतः पुरुश्चन्द्रस्य रायः Moreover we find no श् in विश्वचन्द्रस, सुचन्द्रस्, पुरुचेतन, सुचक्र, हिरण्यचक्र. All this leads me to the conclusion that the original word was श्चन्द्र current in the *pre-Ṛgvedic* times, that by the time of that veda it had shed its श् and that it showed its original spelling in some cases. But its absence in others shows that चन्द्र had become popular and that no attempts could dislodge it. This is the only explanation intelligible to me.

चन्द्रमाः

is thus derived by क्षीरस्वामिन्:—आल्हादनात् चन्द्रश्चसौ मिमीते काले मस्यते परिणमते वा माश्च चन्द्रमाः. चन्द्र comes from चन्द् to gladden to which र is affixed for turning it into a noun. The Moon gladdens, therefore he is चन्द्र. He measures time or he waxes and wanes, therefore he is मास्. क्षीरस्वामिन् also says:—

माः इति उच्यते सत्यभामा भामा इतियत्

Just as सत्यभामा is sometimes called भामा, so चन्द्रमाः is sometimes called माः.

This remark has some basis in fact, for we find मास् meaning the Moon used in the *Ṛgveda*.

The compouud सूर्यामासा occurs 5 times there. मासेव सूर्यो वसु पुर्यमा ददे (10-138-4)=Indra seized the wealth of the towns of the enemy as the Sun seizes the Moon.

Is this a reference to some such belief that the eclipse of the Moon or his disappearance during the dark fortnight was due to the Sun?

चन्द्रमाः

सूर्ये ज्योतिरदधुर्मास्यक्तून् परियोतार्नि चरतो अजस्रा (10-12-7) = The gods deposited blazing light in the Sun and digits (अक्तून्) in the

Moon. The two move ceaselessly round the shining heaven.

दिवि अर्चेव मासा॰इन्द्रेन्ययामि सोमाः (6-34-4)=यथा दिवि मासा चन्द्रमसा अर्चः प्रकाशः नियम्यते तथा इन्द्रे सोमः यजमानैः नियम्यते निधीयते Soma is stored by sacrificers in Indra as light (अर्चः) is stored by the Moon (मासा) in the Sun (दिवि) or in heaven. During the dark nights the Moon's light is stored in or returned to the Sun.

Indra's drinking exploits are notorious.

मासां विधानमदधा अधि द्यवि (10-138-6) = Thou didst place (विधानम् अदधाः) the (12) Moons (one for every month) in heaven.

मास् also means a month.

Menh in Avesta means the Moon, a month and the menses.

चन्द्र and माः both meaning the Moon belonged to two separate groups of the Aryan Race. As in course of time these groups merged into one big race, so did their languages or dialects. Hence the existence of synonyms Some of these synonyus came unconsciously to be combined. Hence the origin of tantological compounds as चन्द्रमाः (चन्द्र+ मास्). One comes across such instances in Marathi, though by their very nature they number very few.

One might ask why if चन्द्र÷मा: be चन्द्रमाः, it is not declined as चन्द्रमाः चन्द्रमासौ चन्द्रमासः । चन्द्रमासं चन्द्रमासा etc. The reply is popular caprice or the word may have been thus declined once but the tongue found than long मा unmanageable and so shortened it.

TAITTIRĪYA BRĀHMAṆA.

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Next in point of date and importance to the Śatapatha is the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa attached to the Black Yajurveda. The rivalry which existed between the followers of the Tittiri School of the Black Yajurveda and the White Yajurveda adherents must soon have led to the enunciation of a Brāhmaṇa in imitation of the Śatapatha for the Black Yajurveda. This Brāhmaṇa is accented and therefore nearly as old as the Śatapatha. It is indeed accepted by all Scholars as an old Brāhmaṇa. Its style is said to appear older than that of the Śatapatha. This is due to its being dominated by the style of the Black Yajurveda Smahitā which gives both Mantra and Brāhmaṇa together. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is thus only a countinuation of the Brāhmaṇa contained in the Saṃkhitā. It has thus the same style with the same repetition of sentences and gives the same kind of fanciful explainations and etymology. There are not, however, many legends in it. It cannot be supposed to have been enunciated all at once. As the Puruṣamedha section was added lately to the Vajaseneyī Saṃhita and certain portions in explanation thereof were added to the Śatapatha Brāhmṇa, this Puruṣamedha first appears in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa in Kāṇḍa III. It does not, however, give the Puruṣasūkta yet. The list of persons required as victims at the Puruṣamedha is nearly the same as in the Vajaseneyī Saṃhita. But curiously enough the last two verses are omitted and we will comment on this omission later. Kāṇda III appears

therefore to be a subsequent addition to this Brāhmaṇa, the first two Kāṇdas being old, their style also resembling the style of the Saṃhitā.

The Āraṇyaka portion of it comes still later. Indeed Āraṇyaka first appears in this Brāhmaṇa: for there is no Āraṇyaka in the Śatapatha. Though the latter has an Upaniṣad, named later Bṛhadāraṇyaka, it calls itself in reality a Brāhmaṇa. To the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa are added ten chapters called Araṇās by the followers of the Taittirīya School. Their names are :—1. Bhadra, 2. Saha Vai, 3. Chittī, 4. Devā Vai, 5. Yunjate, 6. Pari Yuvā, 7. Śikṣā, 8. Brahmavidyā, 9. Bhṛgu and 10. Nārāyaṇa. 3, 7, 8 and 9 form what is now known as the Taittirīya Upaniṣad and the 10th Nārāyaṇa also an Upaniṣad, is plainly a later addition still as we shall show when speaking of Upaniṣads. There is a Suparṇādhyāya in the last, which has become popular with the Vaidikas generally. The Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda which also has become popular and is taken in the Vajasaneyī Saṃhitā and also in the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā is given in the Chittī Araṇa of this Brāhmaṇa. The most popular Gāyatri, however, appears, it may be added, in the Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda itself in two places.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is divided into books originally called Kāṇḍas, but later Aṣṭakās following the Ṛgveda division and the first two Kāṇḍas have really eight Adhyāyas originally called Prapāṭhakas. The third Kāṇḍa, however, has twelve chapters. A chapter is sub-divided into Anuvākas or sections. This name Anuvāka for section is very old as it appears in this Brāhmaṇa itself in Kāṇḍa III 10, 10. which is however a later addition

(एतावनुवाकावपरपक्षस्याहोरात्राणां नामधेयानि). These consist of sentences on some particular subject. The number of these sentences is also given at the end of the Adhyāya. The number of padas is however not counted as in the Saṃhitā. The number of sentences is counted by tens and each Anuvāka mentions the endings of each set of tens with the number of the remaining sentences given in words.

This is in imitation of the Saṃhitā wherein the padas or words are counted by fifties. One can thus find out the number of sentences in the whole of the Brāhmāṇa (see note). The endings of these tens and remainders are given in sentences which are also accented and are learnt by heart by Vaidikas, thus fixing the text almost unalterably.

The contents of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa may be given as follows from the printed Sāyaṇa Bhaṣya on it, these being mostly, as stated above, in further comment on the Saṃhitā Mantras, *i.e.*, in addition to those given in the Brahmaṇa portion of the Saṃhitā itself. The first Kāṇḍa contains chapters on Agnyādhāna, Gavāmayana, Vājapeya, Soma, Nakṣatreṣṭi and Rājasūya. The second Kāṇḍa contains chapters on Agnihotra and Upahomas as also on Sautrāmani wherein Surā or liquor is offered to Agni and drunk instead of Soma and on various Savas such as Bṛhaspatisava, Vaiśyasava etc. Mantras are given everywhere to be recited by the Hotā and the Adhvaryu and these Mantras in the form of Riks are taken from the Ṛgveda generally but very often are new. It would be interesting to ascertain which are old and which are new. There are thus Mantras to be recited at the time of Rājābhiṣeka, of Rathārohaṇa (ascending the chariot) and of Vapana, or shaving of the Yajamāna (sacrificing king). The highly

philosophical Sūtra 129 (नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्) of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda is strangely enough taken thus in Kāṇḍa 11, Prapāṭhaka 8 for an Upahoma with water oblations. After this one Ṛk (4) is taken from X. 81 wherein the philosophical questions are asked.

किंस्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आस

यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः ।

मनीषिणो मनसा पृच्छतेदु

तद्यदध्यतिष्ठद् भुवनानि धारयन् ॥

What was the wood, and what the tree, pray tell us,

From which they fashioned forth the earth and heaven,

Ye sages! in your mind pray make enquiry,

Whereon he stood when he, the worlds supported.

The Brāhmaṇa-writer answers in a verse probably composed by himself and in the strain of the Upaniṣad philosophers:—

Brahma, the wood and Brahma was the tree,

From which the earth and heaven were chopped out,

Oh sages ! from my mind I say to you,

Brahma he stood on, when supporting the worlds.

The Ṛgvedic Ṛṣis were speculating. The Brāhmaṇa Āchāryas (this is the word used by the Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya) had developed the Brahma doctrine and had a complete answer for all philosophical questions, even while they were engaged in setting the intricate details of sacrifice. In the Saṃhitā the sacrifice was supreme; for we find a

similar philosophical question put, but answered in the spirit of sacrificers. "I ask you the furthest end of the earth and the centre of it." The "altar is the end and its middle the centre" is the reply.

In the third Kāṇḍa, added late, more detailed information is first given about the Nakṣtreṣṭi wherein separate Puronuvākyā and Yajñā Mantras are given for each Nakṣhatra. These verses are apparently new Mantras provided for this sacrifice. The 14 Devanakṣhatras beginning with Kṛittikās are first given and the 14 Yama Nakṣatras beginning with Anurādhā are given in Anuvāka 2. Abhijit is now a separate Nakṣatra though mentioned in Kāṇḍa I Prapāṭhaka 5 as an adjunct of Uttarāṣāḍhās only. There are other Iṣṭis mentioned in the following two Prapāṭhakas. The fourth Prapāṭhaka gives the Puruṣamedha victims. This is a new matter entirely taked from the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā. As stated already this sacrifice did not exist in the time of Black Yajurveda Saṃhitā. In the following chapters Yūpasanskṛti, Yajña Chidra (mistakes in performance) and further particulars about the performance of Aśvamedha and the various oblations at its Avabhṛtha etc., are given in the 9th chapter. The 10th, 11th and 12th Chapters of this Kāṇḍa are called Kāṭhakas by Yajurveda reciters and are very probably latest additions. The Kaṭha recension is different from the Taittirīya and it has no separate Brāhmaṇa. We do not know if these Chapters are really to be found in the Kaṭha Saṃhitā which, so far as can be seen, does not survive. Their pronunciation is in one respect dissimilar, as is pronounced therein Svarga instead of Suvarga. So far as we have seen there is no change in

respect of other letters as Macdonell observes (p. 212). Both the Taittirīyas and Kaṭhas pronounced as 'hya' and not 'hiya.' But what is more remarkable in these chapters is that there are fanciful names assigned to each day and each night of the first fortnight and also of the second fortnight of months, (the names of which are not the usual Madhu and Mādhava etc.; but those here given are Aruṇa-rajas, and so on with Mahasvān for the 13th month instead of Aṃhaspati in the Saṃhitā (111-10)), and to fifteen minute divisions of a Muhūrta, itself one fifteenth part of the 12 hours' day. Further astronomical information is given in the fourth Anuvāka (111-10) mentioning the names of five years in the five year cycle viz: Saṃvatsara, Privatsara, Idāvatsara, Iduvatsara and Vatsara. This tenth chapter is devoted to Sāvitra Cayana or sun-sacrifice.

In the 11th Anuvāka a story is related how Bharadvāja by Brahmacarya obtained only three handfuls of Vedic lore which is however "without end" अनन्ता वै वेदाः and these three handfuls form the Trayī Vidyā. Here apparently Bharadvaja is credited with knowing or formulating the three Vedas. The fourth—Atharva-Veda is yet not known and this shows that the Atharva Saṃhitā was formulated even after this Bhāhmaṇa, a subject discussed later on in a special note. The 11th chapter is concerned with the construction of the Nāciketa fire, and in one Anuvāka the story of Nachiketas sent to Yamaloka by his father is given. Here final deliverance is said to be obtained by the Naciketa fire sacrifice simply. This story is taken up in the Kaṭhopaniṣad and developed to teach the vedānta doctrine of deliverance by knowledge.

In the twelfth chapter (Prapāṭhaka) is described in full detail first the Catur-Hotra and then Vaiśva Sṛj sacrifice which is wholly pervaded by the spirit of the Vedānta philosophy now fully developed. The name means the abandonment of everything and this the philosopher does by a sacrifice. For the Catur-Hotras are first described, seven preliminary Iṣṭis to Āśā (hope) Kāma (desire) Brahma (veda) Yajna, waters, Agni and Anurati. Then follow additional oblations to Tapas, Śraddhā, Satya, Manas and Caraṇa. Then coming to the Vaiśvasṛja sacrifice, the whole world is brought in for oblations. The whole is symbolical and the several parts of sacrifice as mentioned later on and symbolized are an interesting study for one who wishes to know the several rites in a sacrifice. All animate and inanimate, all male, female and not male or female, all animals, stones, all rivers, all plants and trees, all iron copper silver and yellow gold are to become the bricks of this sacrifice as also all the directions, all the sky and whatever is in it and all spray and snow, all rays, lightning, flashes, all clouds, all waters in wells, streams and seas, and light, wind, fire, sun, moon, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhaga, Satya, and Śraddhā, all the gods, all the stars, all the ṛks, Yajus, Sāmans and Atharvāṇgiras as, also itihāsa, Purāṇa and Sarpa-devajanas: all the worlds, days and nights, fortnights and months etc., every thing that has been and will be, all that is to be made the bricks. Then the mantras to be recited are given which are probably new. The gods performed the Vaiśvsṛja sacrifice extending over one thousand years. Finally the praise is recorded that thus who perform it become Sayujya and Saloka with Brahmā, become Sārṣṭi and Samānaloka with him. These are the new terms which are arisen describing the final be-

attitude to be obtained by the Vedānta philosophy, terms however, used later in a lower sense as the idea of being Brahma themselves had not probably yet been conceived.

From the above details of the contents of this Brāhmaṇa dealing with sacrifices from the lowest the fortnightly to the highest, the thousand years' one we can with tolerable accuracy settle the age of it. The Brāhmaṇa consists of three Kāṇḍas, the two first forming the older portion and the last three prapāṭhakas 10, 11 and 12 of the third Kāṇḍa being the latest additions from Ratha Saṃhitā now not available. The older portions being later than the old portion of the Śatapatha the date of which we take to be C. 300 B. C. That age may be taken to be about 2800 B. C. To fix the date of the latest portions we have two data. First the Atharvaveda is not formulated as a Saṃhitā. In third 12 Atharvāṇgiras generally are mentioned with Ṛk, Yajuḥ and Sāman with Itihāsa Purāṇa and Sarpadevajana, Anuvāka 8: in 9 the east is assigned to Ṛk, south to Yajuḥ, west to Atharvāṇgiras and north to Sāman: but in the next sentence they are omitted. Here the words Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda are also used. We therefore can say that this portion is earlier than the Chāndogya Upaniṣad wherein the word Atharvaveda appears first, supplanting the two Atharvāṇgiras (It is interesting to note that Sāmaveda is always now treated as higher than the other two, as it is next stated that Mūrti is born of Ṛk, all gati emotion is derived· from Yajus and all light (Tejaḥ) is derived from Sāmaveda: again Vaiśyas are born from the Ṛgveda, Kṣatriyas from Yajurveda and Brāhmaṇās from the Sāmaveda. The second data is furnished by the names of months. They are still not Caitra, Vaiśākha and so on. S. B. Dixit has shown that these month-names

arose later, the Veda names being Madhu, Mādhava and so on and that the conjunctions with Citrā and full moon etc., on which they are based indicate that they must have arisen not later than 2000 B. C. This fact we will dilate upon later, but we may take it that the third Kāṇḍa which is so full of all sorts of astronomical names and which cannot but have mentioned the names Caitra, Vaiśākha, etc., had they existed in its time, must be placed before 2000 B. C. The whole of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa may consequently be looked upon as later than the Śatapatha and earlier than the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and taking their dates as settled by Dixit, this Brāhmaṇa may be assigned a period ranging from 2900 to 2500 B. C.

Before concluding, we may notice a few interesting social facts which can be gathered from this Brāhmaṇa. One is first bewildered at the number of sacrifices described and the multiplicity of ritual and of mantras to be recited by the Hotā and by the Adhvaryu in answer (the puronuvākyā and the Yājyā). But it must be remembered that vedas were learnt by heart by almost all the Aryans and that they all kept the sacrificial fire and performed the ordinary daily and fortnightly sacrifices. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad in one place records the boast of Aśvapati that in his kingdom there was no thief and no householder who had not kept the sacrificial fire (न मे स्तेनो जनपदे नानाहिताग्निः) The ritual was therefore understood by all and was not ordinarily troublesome. Secondly, the ordinary Dakṣiṇā of a sacrifice was a cow. She is called Vara (boon) in 12,5. In higher sacrifices one hundred cows and even one thousand are prescribed as Dakṣiṇā. The country was fit for cow breeding and the Vaiśyas and even the Kṣatriyas maintained large herds of cows and

bulls; (see description of Duryodhana's herd in the Mahābhārata), in jungles which were many. In the Panjab and in Kurukṣetra and Rohilkhand even now not only are cows plentiful but they give also plentiful milk. Buffaloes are not mentioned any where and people drank cow's milk and used it in sacrifice. Indeed in the Vedas cows and sacrifice go together. A four-year old cow, especially when pregnant was the best Dakṣiṇā and "secured every blessing"; she had a special name Ṣaṣṭauhī. (III 12,5). Thirdly the four-caste system was fully established and was duly respected. The Rājasūya sacrifice was for kings and the highest sacrifice Aśvamedha was for Kṣatriyas alone. It is described in full detail in Prapāṭhakas 8 and 9 of Kāṇḍa III of this Brāhmaṇa. It was a Rāṣṭra or National sacrifice and Brāhmaṇs and Kṣatriyas joined together for its performance (8-4). It proclaimed the independence of the country; the horse being its symbol. When it was let loose, "one hundred Rājaputras with the Adhvaryu stood on its east side, one hundred Kṣatriyas, not ruling kings, with the Brāhman, stood on its south side, one hundred Sūtāgrāmaṇis with the Hotā stood on its west side and one hundred Kṣatrasaṅ grahītārāḥ with the Udgātā stood on its north side. The first enabled the king to conquer his enemies, the second made him unassailable, the third made his subjects prosperous (the prosperity being described in detail as, plenty of cows, of horses, of sheep and goat, of rice and yava, of Māṣa and Tila, of gold, of Hastika, of servants, of wealth and jewels) and the fourth gave the king long life" (III 8 and 5). This shows well how the Aśvamedha was a national sacrifice, and how the four castes stuck to their professions, the Kṣatriya warriors, the Brāhmaṇa priests

and the agriculturist and merchant, Vaiśyas.* From the above description which is nearly the same as in the Śatapatha, we also find that the warrior caste had begun to be split into two classes, those entitled to rule and called Rājaputras (the word Rājaput thus is as old as the Brāhmaṇas) and those who were not entitled to rule and called Ugras. The third caste people the Vaiśyas are named Sūtagrāmaṇīs; the latter word in this compound name plainly means the Patels of villages of modern days. But what does Sūta mean and why are the Sutas allied with Grāmaṇīs? Similarly the word Kṣhatta *Saṅgṛhīṭṛ* is difficult to explain. Sāyaṇa explains Kṣhatta alone as a mixed caste-men born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother; but he interprets Sūta as Sārathi (chariot driver) and Ugra as Śūra or courageous. It appears that these three words Ugra, Sūta, and Kṣhatta had not yet attained the meaning they later attained as indicating certain mixed castes. We may here draw the attention of the reader to the omission previously noticed, of the last Mantra in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā Adhyāya XXX which details the victims for Puruṣamedha, in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇḍa III Prap. 4 where the same Puruṣamedha is described. This Mantra adds that the Māgadha and others should neither be a Śūdra nor a Brāhmaṇa. We have already shown that this condition plainly shows that Māgadha is here not a mixed caste man but merely panegyrist who might be of any of the four castes.†

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*The Śūdra was still a servant and impure not being allowed to milk the sacrificial cow, as such milk was not fit for oblation **अहावरेव तदित्याहु :। यच्छूद्रो दोग्धोति** III 2, 3, 9 Kāṇḍa, p. 253.

†मागधः पुंश्चली कितवः क्लीबो ऽशूद्रा अब्रह्मणास्ते प्राजापत्याः (Volumes XXX 22).

It shows that in the days of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, the mixed castes had not yet come into existenee. The omission of this Mantra in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa might perhaps indicate that mixed castes had come into being by its time. Probably, however, the omission is unintentional especially as Ugra, Sūta, and Kṣatta used here are still not mixed caste men. It may therefore be inferred that mixed castes had not arisen even in the days of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

These mixed castes arose later in the same way as the four castes in the beginning, from professions becoming hereditary. The professions of charioteers, panegyrists etc., becoming hereditary and the idea of purity of caste gaining strength the children of higher caste-men from lower caste wives were first assigned certain professions and these gradually formed mixed castes which were assigned these old names Ugra, Sūta, etc.

* शतेन राजपुत्रैः सहाध्वर्युः राज्यं वा अध्वर्युः क्षत्रं राजपुत्रः। शतेनाराजाभिरुग्रैः सह ब्रह्मा बलं वै ब्रह्मा बलभराजोग्रः शतेन सूतग्रामणीभि : होता अयं राजाऽस्यै विशः बहुग्वै बह्वश्वायै बह्वजाविकायै। बहुदासपुरुषायै। बहुहास्तिकायै रयिमत्यै पुष्टिमत्यै बहुरायस्पोषायै राजास्त्विति। भूमा होता। भूमा सूतग्रामण्यं शतेन क्षत्तसंगृहीतृभिः सहोद्गाता। आयुर्भावोद्गता आयुर्भाःक्षत्तसंगृहीतारः

In the above Hastikā is not elephant, for elephant can only be maintained by kings and not villagers. It is, however, strange that in the Brāhmaṇas there is no mention of elephant in the army of kings or in the descriptions of their

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* Compare with this the earlier Śatapath provision तस्येमे पुरस्ताद्रक्षितार उपक्लृप्ता भवन्ति राजपुत्राः कवचिनः शतं राजन्या निषङ्गिणः शतं सूतग्रामण्यां पुत्रा इषुवर्षिणः शतं क्षत्रसंगृहीतॄणां।' पुत्रा दण्डिनः शतम् XIII, 4, 1, 15, Ugra is not here mentioned. Sāyaṇa explains the last as क्षत्तार आयव्ययाध्यक्षाः तेषां समूहः क्षत्रम् बहुव्रीहियवाय बहुभाषानेलीय

power and splendour. The Kṣatriya is always a car-warrior, like the ancient Trojan or Greek, probably elephants came in later in the Magadha empire; they were not much found in the Panjab or the Himalayan jungles adjacent to it. The elephant was found in plenty in the jungles of Bengal, the Vindhyas and Aparānta or north Konkan with its Sahyādri forests. The Mahābhārata in one place praises the Aparānta elephant as the best.

Finally women were, we find, well treated and had certain rights. For every sacrifice required the sacrificer's wife to sit along with him. Their presence was not only not prohibited but was necessarily required as that of the king's or governor's consort on ceremonial occasions in modern days. Widowhood was much feared and the blessings invoked on the sacrificer's wife prayed that she might never be a widow. Ornaments for women were much prized, the priests liked ornaments for their women given them as Dakṣiṇā (1II 10, 4).

The Brāhmaṇas had frequent controversies on questions of ritual and philosophy and particular sacrifices enabled them to conquer their adversaries in disputations. More usually, however, almost every sacrificer wished to destroy "him who hated him or whom he himself hated*." The Indian Aryans were strong in their feelings of enmity. Most often the enemy is called a Bhrātṛvya (cousin.) How this word came to be used in the Brāhmaṇas in this sense it is difficult to explain. Perhaps the enmity between the Iranians and Indo-Aryans who were cousins gave rise to this use. But probably this word attained this meaning owing to the enmity which naturally arises in an undivided

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* योऽस्मान्द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः तं वो जम्भे दध्मः

family between cousins over ancestral property and which is often very deadly as in the Mahābhārata quarrel. The undivided family system certainly existed among the ancient Indo-Aryans as it exists to-day with its beneficial as well as baneful results. (It is hinted at in the marriage Sūkta of the Ṛgveda (X 90). But it assumed an evil aspect when the country was settled and there was no room for expansion.

The roots of many Puranic stories lie embedded in the Brāhmaṇas and even in Ṛgvedic hymns. The Kāla-Kañja Asuras are thus mentioned in this Brāhmaṇa (1). Prajāpati assuming the form of a boar dived below the primeval water and brought up the earth (1), story which gave rise to the Boar-Incarnation legend of the Purāṇas. In the Rāmāyaṇa we still find Prajāpati and not Viṣṇu, assuming the form of a Boar. Many similar traces of Purāṇic stories may be found on a critical examination of this Brāhmaṇa.

THE LITERATURE OF THE JAIMINĪYAS.

Veda Vyasa M.A., Lecturer in Veda and Epigraphy, U. of P.

Refrences to the Jaiminīya literature:—While reading his paper before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1897, Dr. Hanns Oertel said 'Considering its bulk and the number of legends contained in it, it is a strange fact that the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa is almost unknown to the anciallary literature of the Veda. Burnell knew of only one reference to it, *viz* Śankara's, who "incidentally mentions that the Kena Upaniṣad belongs to a Talavakāra Śākhā of the Sāma Veda" and he adds "apparantly there is no other mention of this recension to be found." One other quotation, however, may be added. It is hidden in the commentry to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which goes under the name of Sāyaṇa's. Commenting on A. B. II, 22 (the legend of the Āsuri *Dīrghajihvī* Aufrecht's edition, p. 266 and ed. Bibl. 2nd., Vol. 1, p. 386) he says *Dīrghā jihvā yasyāḥ sā Dīrghajihvī asurjatav utpannatvād āsurī, tatha ca Talavakārā āmananti: Dīrghajihvī vā āsuri āseti*, thus quoting the introductory words of the jaimīnīya version of the legend given in J. B. I. 161-63.

Dr. W. Caland writing many years later on the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa could only find the reference to this recension in the commentary on the Drāhyāyaṇa śrauta sūtra.

The Jaiminīyas are an important branch of the Sāmavedins and it seems strange that the references to the Jaiminīya works in the Vedic literature be so few. It is, no doubt true that for centuries the Jaiminīyas have been gradually absorbed in the Kauthumas. The number of the Jaiminīya families at present is very small and they too are being rapid-

ly absorbed by the Kauthumas. The Jaiminīya or Talavas kāra recension was unknown till A. C. Burnell during hi-sojourn in the South discovered a number of its texts and published the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.

I have been able to discover the following references to the Jaiminīya recension besides those given by Drs. Oertel and Caland.

(1) Two inscriptions of the time of the Cola king Rājakesarī Varman record endowments for an annual competition in reciting a chapter of the Talavakāra-Sāmaveda. (Arch. survey of India Annual Report 1923-24; South India Inscriptions No. 8335 Vol. III p. 1611).

(2) Maskari in his commentary on गौतमधर्मसूत्र 18.5 says—
तथा तलवकाराणां ब्राह्मणं—'यद्वा प्रथममहो रेताः सिच्यते स गर्भः सम्भवति, अतो यत्; ततः सिच्यते मुधैव तत् परासिच्यते' इति

(3) The Jaiminīya recension is frequently mentioned and quoted in the कुतूहल वृत्ति of श्रीवासुदेव दीक्षित on अध्वरमीमांसा, *e.g.*

(*i*) 1.2.18 ताण्डकतलवकारादिशाखासु मन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यदेवतानां विनियोजकब्राह्मणानां च स्मरणविधानं कृत्स्नवेदार्थज्ञानस्यावश्यकत्वे ऽनर्थकं स्यात् ।

(*ii*) 1.4.2 वस्तुतस्तु ताण्डकतलवकारवाजसनेयकादिब्राह्मणेषु नाम्नामेवंजातीयकानां निर्वचनं बहुलमुपलभ्यते । तत्र......तलवकारब्राह्मणे च 'बलभिदैव बलमभिदन्' उद्भिदा गा उदसृजन्त' 'यत्पृतनामजयंस्तत्पृतनाजितः पृतनाजित्त्वम्' 'यदुपाह्वयत् तदुपहव्यस्योपहव्यत्वम्' इत्यादि......

(*iii*) एवं हि तलवकारब्राह्मणे 'त एतान्याज्यानि स्तोत्राण्यपश्यन्' इत्युपक्रम्य श्रूयते 'यदिमान् लोकानजयन् तदाज्यानामाज्यत्वम्' इति, ते ऽब्रुवन्, आजिमेषामयाम गिरिं काष्ठां कृत्वेति यदब्रुवन्नाजियषामयामेति तदेषां द्वितीयमाज्यत्वम्' इत्यादि ।

(*iv*) 'वाजपेयेनान्नाद्यकामो यजेत' इत्येव तलवकारीयम् ।

(*v*) 2.1.41 तथा ऐतरेयताण्डकतलवकारीयब्राह्मणेषूपक्रमे वेदानामेव श्रवणात् ।

(4) The commentary of Dhanvin on the Śrauta Sūtra of Drāhyāyaṇa refers frequently to the Jaiminīya-kalpa (3. 3. 17., 5. 1. 22).

(5) I have also examined a number of unpublished manuscripts in our possession here and have discovered the following references.—

(*i*) In the beginning of the आश्वलायनश्रौतप्रयोग we read—
आश्वलायनसूत्रोऽहम् । प्रयोगो ह्यथ कथ्यते बौधायनजैमिनीभिः योगेऽत्र सहकारिभिः । यत्र यत्र विशिष्टाः स्युः तत्र तत्र स उच्यते ॥

(*ii*) सर्वानुक्रमणी of षड्गुरुशिष्य refers to भगवान् जैमिनी along with आपस्तम्ब, बौधायन and others.

(*iii*) स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त begins thus—

बौधायनं जैमिनिं च कौषीतक्याश्वलायनौ ।
वाधूलकापस्तम्बादीन् नौमि शाखाप्रवर्तकान् ॥

(6) The commentary of Venkaṭa Mādhava contains numerous quotations frsm Śaṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa. These agree verbatum with the J. B. close connection these two Brāhmaṇas is already well established.

II. **The Jaiminīya Literature:—**

(1) The Saṃhitā—Its variants have been published by Dr. W. Caland. Many new manuscripts are now available at Baroda, Lahore, etc.

(2) The Brāhmaṇa—In bulk it is almost as big as the Śatapatha. Its main interest lies in the extraordinarily large number of new legends contained in it. Various attempts have been made by many distinguished orientalists during the last forty years to prepare a critical edition of this text. Transcript of one complete manuscript and three large fragments of the Jaiminīya Br. were discovered by Dr. Burnell from Tinnevally district. He could not, however, procure the originals and had to be content with the transcripts. All the Western scholars who have worked so far on the subject had access only to these transcripts now deposited in the India Office. They had at no time access to the original manuscripts. The transcripts of Dr. Burnell were borrowed by Prof. Whitney (cf. Proceedings, American

Oriental Society, May, 1883, J. A. O. S. XI, p. c., XI iv). Professor Whitney assisted by Messrs. Avery, Bloomfield, Hopkins and Perry prepared a transcript for his own use. After a few years Dr. Hanns Oertel began the preparation of a critical edition of this text—so we learn from the preface to Vedic Concordance. Prof. Oertel had also prepared a list of mantras quoted in the J. B. for the use of Prof. Bloomfield in the preparation of his Concordance. It may be incidentally noticed here that this list was very incomplete as a large number of mantras seem to have escaped the notice of Dr. Oertel. Dr. Oertel soon realised that the manuscript material at his disposal was so inadequate that a critical edition of the whole text could not be prepared. He therefore published extracts from the J. B. in a series of seven papers published in J. A. O. S. and other oriental journals.

Dr. W. Caland of Utrecht too has devoted many years to this arduous task. He brought his intimate knowledge of the Brāhmaṇic ritual and his vast experience in editing Vedic works to the preparation of a critical edition of the J. B. But he, too, was convinced that such an edition was impossible without fresh manuscript material. He published large extracts from the J. B. with their German translation and also wrote an extremely learned dissertation on its contents in Dutch. In the perface to his *Auswahl* he writes—'The Ms. Material at our disposal is entirely inadequate for the preparation of a critical edition and it is practically certain that no fresh material would be forthcoming ?' Little did he imagine then that India was still so rich in the Jaiminīya Mss.

Our search for the Jaiminīya Mss.—It was at the suggestion of my friend Pt. Bhagyaddatta that I under-

took in 1924 the preparation of a critical edition of this text. Both of us knew that it was a task of exceptional difficulty. We at once planned a thorough search for the Jaiminīya mss. and our efforts in that direction have been successful far beyond our expectations—and it is indeed a very pleasant duty to-day to inform the distinguished orientalists gathered here that the critical edition of the J.B. is not a mere possibility—it has been achieved to a considerable extent. A specimen has been just published. Many new works of this recension have been discovered. A thorough search of the Jaiminīya houses is being conducted and we are sure to secure many new Mss. of Jaminīya works.

The Bhandarkar Research Institute borrowed the Burnell Mss. for my use. A complete Mss. of the J. B. had fortunately come into the possession of the Baroda library and we got a rotograph copy of it for our University library. The Mysore library had also secured a transcript of the J. B. We got it copied for our use. Their catalogue showed that it was complete (समग्रम्). I was very much disappointed, however, to find on examination that this manuscript covered 320 Khaṇḍas out of 360 Khaṇḍas of the first chapter only.

Last year, Mr. R. A. Shastri discovered another Ms. of the Br. which was subsequently purchased by me. In October last I purchased through him five Jaiminīya Mss. one of these being a large fragmant of the Brāhmaṇa. Besides these we have been successful in tracing three more Mss. of the Brāhmaṇa and every effort is being made to secure them.

The Mss. of the J. B. are very corrupt and present

difficulties of every type. Naturally the discovery of fresh material has been very welcome.

3. The Brāhmaṇa-bhāṣya—In August 1927, in the colophon of one of our newly discovered Mss. we found a statement that a commentry on the Brāhmaṇa written by Bhava-trāta was available. Since then our agent has discovered the Ms. and has assured us that he would soon be able to secure it for us.

4. *The Śrauta-sūtra*—Only Agniṣṭoma portion is extant and is edited by Dr. Gaastra on the basis of Burnell Mss. It is of great help in restoring the text of the Brāhmaṇa and is itself corrected at numerous places by the new manuscripts of the Br. Another Ms. is available at Baroda.

5. The Śrauta-sūtra-bhṣaya by Bhava-trāta. The bhāṣya is on the complete text. Mss. are available at Lahore, Baroda and Madras. It contains numerous quotations from the Br. which has helped us in clearing many difficulties.

6. The Jaiminīya-gṛhya-mantra-vṛtti is known by a single Ms. in the possession of the D. A.-V. College library, Lahore.

7. The Jaiminīya Sāma-veda-gānam is a bulky volume, the exact significance of which depends upon the key to its notation. Three manuscripts are available at India Office, Baroda and Lahore.

8. The Jaiminīya-gṛhya-sūtra edited by Dr. Caland with English translation.

9. Talavakāra or Kena Upniṣad.

10. Gṛhya-sūtra-Vyākhya Śrī-nivāsa.

11. Gṛhya-sūtra-prayoga,

Thus it is clear that the Ms. material at our disposal is now much more than that possessed by Drs. Caland and Oertel. Position has changed considerably in the last five years. A comprehensive survey of this recension can be now undertaken and is a great desideratum of Vedic scholarship.

Archaeology and History
SECTION.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY.

(Address delivered to the History and Archælogy section of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference, Lahore on 20th November, 1928.)

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Archæology in all its branches may be likened to the root, and history reasonably reconstructed may be regarded as the fruit. Archæology broadly interpreted may be taken to include

A.—Archæology proper, Architecture, Iconography, Artifacts of other kinds and works of Art generally.

B.—Epigraphy and Numismatics.

In the interpretation of these, the principle of evolution is generally applied. While as a general principle, it may not seem so fallacious to accept the principle of evolution and apply, it must be remembered that, as a principle, it has to be applied with caution. Over reasonably long periods and applied under the control of other governing considerations, the result may be fruitful; the possibility of error in a somewhat careless general application requires but little demonstration. The claim is sometimes put forward that the principle of evolution could be applied to purpose even in regard to very narrow periods and there it is fruitful of erroneous conclusions which can easily be checked if other evidence should be given full weight.

2. Used with the utmost caution, archæological material, including in it all kinds of archæological material taken in the broadest sense of the term, could provide us only what is called the dry-bones of history such as sequence of

occurrence and priority or posteriority in point of time, and the general condition of civilization of the people whose handiwork is subjected to examination. For anything like a fuller appreciation of culture we want more than the merely archæological evidence wherever possible. It is the work of man that really provides the material for building up history and culture thus understood, and there is much of this kind that goes into archæology proper.

3. Within recent times, and thanks to the exertions of the department under the judicious and energetic direction of Sir John Marshall, there has been considerable progress in archæological work in the country. The excavation works that has been carried on in various important centres such as Taxila, Nalanda, Sarnath, Pāṭliputra, Nagor in Rajputana, have each one of them contributed to advance the study of history in its own particular way. But the supreme achievement so far in this line of work is to be found in the excavation work that has been carried on in the Indus region. At the first flush it was regarded that the new finds in this region exhibited merely a sort of a duplicate copy of what had long been known in Mesopotamia and had been labelled, and with seemingly unquestionable justification, as the Indo-Sumerian civilization; but as the work progressed and more of these archæological finds came into view, there has come up to be a change in the point of view as well. All the artifacts are not capable of being viewed as mere duplicates of Sumerian finds elsewhere and those of them that showed a distinct feature have so far been regarded as exhibiting a character of their own that, in his latest writings, Sir John Marshall feels satisfied that these must no more be called Indo-Sumerian, but must rather be given a distinct name as that of the

Indus Valley Civilization. The time has not yet come for us to go into the question further and try to settle finally what exactly is the character of the civilization laid bare by this archæological find. The question requires really more study, and nothing could be said even of a reasonably settled character till considerable progress is made in the study of the characters which are found in the artifacts and works of art laid bare by the spade of the archæologist in this particular region. The work is, however, in such progress that we may hope ere long to solve the question satisfactorily. Whenever that time should come, two distinct lines of investigation would seem called for, *viz.*, whether this civilization actually leads on to that of the Ṛg-Veda which is pre-eminently the civilization of the Indus valley on the one hand; and on the other whether it affiliates itself to the culture of the country that goes by the name Dravidian.

4. Apart from this, archæological work often times takes on the character of unearthing cities and temples and other public buildings of the kind such as the Buddhist buildings at Nalanda, Sarnath and other places. Even the mere laying bare and reclaiming the form and structure of the buildings in full, as has happened in many cases in India, have their own value. In many cases, as we know, we can form but an imperfect idea of the whole structure thus reclaimed as it is only the ground plan that is claimed, but even so, we can form our own idea from the ground plan as to what the whole structure should have been in many cases, and a reconstruction of the whole on the basis of partial finds even has its own value in an estimate of the progress of culture and the condition of the times when such structures came into existence. Several important new finds which have revolusionized, in thier own way, the ideas

so far current have been made not only within the boundary of India itself, but beyond, in the islands of the Indian O cean and in the continent across. The work of the French school at Hanoi and that of the Dutch Archæological Department in Java deserve special mention. The discovery and the unveiling of the buried temples at Ankor-Wat and Ankor-Thom give us a new insight into the progress of Indian culture beyond the borders of India. While there is much that is interesting already known more work would unravel the mystery more completely and let us into the secrets of the history more fully. Perhaps the most important item in this line of work is the systematic attempt that has been made by the Dutch Archæological Department in regard to the study of the great monument Bara Budur. Monumental as the work is, it yet fails to take us very far in the interpretation of the monument as the two sumptuous volumes and the 400 and more of the prints issued by the department clearly indicate. This provides an excellent illustration of the relations that actually obtains between Archæological work and literature, where the latter happens to exist in any quantity. The monument seems hardly capable of illustration unless the whole of the literature bearing on Buddhism is studied more thoroughly and brought to bear upon the interpretation of the monuments.

5. This position is even better illustrated in respect of one of the most familiar of Indian monuments known to exist in Mahabalipuram. The Pallava monoliths and monuments there have been a curiosity to travellers for well over a century and various interpretations have been attempted. Within recent times Archaeology and Epigraphy have been brought into some conflict and the general considerations of culture heve been to an extent neglected in the interpretation of these. A typical example of this

is provided in the case of what is popularly known in the locality as a representation of Arjuna's penance. Apart from the question whether it is architecture or epigraphy that furnishes a surer test of age, the question of the interpretation of this representation on the face of the living rock is a matter of very considerable importance in regard to the principles which ought to guide us in the interpretation of these monuments. Amidst the embellishments that the work of man has provided in beautifying the town there is one that attracts attention prominently. Just behind the modern temple of Viṣṇu that exists in the locality there is an extensive scarp with a water channel worn by the fall of rain water in the middle of it. The rain water, flowing over the terrace and the rocks on the top, collected together flows in a channel through the middle of this rock-face and this, in process of time, has worn a channel dividing the rock into almost two equal parts. The sculptor who felt it necessary to put on the face of the rock an edifying picture of some didactic story has depicted on the face of the rock a complex scene of which the water-course in middle constitutes a river with all that appertain to a river in India. The river is shown flowing down with Nāgas and Nāginis and other aquatic creatures at the bottom, along with a number of animals coming to drink water on the one side of the river, and a hermitage in the near distance on the other side; and as a necessary consequence a number of people engaged in various acts of ablution and worship characteristic of the vicinity of a Brahmanical hermitage. Undoubtedly this is a prominent feature of the whole scene. At one part higher up the rock and immediately on the bank of the water course there is a figure standing on the right toe, shrunk and shrivelled to make all the bones visible, throwing up both his hands over

his head in an attitude of God-compelling penance. Right in front of him stands a huge figure of a God with a countenance exhibiting beneficence unmistakable, and in an attitude of enquiring what exactly the penitent wants of Him. The characteristic coiffure and the weapons that form part of the equipment of the God give us to understand unmistakably that it is the figure of Śiva that the artist has attempted to depict offering to give to the penitent what he wants in return for his whole-hearted penance. Underneath, the same penance-performing individval is shown in front of a small temple sitting in the attitude of penance, obviously an earlier attitude of the individual who has taken up his position there to perform the penance and to obtain a boon from God. If these features alone should be taken into consideration the inference may be justifiable that the river is the principal object of the whole scene. But there is more in the whole picture that should not be neglected, and the actual key to the interpretation of the picture is provided somewhere else in the whole picture. The whole of that has been neglected and this permanent feature has been laid hold of to reject the name 'Arjuna's penance' whlch is current, and to give the whole picture the interpretation that it is the 'Coming of the Ganges.' This view was formulated by Mons. Goulebew, the French Archaeologist, and has been adopted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreauil of Pondicheri and even the Archaeological department, followed later on by Dr. Ananda Kumaraswami in his work on 'Indian and Indonesian Art.' It would thus appear that the consensus of competent opinion in regard to the matter is that it does represent the coming of the Ganges, and that the current name is obviously a fiction which has no legs to stand on.

6. The question however cannot be considered off-hand on the basis of mere archaeological evidence alone. The first point that would arise is whether it is the object of the sculptor, or whoever was responsible for this sculpture, to exhibit the coming of the Ganges in this fashion; and, if so, whether the incident of the coming of the Ganges is properly represented. An essential pre-requisite for this examination is that all the more prominent incidents depicted in the picture are capable of explanation on the basis of the story connected with the coming of the Ganges. So far the only point made clear is that a person performs austere penance and Śiva appears before him in his benificence to grant him the boon prayed for. The presence of the river obviously suggests that the boon asked for is the coming of the river. We shall take up the story of the coming of the river later, but would merely point out here that the sculptor arpparently wants the story to suit another aspect from the mere details that he has put in as an essential part of the sculpture itself. As one faces the sculpture he will find on the left-hand side just above the plane where the temple stands in front of which the ascetic sits in penance, two stalwart men, their bows ready strung, stalking apparently in the trail of game. Right in front of them at some distance will be found a boar gallopping for all he is worth, with evident fear in its every movement and action. The boar can be traced in several places till it dashes past the penitent ascetic rapt in penance. The attitude and action of the animal which obviously is a boar is entirely at variance with the attitude of all the other animals of the forest which exhibit a serenity and peace generally ascribed to the surroundings of a hermitage in Indian classics. There is no mistaking that the boar is the beast after which the hunters come stalking, and the beast tries

to escape as best it may. This feature is brought in so prominently and so markedly clearly that we cannot regard it as a mere subordinate incident of the whole scene. This feature has to be accounted for in any account that will attempt an explanation of the scene as a whole. There is nothing in the story of the coming of the Ganges to explain this.

7. In the coming of the Ganges, the role that is ascribed to Śiva is a very subordinate one. It is not by his favour that the Ganges comes. He is brought in at a later stage to bear the impact of the Ganges falling on earth, and he agrees to do so undoubtedly as a matter of beneficent favour to king Bhagiratha. He receives the river as a whole and lets the river trickle down after binding her up in his coiffure to stop the force of the river current, and makes the goddess Ganges feel her pride humbled by this. It is in this aspect that Śiva has to be exhibited to make it characteristic of the scene implied in the coming of the Ganges, and so it is generally in Indian pictures representing the scene; whereas, in this picture, Śiva is brought in apparently as the most porminent deity in the attitude of beneficent favour to the man in penance at the critical moment. It would therefore be inappropriate to make the river feature the really prominent part. There is besides the further inappropriateness of a picture representative of this incident, that the river is exhibited here as an ordinary stream flowing down full which is not associated with the part of the story in which the presence of Śiva is necessary. With Śiva present, the Ganges must come in full flow for him to receive her on his head, or she must be exhibited as emerging as a puny stream from one of the locks by means of which he let her down. Neither of these aspects is present in the picture. Further that leaves the characteristic

incident of the hunters and the boar unexplained altogether. That all the figures of the flying band have their faces turned towards the stream is explained by the fact that the principal actor in the whole scene, Śiva, is there in the middle and these fluttering figures are sailing in the air towards the spot where Śiva is. This is a feature common to all the stories in which there is mention of a divine act of beneficence, and this is witnessed by all the crowd of beings of the air and heaven as a rule. Naturally several of them would come and stay, some would come and go to convey the news to others and there would be various different aspects of this miscellaneous divine or semi-divine community, and the picture here represents nothing more nor less. The key to the story depicted on the face of the rock is furnished by the hunters and the boar, and that is actually the story of the Kirātārjunīya. The river is but the ordinary adjunct of a hermitage and the whole attitude of the animal world exhibits merely the peace that prevails, or ought to prevail, in the vicinity of a spot where penance is prformed. by holy men. That is broken only by the inrush of the boar. Otherwise there is nothing that indicates any break of the serenity that ought to prevail in an atmosphere like that. A hermitage without an abundant supply of water is an impossibility according to the Hindu ideas, and the natural feature of the rock here is taken advantage of to provide a river. Barring that there is nothing in the river of a peculiar character to associate it with anything like the incident of the coming of the Ganges.

The river feature being thus satisfactorily explained we have to find the means of accounting for the other incidents in the picture, including that of the hunters and the boar. Readers of the Kirātārjunīya or the Kairātasarga of the Mahābhārata would find that the picture is as far

as may be, the pictorial translation of the story of Arjuna's penance for the obtaining from Śiva, his characteristic Pāśupata, as against the coming war in which he was likely to be put on his metal. The whole picture first of all gives the scene of Arjuna at penance in the forest ; then the appearanc of the boar and the hunters behind him ; the combat, the consequent disrespect to the deity, ultimately the apolegetic penance of a highly severe character, and the appearance of Śiva to make the gift. These three main parts of the story are exhibited to perfection in the three seperate scenes that are actually depicted on the face of the rock. On any accepted principle of picture-reading there would be doubt left that this is the actual purpose of the artist and no other, and there is no reason to show why this should actually be discounted and another explanation sought for the picture. It is fundamentally necessary to establish first of all the unsuitability of the current name before proceeding to suggest another and more appropriate one. It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that the unsuitability has hardly been demonstrated and the suggested substitute has nothing to recommend it as being more suitable except the obvious river. Apart from that, contemporary literature is full of reference to the grant of Pāśupata to Arjuna as a supremely beneficent act of Śiva, which I have taken occasion to quote *in extenso* in my article in the Indian Antiquary for the year 1917, which is appearing again as a supplment to the Indian Antiquary in a somewhat revised form. There is besides the fact that at the time this should have heen put on the face of the living rock, the classic, Kirātārjunīyam, should have had great vogue in the court of the Pallavas under Siṃha Viṣṇu whose contemporary the author Bhāravi should have been, and

it was probably the composition of this poet that actually gave rise to its translation in the form of the picture on the rock face. It is this picture, relative to the chief among the five brothers of the Pāṇḍavas, that is really responsible for the other Pāṇḍava association of the locality for which there is no other explanation possible. Thus it will be seen that an archaeological feature such as that on this rock-face sculpture cannot be adequately explained except by bringing literature to bear upon the evidence of archaeology. That is the main purpose of illustration being adverted to heroes and it will be admitted that this provides a very good illustration of the possibility of error in interpretations of archaeological features.

8. In regard to Iconography there is a tendency to regard Iconographic work as capable of interpretation again on the principle of evolution. It is sometimes forgotten that the principle of evolution as applicable to Iconography has to be modified a good deal as Iconographic conventions on the basis of religion are no less potent on the modification of the principle of artistic evolution. Artistic evolution can be applied to Iconography only to a very modified extent and could really be applied in interpretation only subject to the conventional notions underlying Iconographic work. Artifacts of other kinds, however, stand on a different footing. Here the principle of artistic evolution can be applied much more freely and the only interfering influences are the possibility of imitation from communities with which intercourse is possible and of which there is some evidence. But otherwise, the principle of evolution may be applied with good results. Epigraphy and Numismatics in regard to this do stand upon a similar footing though not to the same degree. While Paleography

may be regarded as more certain so long as we can look at it from the point of view merely of progressive evolution one way or the other, we are not altogether free from danger if we take it upon ourselves to make inferences as to actual dating on the mere basis of Paleography alone as yet, although we may reach this happy position with more extensive progress in the study of the subject. In regard to Numismatics evolution may be held to apply much more than, at any rate to the same extent as, Epigraphy and there is the additional advantage of our being able to regard pieces as mere artifact works of art of a mechanical character in addition. Here there is no modifying convention which is likely to have important consequences, and that is one great advantage. Even so, the principle of evolution has to be applied with care and caution.

9. When we come to literature we have here a far fuller expression of the human mind in all its aspects, and we come upon material which may be exploited to purpose to a far fuller measure than in other cases ; but this has its own dangers to guard against. We are in a region of conscious effort and full play must be given to individual vagaries and personal equations of all kinds. Formal enunciation of general principles of interpretation would be far more difficult than in regard to any of the previous sources of evidential value. Language and linguistic development cannot take command exclusively, nor can we always be sure of the genuineness or the uncontaminated character of the texts before us. But for anything like an interpretation of the cultural history of a people, there can be no doubt that this furnishes the fullest, and in many respects, perhaps the best source of information provided the exploitation of the sources is

conducted with a careful apparatus of criticism applied with judgment. The building up of history therefore depends upon the proper evaluation of the various sources that may bear upon a particular question or aspect of history, and how difficult would be the correct interpretation and what possible sources of corruption may enter into it, would be clear from what has been stated before. Even so, it need not be regarded as impossible of achievement—it cannot be to perfection—but to such a degree of completeness as is humanly attainable in a field of work like this.

" A Forgotten Hero."

Some notes on the Life and Work of Csoma de Koros, Traveller and Scholar (1784—1842).

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In the annals of Oriental scholarship, few stories can compare with that of the little Hungarian scholar Csoma de Koros, who, in the early years of the 19th century, travelled on foot, alone and penniless, from his village in Hungary to the heart of Tibet in the pursuit of knowledge, ultimately, like so many of his kind, giving his life as the price of his acquirements. De Koros was content to die as he had lived, obscure and penniless, labouring to the end. It is in the hope that his name may be rescued from unde. served oblivion that this paper has been written. Of the value of Tibetan for the study of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and especially Buddhist literature, there is no need to speak here. Before Koros, Tibetan was practically unknown. The party of Capuchin friars who visited Lhassa in 1719 brought away materials from which the Augustan friar, Georgi of Rimini, complied his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome 1762), a "ponderous and confused compilation" full of mistakes. In 1820, Abel Remusat devoted to Tibetan a chapter of his *Recharches Sur les langues Tartares,* and in 1826, Csoma's friend John Marshman issued from the Serampore press a dictionary, or rather a collection of sentences, made by an unknown Italian Missionary. It was, therefore, the beginning of a new era in Oriental scholarship, when in 1834, Csoma de Koros published his *Dictionary Tibetan and English* and his *Grammar of the Tibetan language in English,* admirable works as regards the literary Tibetan of the Buddhist translation which have never been superseded.

On a bright spring morning, a Sunday, in the year of Grace 1819, two friends might have been seen walking along the Nagy Szeben road in Transylvania. Presently they stopped and parted. One went sorrowfully back; the other, 'an expression of joyful serenity shining in his eyes,

as if he were wending his steps towards a long-desired goal,' strode on eagerly alone. It was Csoma de Koros. Frail and short in build, he was inspired, nevertheless, with the spirit of the old Magyar nobility whose blood ran in his veins. An accomplished linguist, he had, when a student, obtained a travelling scholarship with which he had proceeded to Gottingen. Here the glamour of Oriental research had first captivated him. Among the many problems which, in the infancy of these studies, afforded fascinating themes for speculation to the imaginative mind, the question of the origin of the Hungarian race had attracted his notice. He imagined that many Hungarian names and words were of Eastern origin. To collect information which would throw light upon these problems was the first object of his journey. Afterwards his original quest was lost sight of in those Tibetan studies for which he will be ever remembared by scholars. "Though the study of the Tibetan language", he writes in the preface to his Dictionary, "did not form part of my orginal plan, but was only suggested after I had been led by providence into Tibet, and had enjoyed an opportunity of learning of what sort and origin the Tibetan literature was, I cheerfully engaged in the study of it, hoping that it might serve me a vehicle to my immediate purpose, namely, my researches respecting the language and origin of the Hungarians." Csoma's equipment for the journey was not a large one,—a wallet containing a few books, some shirts, and the sum of one hundred florins in cash! At first he went no further than Croatia, where he spent some months in working at Sclaronic dialects; this done, he pushed on, sometime alone and on foot and sometimes in the company of merchants' caravans to Constantinople, whence he took boat to Alexandria. Here he settled down for some time to the study of Arabic, a language

which, he had been told by the great Eichhorn, under whom he had read at Gottingen, would throw much light upon the darker pages of medieval European history. But plague was raging in Alexandria and our traveller was forced to leave the city. Taking a coasting vessel, he made his way to Aleppo, and from Aleppo to Bagdad. From Bagdad he journeyed with a caravan to Teheran, where he spent the winter of 1820-1821, learning Persian and English and receiving much kindness from Sir Henry Willock, the British representative in that city. Here the real perils of the journey seemed about to begin. Rumours of a Russian force in Central Asia made it impossible to venture, without grave risk, on a journey through Turkestan. The only alternative was to strike southwards to the Khyber, cross the Panjab and then, turning north, to march through Cashmere and Tibet. Somewhere on the Central Asian plateau Csoma hoped to find the goal of his researches. The undertaking was a vast one. Before him lay the dangerous passes of the Indian frontier, the ferocious tribesmen of Afghanistan, the vast Empire of Ranjit Singh, and all the lofty, unexplored mountains of the Eastern Himalayas. The jounrney was one calculated to appal the stoutest heart, but Csoma faced it without flinching. That he realised the perils which lay before him is shewn by the fact that before setting out, he left with his hosts a packet containing the only possessions by which he set any store. These were his University diplomas. In case he perished, they were to be returned to his native village.

One of the few faults which we can find with Csoma de Koros is the modesty with which he regards his achievements. His adventures he never considered worthy of record. His brief letter written to the British Government from Sabathu merely states that he crossed the Bamian Pass in

January 1822, arrived at Lahore in March, and pushed on through Cashmere to Leh early in June. It was here that an event occurred of the utmost importance to Csoma's future career; he met the ill-fated traveller, William Moorcroft, who spent many years in exploring the North-Western Frontier of India, gaining valuable information for Government, till his untimely death from fever in the remote regions of Bokhara in 1825. It was Moorcroft who lent him a rough Tibetan dictionary, compiled nearly a century before by a Catholic priest. From this dictionary Csoma first began to comprehend the extent of the vast, unexplored field of Tibetan literature, which he was destined to make his life study. Fascinated by the new language and the mysterious tomes of the monasteries he had visited, Csoma, armed with Moorcroft's recommendations, made his way to the remote monastery of Zangla in the Ladak district and there, cut off from the world by countless ranges of towering mountains, and buried for months by the drifting snow, with no companions but a few silent monks, he worked for nearly a year and a half. Dr. Gerard of the Indian Medical Service, who visited Csoma in Tibet in 1827, gives a vivid description of how the heroic scholar spent that awful year. Of his suffering Csoma himself says absolutely nothing, "He, the Lama (his tutor), and an attendant," says Dr. Gerarad, "were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months; they durst not stir out, the ground being covered with snow, and the temperature below the zero of the scale. There he sat, enveloped in a sheepskin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep on and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate. The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate

the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages. Some idea of the climate of Zanskar may be formed, from the fact that on the day of the summer solstice a fall of snow covered the ground; and so early as the 10th of September following, when the crops were yet uncut, the soil was again sheeted in snow; such is the horrid aspect of the country and its eternal winter."

Late in November 1824, a stranger clad in a rough native blanket, appeared at Sabathu, a little military post on the lower spurs of the Himalayas, a few miles from Simla. It was Csoma, returned from far beyond the snow-clad peaks which may be seen like a vast rampart to the north of the town. Captain Kennedy, the Commandant, under the orders of the Political Agent at Ambala, was forced to detain his strange visitor, pending instructions from the Government of India. This precaution, though regrettable, was rendered necessary by the fact that Russia was known to be busy in Central Asia, and to be in communication both with Ranjit Singh and the Afghans. Csoma himself had been employed by Moorcroft to translate an intercepted letter from the St. Petersburg Government to the Sikh monarch. The suspicion thus cast upon him, however, deeply wounded the sensitive spirit of the Hungarian. Fortunately the Indian authorities impressed by Moorcroft's recommendation and by the elaborate programme drawn up by De Koros himself, decided, not only to allow the traveller to return to Tibet, but to give him a grant of fifty rupees a month in order to enable him to prosecute his studies. And so, in June 1825, Csoma once more took the road. Less than two years later, in January 1827, he returned, deeply mortified. "I have wasted time and money", he declared pathetically. Above all, he conceived that his honour, "dearer to him than the making of his fortune," had been

sullied. He had failed to fulfil his contract to the Indian Government, for the second expedition to Tibet had not been an unqualified success. His tutor, the Lama who had read with him on his first visit, had become wearied by his pupil's thirst for knowledge. His patience, perhaps his stock of learning, was exhausted, and he had performed his duties in an indolent and perfunctory fashion. Csoma was heart-broken. He declared he would take nothing more from his patrons, and humbly begged leave to go to Calcutta to place before the Royal Asiatic Society such remains as he had managed to secure, in order to prove that he was not altogether a fraud. These "remnants" were a large and beautifully written Tibetan dictionary, materials for a complete grammar of the language, and "an immense mass of manuscripts and many printed volumes" bearing upon Tibetan philosophy, religion, astronomy, and other sciences. Any other scholar would have been proud of such results.

In June 1827, Captain Kennedy notified to Csoma that the Government, far from being displeased with his achievements, were prepared to renew his salary for three years, in order to enable him to proceed to Besarh in Tibet for the further prosecution of his studies. It was here, at Kanum, that his friend, Dr. Gerard, found him in the midst of his labours," in his small but romantic hamlet". " The cold is very intense", writes his friend, " and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval for recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea. His chief repast is tea, in the Tartar fashion, which is indeed more like soup, the butter and salt mixed in its preparation leaving no flavour of tea.

It is a repast at once greasy and nourishing, and being easily made, it is very convenient in such a country". (Gerald's letter to the Commissioner of Delhi, January 21, 1829.) Csoma had now been working a year ; he had in that time completed a vocabulary of forty thousand words, and had read through forty-four books of the great Tibetan Encyclopedia, the *Stangyur*, consisting of the two hundred and twenty five ponderous volumes, each of from five hundred to seven hundred pages. His hut was at the elevation of 9500 feet above the sea level, and its single room containing no furniture save books and " two rustic benches and a couple of rude chairs". He was two hundred miles from Sabathu, and his scanty salary left nothing over, to be spent on the most ordinary luxuries. Even mutton, stored in abundance in all the monasteries, was beyond his reach. Of his fifty rupees, half went to the Lama, and five more were spent upon house-rent and his servant. Of the remaining twenty, most were expended in the purchase of books, manuscripts and writing materials. Yet, in spite of his poverty, Csoma, with all the pride of a Hungarian noble, refused haughtily the smallest offer of assistance. His pittance, at which the humblest clerk of to-day would look askance, was ample for his needs, and his only anxiety was to finish his task and repay his patrons. Of wordly affairs he cared nothing. Dr. Gerard tells us how he offered to supply him with the English papers, thinking to enliven his soltiude thereby. Csoma returned a polite refusal. Firstly, he said, they had no interest for him and secondly, he did not wish to be thought to have wasted his employer's time ! For four winters he worked on thus with his Pandit, " a man of vast acquirements,—a singular union of learning, modesty and greasy habits". It was about this time that one of the many proposals to

increase his salary was made, at the instance of his friend. Csoma rejected the offer with some acerbity, his senstive soul stung by what he considered a tardy recognition of his achievements. Orientalists are jealous folk, and there was a disposition to sneer in some quarters at this unknown savant, and his strange stories of a new literature. In Wilson and Prinsep, however, Csoma had two enduring friends, noble scholars who perceived the sterling qualities underlying the little Hungarian's outward testiness

The year 1831 saw Csoma at last at Calcutta, hard at work editing his spoils. Government had generously undertaken to bring out his Dictionary at public expense. The great work was finished early in 1834, and in the following years, armed with the necessary passports, Csoma made an extensive tour in Bengal, studying Bengali, Sanskrit, and other Indian tongues. Of this period we have no records ; but in 1837 we find him back in Calcutta, as Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, still working away at his Tibetan manuscripts. Of his extraordinary frugality and industry we have testimony of a most interesting and pathetic kind. His infinitesimal salary of fifty rupees a month was more than sufficient for his wants. Except for the first two months, he never troubled to draw the extra fifty which had been allotted to him, and at his death he was actually found to have saved a considerable sum ! It was calculated that the fourteen years which he had spent in research had cost Government a little over four thousend rupees, or about three hundred rupees a a year. " He lives like a hermit among his Tibetan and other works," writes a compatriot. " Of an evening he takes slight exercise in the grounds, and then he causes himself to be locked up in his apartment ; it therefore invariably happens that when, during my evening rides, I

called upon him, it was necessary to wait awhile till the servants produced the keys to unlock the doors of his apartments''. Another writer speaks of him as " absorbed in fantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmins, who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell, which he never left except for short walks in the corridors of the building.'' Writting after his death, Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, says, " His effects consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking pot. His food was confined to tea, of which he was very fond, and plain boiled rice, of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirits or used tobacco or other stimulants.'' But Csoma was not content with his achievements. To remain inactive, now that he had fulfilled his pledge to the British Government and had finished sorting the material he collected, was abhorrent to his ardent, restless soul. Before his eyes gleamed the golden roofs of the monasteries of mysterious Lhassa, with their stores of vast, unrecorded literature ; beyond, in the far distance, lay the limitless Chinese Empire, with still further unexplored literary and linguistic treasures ; and there, who knows, hidden in the impenetrable bosom of the steppes of Central Asia, might be found the convincing, final proofs of the orgin of the Hungarian race. Csoma was now fifty-eight, weather-beaten and worn by privation, exposure, and excessive study. " I began to suspect,'' says the traveller we

have quoted already, "that he would never see his native land again, being then already advanced in age; and yet he proposed remaining for ten years longer in the country, to enable him to glean whatever he could find in the old writings, and such a secluded, one could almost call it a prison life, might soon undermine the powers of any constitution and leave but a mere shadow of an existence." Csoma himself perhaps felt that the journey might be his last one, for before leaving he wrote a letter to the Royal Asiatic Society making them his executors. But he set out cheerfully, crossed the malarious Terai on foot, and arrived at Darjeeling on March 24th. Here he remained for some days, while negotiations were opened with the Raja of Sikkim, to enable him to cross the frontier and make his way towards Lhassa. The envoy of the Raja was astounded at finding a foreigner who could talk his language like a native, and who knew more of its literature than he did himself. Everything was progressing in a most favourable manner, and Csoma was in a state of great excitement. "What would not Hodgson, Turnour, and some of the philosophers af Europe, not give to be in my place when I get to Lhassa?" he often exclaimed. But Csoma was bound for no earthly goal. On April 6th, he developed fever, contracted doubtless on his way through the Terai. His poor, worn body offered little resistance to the disease, and five days later, a martyr to the cause of knowledge, he set out upon his last journey. And there, under the fragrant deodars, and within sight of the delectable mountains, his body lies beneath a massive tomb in Darjeeling cemetry. Csoma's character was a strange mixture of diffidence and pride, of getleness and a certain rough irritability. Utterly selfless as far as his studies were concerned, he went through countless perils

in their pursuit, with complete indifference, Of his travels, except so far as they throw light upon his researches, he has left absolutely no record. He could not imagine that they would interest any one. "What a pity it is," a contemporary exclaims, "that a scientific mind like his was so little given to writing except on his special study!". On the amenities of social life he looked with the utmost contempt. He speaks scornfully of the way in which, during his sojourn at Sabathu, he was "treated as a fool, alternately caressed and ridiculed." He invariably refused to stay with Government and Military officials, preferring to live among the natives and to study their language and should habits. He was determined that as a scholar the world recognize his merits, and for this end, "the last infirmity of noble minds." he worked unceasingly. Extraordinarily sensitive about his peronal honour, he refused peremptorily any gift which had the slightest suspicion of charity. The somewhat tardy recognition of his merits by the Royal Asiatic Society brought from him a reproof for the like of which we must go back to Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield. "In 1823, "he writes, "when I was in Kashmir, being destitute of books, Mr. Moorcroft on my behalf had requested you to send me certain necessary works. I have never recived any. I was neglected for six years. Now under such circumstances and projects, I shall want no books." Above all, he never forgot, or forgave, in spite of his very real gratitude to Government for their sympathy and help, the affront offered to him when he first entered Sabathu. Under the circumstances, as we have seen, it was not unnatural that newcomers, especially foreigners, when found wandering about the frontier, should be treated with some suspicion at that period. But Csoma was mortally

offended. He had been called a spy. His honour had been called in question. In spite of all explnations, he stuck to his point, and never forgot the supposed " insult " till his dying day. He refers to it in every letter he wrote to Government, and mentioned it, years afterwards in the preface to his Dictionary. He even went so far as to send all his foreign correspondence, unsealed and written in Latin, to the Royal Asiatic Society to examine before it was posted! His eccentric temper tried the patience of the good-natured Kennedy, who writes on one occasion, "he is a man of most sanguine, hasty, and suspicious disposition. I have left no act undone to accommodate and to meet his wishes, and I think he feels grateful to me; but on some occasions he has received my advances to be obliging, with a meanness not to be accounted for." But to his intimates, to those who really took an interest in his work and his aspirations,—he appeared in a very different light. "He was cheerful", says one of his countrymen who visited him in 1837, "often merry; his spirits rose very considerably when he took the opportunity of talking about Hungary. Altogether, I found him very talkative, and if he once started on his strain there was no getting to the end of it". "I used to delight in his company" wrote Dr. Malan, "he was so kind and so obliging, and always willing to impart all he knew".

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yeild was Csoma's motto. And if he, too, is to be reckoned among the world's faithful failures, let us not forget the noble saying that *To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labour.*

PARALLELISM BETWEEN AŚOKA'S EDICTS AND KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA.

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The purpose of this paper is to bring together the parallel passages in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and inscriptions of Aśoka so as to show to what extent they throw light upon each other and may be considered as contemporary documents. The resemblance between the records of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya has been worked out thoroughly to prove or to disprove that they were contemporaries, but the resemblance between Kauṭilya's work and the Aśoka's inscriptions waits to be worked out for the same purpose. The resemblance extends both to words and ideas, to technical terms as well as institutions peculiar to Mauryan polity. It may be set out as follows:

Aśoka's Edicts.	Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra.*
1. *Mahāmātra*, a technical term for an officer of high rank occuring in many of the Edicts. They mention the Mahāmātras as being (*a*) in charge of cities like Isila, Samāpā [KRE. II] or Kosambi [MPE] ; (*b*) associated with the princely Viceroys, as at Tosalī [KRE. II] or at Suvarṇagiri [MRE, I, Brahm.] ;	1. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the Mahāmātra also figures as a minister [I. 10, 12, 13] and as the chief executive officer of a city under the title *Nāgarika-mahāmātra* [IV. 5]= *Mahāmātā-nagalaka* of KRE-I, Jaugada, while his status and influence will be evident from the fact that the seditious *Mahāmātra* is a cause of much concern to the King who has to send him out of the way [V. I].

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
(*c*) placed in charge of over thousands of lives [KRE. II];	
(*d*) deputed on quinquennial inspection of judicial administration, as on other duties [*Ib.*];	
(*e*) heads of departments as *Dharma-Mahāmātras, Strī-adhyakṣa-Mahāmātras* [RE. XII];	
(*f*) directors of different religious sects [RE. V, PE. VII, MPE]; and	
(*g*) members of the *Mantripariṣad* to whom the King confides urgent matters [RE. VI].	
2. Devānampiye evam *āha* or *āṇapayati* [occurring in so many edicts]	2. Both these formulae are also mentioned by Kauṭilya as appropriate for royal orders. The former is mentioned as one of the set phrases prescribed for what is called by Kauṭilya a ***prajñāpana-śāsana*** (writ of information), while ***ājñā-lekha*** (writ of command) is men-

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
	tioned as a form of *rāja-śāsana* (writ of command) [II. 10].
3. *Nagala-viyohālaka* [KRE. I]	3. Kauṭilya [I. 12] has the expression *pauravyava-hārika* for one of the eighteen chief officers of the state. He has also the expression *pura-mukhya* [I. 16.]
4. In KRE. I, there is a reference to judicial torture causing death and to Aśoka's wishes to check such abuses.	4. Kauṭilya also refers to the severity of judicial torture of which the arbitrary and excessive applications and abuses he makes penal [IV. 8, 9, 11].
5. "*Nikhāmayisa hedis-ameva vagam*" [KRE. I]—'depute a similar body of officers.	5. The word *varga* is also used in the same sense by kauṭilya [I. 11] (*svaṃ svaṃ vargam*).
6. "*Te Mahāmātā nikha-misaṃti anusayānam*" [*Ib.*] —'these Mahāmātras would thus set out on tour.'	6. Kauṭilya uses the word *niryāṇa* for the King's tour [I. 21]. He also refers to transfer of government servants (*yuktas*) from one post to another to prevent embezzlement [II. 9]. Some interpret the word *anusaṃ-yāna* in the sense of 'transfer.'

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
7. '*Samāja*' [RE. I] of both objectionable and commendable kinds.	7. Kauṭilya in one passage [II. 25] refers to *utsava, samāja,* and *yātrā* where the drinking of wine was unrestricted for 4 days. This is the objectionable kind of *samāja* mentioned by Aśoka. Kauṭilya also mentions the commendable kind of *samāja* which it is the duty of the king to respect [XIII. 5].
8. Reference to import of medicinal herbs, roots and fruits in RE. II.	8. Kauṭilya [II. 21] also encourages the import of seeds of useful and medicinal plants by exempting such import from tolls.
9. '*Dbādasa-vasābhisitena.*' [RE. III] the dates given in the Edicts are all counted from Aśoka's coronation.	9. Kauṭilya [II. 6] also applies the term *rājavarṣa* to the year counted from the King's coronation.
10. '*Yuktas*' [RE. III and elsewhere] and *Puruṣas* [PE. I, IV, and VII] indicative of Government servants.	10. Kauṭilya also uses the terms *yukta, upayukta* and *puṃsa* for Government servants [II. 5], and also the terms *yogapuruṣa* or *yugya-puruṣa* in the sense of employees. [A commentator explains the term *upayukta* as an officer placed above the

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
	yuktas (*yuktānām upari niyuktaḥ*)].
11. *Rājūke* [Girnar RE. III] or *Raju* (Mansehra).	11. Kauṭilya [II. 6] uses the expression *rajjū coraraj jūśca.* He also mentions [IV. 13] an officer called *cora-rajjuka* = *cora-grahaṇa-niyukta* i. e., one whose duty was to apprehend thieves.
12. *Aparānta* [RE. V].	12. Kauṭilya also mentions *Aparānta* as the region known for its elephants [II. 2] and rainfall [II. 24].
13. Reference to the Dharma-Mahāmātras giving state help to the destitute and infirm by age (*anātheṣu vṛddheṣu*) [RE. V].	13. Kauṭilya also recognises the duty of the state to maintain the orphan, decrepit, diseased, afflict and destitute [II. 1.]
14. Reference to unjust imprisonment (*bandhana*), execution (*vadha*) and torture (*palibodha*) of prisoners and to Aśoka's measures for checking such abuses in RE. V.	14. Kauṭilya also mentions such abuses as (*a*) confining persons without reason (*samruddhakamanākhyāya*) (*b*) putting them to unjust torture (*Karma kārayataḥ*), (*c*) molesting them (*parikleśayataḥ*) and (*d*) causing their deaths (*ghnataḥ*.)

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
15. Reference in RE. VI to Aśoka's readiness for public business at all hours, even when he is eating (*bhuṃjamānasa*), or in the harem (*orodhanaṃhi*) or inner apartments or ranches (*vacaṃhi*) of parks (*uyānesu*) . . .	15. The list of King's duties mentioned by Kauṭilya [II. 33] agrees with what is suggested here *e. g.* the *orodhana* of the edict corresponds to *Śayita* of Kauṭilya; *bhuṃjamānasa* to *snānabhojana*; *uyānesu* to *svairavihāra*; while as regards *vraja*, Kauṭilya refers to the King's duty of inspecting the horses, elephants, chariots and infantry as well as this live-stock [I. 19]. In II. 6, again, Kauṭilya uses the term *vraja* of the Edict to include cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules. Lastly, as the Edict refers to the King going to his *udyāna* for pleasure, Kauṭilya [II. 3.] provides for *Mṛga-vana* for the King for the same pleasure.
16. *Prativedakas* are mentioned in RE. VI as officers who are to keep the King informed about the affairs of his people.	16. Kauṭilya also speaks of the Intelligence Department of the administration manned by officers called *gūḍhapuruṣas* [I. 11—13].

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
17. '*Mukhato āñapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakam* . . . [RE. VI].	17. Kauṭilya also mentions [II. 7] an officer called *Dāpaka* who fines and collects the amount of taxes to be paid by the *dāyaka* (tax-payer).
18. Mention in RE. VI. of the King referring an urgent matter [*āchrāyike* (Girnar), *atiyāyike* (Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada)] to Mahāmātras and the Pariṣad.	18 Kauṭilya also enjoins: "summoning the ministers and their Council (*mantri-pariṣadam*) the King shall speak to them on urgent matters (*ātyayike kārye*) . . . all urgent matter should the King attend to (*sarvamātyayikaṃ kāryaṃ śriṇuyāt*) [I. 15, 19].
19. 'Nāsti hi me *tosousṭanamhi* atra-samtiraṇāya valkatavya-mate hi me *sarva-loka-hitam.* 'Tasa ca puna esa *mūle usṭānaṃ* ca *atha-samtīraṇā* ca. 'Nasti hi Kammataraṃ sarva-loka-hitatpā . . ' [RE. VI.]	19. An echo of Kauṭilya [I. 19]: 'Rājño hi vrat*amutthānam* . . . prajā sukhe sukhaṃ rājñaḥ '*prajānaṃ cha hite hitam* . . ' 'Tasmānnityotthito rājā kuryādarthānuśāsanam Iarthasya *mūlamutthānam*. .
20. Devānāṃ priya Priyadarśī Rājā desires that in	20. This is apparently against Kauṭilya's injunc-

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilyā's Arthaśāstra.*
all places should reside people of diverse sects. [RE.VII).	tion that "*pāṣaṇḍas* and cāṇḍālas are to dwell near the cremation ground (beyond the city)" [II. 4] Elsewhere [II. 36] Kauṭilya also rules that no *pāṣaṇḍas* could be accommodated in a *dharmaśāla* without the permission of the city officer, *Gopa*, and their abode should be searched for suspicious characters.
21. Reference to *vihārayātrā* and to *mṛgayā* and other similar diversions to which Aśoka's predecessors were addicted [RE.VIII].	21. Kauṭilya gives us details about these. He provides for a reserved forest for the king's *vihāra* [II. 2] and discusses fully the merits of *mṛgayā* [VIII. 3]. While Piśuna condemns it as a *vyasana* or indulgence chiefly for its dangers to a king, Kauṭilya approves of it as a *vyāyāma* or healthy physical exercise which destroys the excess of phlegm, bile, fat and perspiration and improves one's marksmanship and knowledge of the temper of wild beasts. This opinion is, indeed, worthy of the minister of

Chandragupta Maurya whom the Greek writers also refer to as a warm lover of hunting.

22. Reference to proper treatment of servants and dependents (*dāsa-bhaṭaka*) in several edicts [RE. IX, XI, XIII, PE. VII]; also to relations [MRE. II, RE. IV, and XIII], friends, acquaintances and companions [RE. XIII] to whom Aśoka also insists on liberality (*dānam*) [RE. III and XI].

22. The details of such 'proper treatment,' the rights and obligations of *dāsas* and *bhṛtakas* (also called *karmakaras*) are fully discussed by Kauṭilyā [III. 13 and 14] in two chapters. According to him, a man became a slave as a captive in war (*dhvajāhṛtaḥ*) or for inability to pay off debts incurred to meet domestic troubles or government demand for fines and court decrees. But such shavery for an *Ārya* could always be redeemed. What Aśoka means by 'proper treatment' of these slaves and paid servants may, therefore, be taken to be the treatment to which they were entitled under law as expounded by Kauṭilya. The law made penal the following offences against *slaves, viz., (a)* de-

22—(contd.) | *22—(contd.)*

frauding a slave of his property and privileges (*b*) misemploying him (such as making him carry corpses or sweep) or hurting or abusing him. As regards the *karmakara*, the law secured to him his wages under the agreement between him and his master which should be known to their neighbours (*karmakarasya karmasambandhamāsannā vidyuḥ*). The amount of the wages was to be determined by the nature of the work and the time taken in doing it. Non-payment of such wages was fined. The *bhṛtaka* was also entitled to his *vetana* or legal wages and to some concession if he was incapacitated for work (*aśaktaḥ*) or put to ugly work (*kutsita karma*) or was ill or in distress (*vyādhau vyasane*). It is thus clear that the full contents of

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
22—(contd.)	*22—(contd.)*
	Aśoka's repeated injunctions in his edicts for 'proper treatment of slaves and dependents' can only be understood in the light of the details of such treatment as given by Kauṭilya. In another chapter [II. 1], Kautilya lays down as the king's duty to correct (*vinayaṃ grāhayet*) those who neglect their duty towards slaves and relatives (*dāsāhitakabandhūnaśṛṇvato*) and punishes with a fine the person of means not supporting his wife and children, father and mother, minor brothers, or widowed sisters and daughters. Aśoka is always insisting on the support of one's relations. Kauṭilya's *details* thus give a meaning to Aśoka's seemingly general and pious exhortations most of which were really of the nature of legal obligations which could not be disowned or violated with impunity.

23. '*Tadatvāye ayatiye cā*' in RE. X—'in the present time and in the future'.

23. Kauṭilya also uses the expression *tadātve ca āyatyāṃ ca* in V. 1 and 4.

24. The officers called *vaca* (*vraca*)-*bhūmika* in RE. XII.

24. Some light is thrown on the meaning of this obscure and peculiar word by Kauṭilya. If *vraca* (also used in RE. VI.) is taken to be same as the word *vraja*, the expression *vraja-bhūmika* would mean the officer in charge of *vraja*. Kauṭilya [II. 6] defines *vraja* as a department of administration under the *samāhartā* dealing with the livestock of the country comprising kine, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules. But the inscription refers to the *vraja-bhūmika* as an officer created by Aśoka for the purpose of promoting toleration, and in that case he must be some such officer as had to deal not with the dumb animals but rather with human beings for whom such moral teaching was suitable. The word *vraja*

Aśoka's Edicts. | *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*

24—(contd.)

24—(contd.)

suggests that these might be the people of the rural parts, the pedestrians and pilgrims along the high roads or in the rest-houses which Aśoka was so liberal in providing for facilities of travelling. Now Kauṭilya in II, lays down as the king's duty the protection of the highways of commerce (*vaṇik patham*) 'from molestation by courtiers, tax-collectors (*kārmika*), robbers, and wardens of the marches (*anta-pāla*) and from damage by herds of cattle, and of the live-stock of the country (*paśuvrajān*) from robbers, tigers, poisonous creatures and diseases.' Thus an officer like the *vrajabhūmika* might very well be needed for discharging this duty and obligation of the king in respect of the '*paśuvraja*' and *vaṇikpatha*, an officer in charge of cattle and communications including trade-routes by both land and sea (*sthala-patho vāri-pathaśca*) [*Kauṭilya*, II.

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
	37]. The *Vivītādhyakṣa* of Kauṭilya [II. 34] corresponds to such an officer. His duty was to establish wells and tanks, groves of flower and fruit trees in arid (*anudake*) tracts, to keep the roads in order, arrest thieves, see to the safety of caravans of merchants, and to protect cattle.
25. The officers called *Strī-adhyakṣa-mahāmātras* in RE. XII.	25. Kauṭilya [I. 10] also refers to *Mahāmātras* who were attached to the royal harem. As they had to deal with women, the special qualification emphasised for them is sexual purity (*Kāmopadhāśuddhān*) and they are to be placed in charge of the places of pleasure both in the capital and outside [*bāhyābhyantaravihārarakṣāsu*]. In passing, it may be noted that the word *bāhya* of Kauṭilya occurs also in RE. V. in the expression "*Hida ca* (or *Pāṭaliputе ca*) *bāhilesu ca nagalesu*)." The *Strī-adhyakṣa* of the Edict may be also compared with the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa* of Kauṭilya [II, 27.]

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Artha'āstra.*
26. Reference in RE. XIII to Aśoka's conquest of forest-folks (*aṭavi* or *aṭaviyo*).	26. It is interesting to find that kauṭilya [XIII. 5] mentions two kinds of conquest, *viz.*, (1) the conquest of the *Aṭavyādi* or foresters and (2) the conquest of settled territory (*grāmādi*). He places the *aṭavyādi* under the administration of special officers called the *Aṭavīpāla* [I. 16, etc.].
27. Reference in RE. XIII to *Dharma-vijaya*.	27. It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya [XII. 1] distinguishes three classes of conquerors, *viz.*, (*a*) the *Dharma-vijayī* who is satisfied with the mere obeisance of the conquered; (*b*) the *Lobha-vijayī* whose greed has to be satisfied by the surrender of territory and treasure; and (*c*) the *Asura-vijayī* who would be satisfied with the surrender of not merely territory and treasure, but even the sons and wives of the conquered enemy and even taking away his life.
28. Mention of officers called *Anta-Mahāmātras* in PE. V.	28. Kauṭilya [II. 4] mention *Anta-pālas* among the eighteen *tīrthas* or heads of departments in the administration

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra.*
29. List of protected creatures in PE. V.	29. It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya [II. 26] also gives a list of protected creatures (*pradiṣṭābhayā-nām*) among which are included in common with this Edict the following, *viz.*, *haṃsa. cakravāk*, *śuka*, *śāri-ka*, and other auspicious creatures (*maṅgalyāḥ*). It may be also noted that though Kauṭilya does not make his list of protected creatures as exhaustive as the Edict, he lays down the principle of such protection which is only applied in the Edict to individual cases mentioned. According to that principle, those creatures, beasts, birds, and fishes are to be protected which do not prey upon other living creatures (*apravṛtta-vadhānām*) as also those which are regarded as auspicious (*maṅgalyāḥ*) like the cow. On this principle Kauṭilya also generally forbids under penalty the killing of the calf, the bull, and the milch-cow even among the animals that did not come under the usual pro-

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
	tected class (*vatso vṛṣo dhenuścaiṣāmavadhyāḥ*).
30. Reference to prohibition of slaughter of life on the three *caturmāsīs* and on the *Tiṣya* full moon.	30. Kautilya [XIII. 5] has the following corresponding prohibition: "The King should prohibit the slaughter of animals for half a month during the period of *Cāturmāsya*, for four nights on the full-moon days, and for a night to mark the date of his birth or celebrate the anniversary of his conquest."
31. '*Nāgavana*', elephant forest, as mentioned in PE. V.	31. Kauṭilya mentions *Nāgavana* and has a chapter on *Nāgavanādhyakṣa*, Superintendent of elephant forests [II, 2 and 31].
32. Reference to 25 jail deliveries in PE. V.	32. Kauṭilya [II. 36] refers to such jail-deliveries in celebration of the king's birth-day. The prisoners to be thus occasionally liberated were selected from "the juvenile, aged, diseased, and helpless (*bāla-vṛddha-vyādhita-anāthānām*)." Similar grounds of release are also mentioned in RE. V. Good conduct in jail might also merit release according to Kauṭilya [*Ib.*]

Aśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*
33. Aśoka's concern for the *Ājīvikas* as expressed in PE. VII and also in the grant to them of cave-dwellings.	33. Kauṭilya [III. 20] shows his Brahminical prejudice against them by branding them along with the Budhists (*Śākyājīvakādīn*) as being unworthy of entertainment at any ceremony connected with the gods or ancestors (*devapitṛkāryeṣu.*)
34. *Devī Kumātānām* in PE. VII.	34. The word *devī* for queen is also used by Kauṭilya [I. 10], as well as the word *Kumāra* for a prince [I. 20.]
35. Aśoka's control over the harem through his officers called *Dharma-Mahāmātras* and *strī-adhyakṣa-mahāmātras* as described in RE.V, XII and PE. VII.	35. Kauṭilya [I. 20] acquaints us with the administrative arrangements for the royal harems of the day. The *antaḥpura* with its inmates, the *avarodhas* (cf. *orodhana* of RE. VI), was placed under a military guard, the *antarvaṃśika-sainya*, and civil officers, *the abhyāgārikas*, comprising both males and females, who regulated all communications between the harem and the outside world. It may be noted that Kauṭilya does not permit the *muṇḍa* and

Āśoka's Edicts.	*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*
	jaṭila ascetics (probably the Buddhists and Jains) access. to the harem. He calls the chief officer of the harem *Antarvāṃśika* [V. 3] corresponding to *strī-adhyakṣa-māhāmātra.*

KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S CONQUEST OF RACHOL.

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It is not the purpose of this paper to narrate Krishna Deva Raya's campaign of Rachol. It has been narrated at length by the Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz whom Mr. Sewell followed though misplacing the campaign.

Our aim is to investigate what city and fortress was the one conquered by the great Tuluva Emperor. Sewell without any hesitation supposes that Rachol was Raichur, in the centre of the Deccan. True, Raichur was also seized by the great Emperor, as Ferishta relates, (1) but the learned author finds a stumbling block as regards the date. The conquest of Raichur, took place according to Ferishta in 927 A. H., that corresponds to the year 1519 A. D. But Nuniz says that the great fight occurred on the new moon day of the month of May, 1522 A. D. (2).

Indeed the only reason Sewell seems to have had for the identification, besides the similarity of Rachol and Raichur, is that "taking the two narratives (Nuniz's and Ferishta's) as a whole, there are too many points of coincidence to leave any doubt in the mind that each chronicler is writing of the same event" (3).

Nevertheless there are several reasons against this identity, and these are reasons we intend to study in the following pages.

The name.—Though there is some phonetical similarity between Raichur and Rachol, the origin of the words never-

(1) Ferishta-Briggs, III, p. 48-51.
(2) Sewell, p.
(3) Sewell, p. 153.

theless seem to be totally different. Raichur may probably mean the hair—not of the king, referring to the special geological formation of the Raichur hill. What Raichur originally meant, it is hard to say, its present form perhaps being a corruption made by the Portuguese. That the place could be an original settlement of members of the Kshatrya tribe of the Rachevadus seems phonetically not improbable ; yet ethnographically sounds too far-fetched an explanation.

(2) *The meaning of the word Rachol.*—Rachol for the chronicler Nuniz would never mean Raichur in the centre of the Deccan. Rachol is for the Portuguese nothing else than Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette. Faria y Sousa also speaks of Rachol not of Raichur (1).

Geographical Position.—The narrative of Paes records that the mountains round Vijayanagara reach the kingdom of Daquem (Deccan), the territories belonging to the Ydallcao (Adil Khan, the Sultan of Bijapur) and the city of Rachol that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga (2). Paes here mentions three countries as the limits at which the Vijayanagara mountains arrive. These three countries run from East to West. The kingdom of the Deccan (*viz.* Golkanda), the kingdom of Ydallcao (Bijapur) and the city of Rachol. That by the kingdom of the Deccan Paes means the kingdom of Golkanda, is evident from another passage of his chronicle, when he points out the northern boundaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara. These boundaries are the following : the territory of Bengal, the kingdom of Oriyya, the kingdom of the Dakhan, the lands of

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(1) Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa,* I, p. 195.

(2) Sewell, p. 243.

the Ydallcao and those of Ozemelluco (Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar) (1). Now it appears that the kingdom of the Deccan is between the kingdom of Bengal to the East and the kingdom of Bijapur to the West. Such kingdom cannot be another than Golkanda ; and accordingly the city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom Bijapur, viz. in the present Goa territory.

(4) *The presence of a Portuguese Captain.*—Fariay Sousa narrates that after the defeat of the army of Bijapur, when Krishna Deva Raya turned his forces against the walls of Rachol, suddenly 20 Portuguese, headed by a captain named Christoval de Figueiredo appeared in front of the King. They were taking some Arab horses to be solp to Krishna Deva Raya and eventually entered his camp in front of Rachol (2). From the Spanish original of this author it may be easily gathered that the intention of Figueiredo was to proceed to Vijayanagara and only, after leaving Goa, he heard of the King's proximity while besieging Rachol. This seems to be confirmed by Correa, according to whom Figueiredo was sent by the Governor Lopo Soares to Vijayanagar, with horses and elephants (3).

Now supposing that Krishna Deva Raya was then conquering Raichur, Figueiredo while going to Vijayanagara could not meet the Emperor, since Raichur is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself. On the other hand supposing that Krishna was besieging Rachol, in Salsette, the Portuguese Captain would hear of the campaigu of

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(1) Sewell, p. 239.

(2) Farira y Sousa, o. c., I. p. 196.

(3) Correa, *Lendas de India*, II, p. 509-510. The date does not seem to agree.

that monarch no sooner he left Goa, and thus would proceed to the Vijayanagara camp to transact his own business with the Sovereign.

(5) *The date.*—We have seen above that the date of the conquest of Raichur as given by Ferishta does not coincide with the date of the conquest of Rachol assigned by Nuniz. Hence they must be two different actions unless many and weighty reasons (which in the case do not exist), would suggest an identification.

(6) *Consequences af the capture of Rachol—(a). Conquest of Salsette.*—All the old Portuguese authors narrate that after the conquest of Rachol, Ruy de Mello, the acting Governor of Goa on behalf of Dogo Lopes de Seqüeira, then absent in the Red Sea, taking advantage of the distress caused to the Sultan of Bijapur, by the surrender of Rachol, seized the mainlands of Goa (1). What was meant by the mainland of Goa is explained by Sewell himself when stating : " Ruy de Mello took possession of the mainland of Goa, *including Salsette*, in ten days " (2) (*Italics are mine*).—Accordingly after the capture of Rachol, the whole of Salsette was seized by the Portuguese, taking advantage of the fact that the power of the Sultan of Bijapur was enfeebled. Certainly the capture of Raichur would have enfeebled the power of Adil Shahi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa ; but the conquest of the fort of Rachol in the strategic corner of the peninsula of Salsette deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the

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(1) Barros, Dec. III, 1. IV, c. 4., c. 8, 10 ; Faria y Sousa, I, p. 196, Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portugese*, II, p. 344-345 (Paris. 1734).

(2) Sewell, o. c., p, 13.

river Zuarim. This explains the rapidity of the conquest of Salsette and probably other continental lands. Such conquest would not have been carried out with such a speed, had the fort of Rachol still been garrisoned by the army of Bijapur.

(*b*) *Salsette handed over to the Portuguese by Krishna Deva Raya.*—The Vijayanagar Emperor was so grateful to the Portuguese for their helps in the conquest of Rachol that shortly afterwards he granted all the territories of Salsette and his rights over them (as having belonged to his ancestors), to the Portuguese Governor in perpetuity. He expected in compensation the full monopoly of all the Persian horses that should arrive at Goa in compensation (1). This donation of the grateful Emperor would have only been a renunciation of his rights over Salsette, had not he any territory in that peninsula ; but all the contemporary authors speak of a real donation. No campaign of Krishna Deva Raya in Salsette is ever mentioned if you prescind of this conquest of Rachol. There cannot therefore remain any doubt that the fort captured by Krishna Deva Raya with the help of Christoval de Figueiredo was not the fort of Rachol in the Peninsula of Salsette.

In the contemporary accounts there is only one objection against this identity. Nuniz says that " this city of Rachol lies between two great rivers" Mr. Sewell has naturally identified these two rivers with the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in the midst of which there stood the fort

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(1) Castanheda, II, p. 581 ; Barros ; etc. Correa *Lendas de India.* Lafitau ;

of Raichur. But in fact Rachol also can be said to be between two great rivers one the river Zuarim from South East to North West and the other the river called of Paroda, that branches from the former somewhere South East of Rachol, takes a South-Western direction and then suddenly turns to the South East. Near the angle formed by the union of these two rivers there stand still the ruins ot the fort of Rachol.

The natural and obvious identification of Rachol conquered by Krishna Deva Raya with Rachol in the Portuguese territory of Salsette explains the extraordinary length given to the narrative of this Campaign by the Portguese chronicler. This length evidently misled Sewell, who according to his theory, supposes that the campaign of Raichur marks the climax of the glory of Krishna Deva Raya's campaign. Mr. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* followed the same view (1). But Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had already noted in 1917 that the importance given by Nuniz (and with him by the other authors) to the conquest of the Rachol was evidently exaggerated (2). In fact the campaign of Krishna Deva Raya in Orissa seems to be much more important both as regards military enterprise and as far as the sphere of political influence in Southeren and Western India is concerned. This campaign is sung by the poets and commemorated in many inscriptions, specially in the Andhra country ; whilst that of Raichur has only been briefly mentioned in Ferishta's History and in an inscription of the District. These two documents evidently speak of the Raichur conquest. Is

(1) Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 304. (Ind. Ed.).

(2.) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long-forgotten Empire*, p. 19, (Reprinted from The Hindustani Review 1917).

there any satisfactory reason to explain this difference of appreciation between the Indian sources and the Portuguese chronicles? If Rachol is identified with Raichur there is no possible explanation; but if the Rachol of Nuniz is identified with the fort of Rachol at Salsette the reason is quite evident. The account of the conquest of Rachol is so detailed, for the special interest the Portuguese had in that fort, that was the stronghold of the recently acquired peninsula of Salsette. Though the conquest was not of great importance for the Empire, it was very important indeed for the development of the Portuguese possessions in India. That was the reason why Nuniz and after him several Portuguese authors, contemporary or almost contemporary of these events, speak at length of the conquest of Rachol, giving only a slight reference to the campaigns of Orissa that had no connection at all with the interests of the Portuguese.

MEGASTHENES'S EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE LAND REVENUE SYSTEM OF THE MAURYAS DISCUSSED.

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The evidence of Megasthenes relating to the land revenue arrangements of the Maurya Empire has been handed down to us in two distinct versions, those of Diodorus and Strabo. These may be stated after Otto Stein's German rendering from the original Greek in the following way :—

" They (*viz.* the husbandmen who formed the second of Megasthenes's seven Indian castes) pay to the king a land rent because all India belongs to the king, while private individuals are not allowed to acquire landed property. Besides the rent they contribute ¼ to the royal class" (Diodorus).

" The whole land belongs to the king, They (*viz.* the husbandmen) till it for ¼ of the produce in lieu of wages" (Strabo) (*Megasthenes and Kauṭilya,* p. 93)

The general tendency of Western scholars till very recent times has been to discredit completely the testimony of Megasthenes above-mentioned, mainly on the ground that it does not fit in with the data of the Indian records. Thus Baden-Powell in his classical work called *Indian Village Community* which was published in 1896 observed that Megasthenes's statement about the king's ownership of all land in Maurya India was probably an " erroneous inference from the particular local obligation to pay land tribute", and he quoted the authority of Lassen in his support (Ibid p. 208n). At a latter date Hopkins wrote

in more general terms (*India Old and New*, p. 221) " Some of the Greek authorities speak of taxes in India and others speak of rent-income, declaring that the whole country belonged to the king and that no individual owned land at all. The Greeks, however, may be ignored for the reason that in many of the economic statements they make they can be proved to be utterly untrustworthy and in other cases are as likely to be wrong as right". This scathing condemnation, it may be remarked, is inexplicable in view of Hopkin's contention in the same context that the Smṛti and Epic evidence shows the king to have been regarded as not only the Overlord but also the owner of land side by side with the notion that the farmer was the owner of his field, (Ibid pp. 221-226). Reverting to the text of Diodorus it may be observed that Prof. Jolly in a work published in 1907 held the statement regarding the State ownership of land to be wrong because the Smṛti evidence clearly pointed to the institution of private ownership. In the same connexion, however, he declared the idea that the whole land belonged to the king to be a genuine Indian conception without much practical effect (See Jolly's *Aufsätze zur Kultur-und-Sprachgeschichte Vornemlichdes Orients* quoted in Bernhard Breloer's *Kauṭalīya Studien Vol. I Das Grundeigentun in Indien*, pp. 41-42).

An equally destructive, but more detailed, criticism of the evidence of Megasthenes based on comparison with the parallel account of the Arthaśāstra occurs in the work of Otto Stein above-mentioned which was published in 1917. His principal arguments are neatly summed up by himself in the following way :—

1. We can speak of king's land (Konigsboden) in India only in the theoretical sense in which State ownership (Staateigentum) is identical with king's property (Konigsgut). Except in special cases there is no mention of rent in the Indian authorities, much oftener is mentioned the private ownership in land and water (Privateigentum an Land und Wasser).

2. Kauṭilya's text shows that there existed neither king's land *defacto* nor a constant percentage of the produce in the form of a tax. Megasthenes, however, knows nothing of the rates of taxes other than ¼.

3. In the system of the Arthaśāstra neither the free labourers nor the workmen receive ¼ of the produce ; this occurs only in the exceptional case of poor cultivators who till their own fields with the support of the royal domains. It is indeed significant that Arrian is silent on the question of rent or of the king's exclusive ownership of land. The question then, must remain open whether Strabo and Diodorus have not foisted the arrangements in foreign countries (*e. g.* Ptolemaid Egypt) upon India (See *Megasthenes and Kautilya* pp. 95, 98, 128-9).

These objections have been met in a very able manner by Bernhard Breloer whose work just mentioned which was published in 1927 marks a new attitude towards the testimony of the Greek writer. His arguments may be thus summarized *(Kautilya Studien* I. p. 52 ff) :—

Dominion management in the modern sense was unknown to India where the State inspection of agriculture extended over the whole territory, and the whole kingdom thus represented a gigantic State undertaking (eine reisige Staatsgetrieb). The sole possession of land and water

by the king is according to Stein's own admission an Indian legal concept. If the king were to be the sole owner of land, how else could the legal relation between the king and the possessor of the soil be reckoned except through rent ? The tax in Egypt, again, is much oftener a fixed sum than a quota, and it shows no instance of ¼ or ¾ of the harvest. The conjoint testimony of Diodorus and Strabo regarding State ownership of land is supported by the fact that the same view is an axiom of the Ancient Indian public law. Diodorus makes not only the positive statement about the king's ownership of land but mentions also its negative consequence, *viz.* that the ownership did not belong to any private person. As regards Arrian's alleged silence, he at least mentions that the taxes were paid to the State and not to any private owner ; this shows that the corresponding passage of Megasthenes mentioned the State ownership of land.

Breloer's own interpretation of the evidence of Megasthenes (Ibid p. 55) is as follows. The concurrent testimony of Arrian, Strabo and Diodorus shows that Megasthenes testified not only to the State ownership of land but also to the system of share cultivation. The term *misthosis* which constitutes the difficulty in Doidorus' text signifies not only 'rent' but also 'agreement' (vertrag) as such so that the whole passage *choris de tes misthoseos tatarten eis to basilikon telousin* (translated above in Stein's rendering as besides the rent they contribute ¼ to the royal class) means that when the cultivators worked in full independence *i.e.*, with their own cattle and implements, they had to pay at least ¼ of the produce. Elsewhere (Ibid pp. 90-91) Breloer explains the above passage.

of Diodorus (*choris ... telousin*) to mean that in the absence of a contract the tax on agriculture was on the average ¼—a statement which according to him, finds its complete corroboration in Kauṭilya's Chapter on the replenishment of the treasury (Arthaśāstra, V. 2).

The illuminating explanation of Breloer is important as offering for the first time an intelligible interpretation of the much discussed text of Megasthenes regarding the land revenue arrangements of the Mauryas. In particular it has brought about a happy solution of the problem that has so long taxed the scholars *viz.* that of the alleged payment of ¼ of the produce "besides the rent". As interpreted by the German scholar, Megasthenes's statement contains three important notices about the Maurya revenue system :—

1. The whole land was held to belong to the king.
2. The taxes paid by the cultivators amounted in the absence of other special arrangements, to ¼ of the produce.
3. When lands were cultivated by the State the labourers received ¼ of the produce as wages.

Admitting the correctnes of these observations, it is far from the truth to state, as Breloer does (Ibid p. 91) that they indicate a complete agreement with the evidence of the Arthaśāstra.

(1) While according to Megasthenes the whole land belongs to the king, the Arthaśāstra according to Breloer's own admission (Ibid p. 69) mentions no such institution. The Arthaśāstra, however, undoubtedly recognises a quasi—proprietory right of the State over the cultivable lands, for it not only permits the grant of temporary leases to cultivators and their supercession for

failure to cultivate the lands at the time of the original settlement or resettlement (II. 1) but it closely restricts their right of alienation (III. 10) and sanctions in extreme cases the compulsory raising of crops by them (V. 2).

(2) The proportion of ¼ of produce recorded by the cultivators as wages according to the version of Strabo is very nearly the lowest allowed in the Arthaśāstra under the system of State cultivation by the agency of the Director (or Superintendent) of Agriculture (सीताध्यक्षः). For Kauṭilya mentions in this connexion a class of "half-cultivators" (अर्धसीतिकाः) who till the lands for the king in return for ½ of the produce.

(3) The proportion of ¼ of the produce stated in Diodorus's version to be paid by the cultivators to the king is in Kauṭilya the extraordinary and purely occasional tax levied during the financial exigencies of the State. Breloer indeed considers the chapter in which this occurs as pertaining to the ordinary revenue law (die regulare Abgabenordnung). But he overlooks the fact that the State demands in this case belong to a specific class designated as 'gifts of love' (प्रणयः) which are not recognised in the classified list of sources of the king's revenue (II. 6) and are in the present context expressly required to be levied only once: they occur, moreover, in juxtaposition with such necessarily exceptional froms of collection of the State revenue as exaction of subscriptions and sale of honours, misappropriation of temple possessions, exploitation of popular superstitions, fraudulent commercial transactions and like. Kauṭilya indeed conveys a direct hint about the king's normal share of the produce for which the technical designation of this tax in the

Artha'sāstra is explicitly referred to as 1/6 in a general enumeration of taxes under the heading राष्ट्रम् (II. 15). Elsewhere (I. 13) payment of 1/6 of their collected grains by the ascetics is mentioned as the prevailing rule, while the same ratio is held to have been the traditional share of the produce paid by the subjects to Manu the son of the Sun at the creation of kingship.

It appears from the above that in three important respects the land revenue system of the Mauryas was more stringent than that contemplated at least normally in the earlier or contemporary technical works on the art of public administration. Independent evidence of the relatively high rate of the land revenue of the Mauryas is furnished by a contemporary authority. The Rumindei pillar inscription of A'soka which records the great Emperor's visit to the birth place of Buddha mentions that the village was made liable to 1/8 of the भाग and exempted from बलि. As this grant was made by the Emperor to one of the holiest places of his faith, it follows that the भाग was fixed sufficiently high to make its reduction to the ratio of 1/8 amount to a very great concession.

A word may be said in conclusion about the origin and consequences of the system of land revenue above described. In the work above-mentioned Breloer credits the founder of the Maurya dynasty with the creation of this system (Ibid p. 110). But this view ignores the fact that neither was Chandragupta the founder of the first Indian Empire nor was the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya even granting the correctness of the Indian tradition about its date and authorship, the earliest work of its kind. In the time of the Nandas the Magadhan Empire already comprised

the whole of Northern India with the exception of the Punjab as well as a considerable portion of Orissa and the Northern Circars. It is not without significance that the Purāṇas held the reign of the first Nanda king to mark an epoch in history. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya on its side, is admittedly a conspectus of all previous works of this class and it quotes or refers to no less than 4 separate schools and 13 individual authors of the Arthaśāstra. In so far as its arrangements for land revenue collection are concerned, it is important to remember that the two important officers concerned with this task *viz.* the समाहर्ता and the संनिधाता already figure in a discussion attributed by Kauṭilya to his unnamed preceptor (VIII. 4). We must then trace back the beginnings of this system to the period anterior to the Mauryas, perhaps to the time of the powerful monarchies that dominated Northern India at the rise of Buddhism. The striking divergences of this system from that of the Arthaśāstra are easily explained on the assumption that the growth of centralisation with its attendant consequence of fiscalism had far outpaced the thoughts of the theorists. To the question whether and how far this further development of the fiscal administration was the work of the first Maurya it is not possible for lack of sufficient evidence to furnish a satisfactory answer, though it is noticeable that Kauṭilya declares (VIII. 2) a new king to be a worse evil than a diseased king. Nevertheless it is possible to trace the consequences of this system upon the future condition of the Empire that was founded by Chandragupta Maurya; for if the evidence of Megasthenes, corroborated as we have seen by the Rumindei inscription of Aśoka, is to be believed, the burden of taxation must have lain heavy upon the subjects

of the Maurya Empire. This high degree of financial stringency falls into line with other and admitted features of the Maurya administration *e.g.* its stringent system of espionage and of close and strict bureaucratic control and together they may have contributed to the breakdown of the greatest empire that Ancient India had ever seen.

KHĀRAVELA'S PERSONAL HISTORY : THREE POINTS.

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King Khāravela of Kaliṅga is one of the most striking figures in the history of ancient India after the decline of Mauryas and before the rise of the Kshaharāta and Kushāṇa rulers. Although he could not claim, like Aśoka, the proud position of a world-figure, even as a provincial figure, he successfully tried to do what he could to raise up once more the ancient kingdom of Kaliṅga and its inhabitants in the estimation of the outer world.

Taking perhaps advantage of the declining powers of the weak Maurya Kings who succeeded King Aśoka, one of his forefathers asserted the independence of Kaliṅga, founding before the beginning of the Christian era a new dynasty of powerful kings, all of whom bore the royal titles of *Āira-Siri Mahārāja*, *Mahāmeghavāhana*, *Kaliṅgādhipati* and *Kaliṅga Cakvati*. Khāravela appears to have been the sixth and greatest king of this dynasty. He was a powerful rival as well of King Sātakarṇi as of King Bahasatimita of Magadha. He was a man of war-like spirit, and successfully carried his victorious arms as far north-west as the Uttarāpatha, and as far west as the eastern border of Sātakarṇi's dominions around the western Godāvari valley. As regards the south, the king of Pāṇḍya used to send him tributes and valuable presents.

The surviving caves on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhuvaneśwar in Orissa still stand forth as pious dedications from Khāravela and his royal family and servants for rendering shelters to resident Jain saints and recluses. The dedicatory inscriptions found in some

of these caves, including his own inscription in the famous Hāthi-Gumphā, are yet the only sources of information regarding his personal history, activities and achievements.

The sun of the royal power of Kaliṅga reached the zenith during the reign of King Khāravela. But alas ! the light which dazzled the eyes proved, after all, to be the lingering bright rays of the sun which was destined to set for ever. King Aśoka had already dealt a death-blow to the independence of Kaligña. We have nothing of the Aira-Meghavāhana kings after King Khāravela even not of him after his 13th or 14th regnal year. We may just let him enjoy with regard to the people of Kaliṅga the same high position as enjoyed by a Shivaji with regard to the Marāthās, by a Guru Govinda with regards to the Sikhs, or by a Pratāpāditya with regard to the people of Bengal.

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription which is an epigraph of 17 lines and is engraved on the hanging brow of the rock-cut cave contains a sketch of the auto-biography of Khāravela, consisting of records of his successive regnal years, the account closing with the 13th year of his reign, and by no means going beyond the 14th year. The remaining inscriptions, such as those of his chief-queen, of King Kadampa-Kudepa, of Prince Vaḍukha-Varikha, of the town-judge Bhuto, of Mahāmada Nākiya of Bāriya, and of Pādamūlika Kusuma, hang on the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription as its appendices, and, as such, are not to be treated separately.

The personal history of Khāravela covers rather a wide ground of investigation and discussion. So, in view

of the limited space of time at our disposal, we have made up our mind to confine ourselves to the consideration of these three points, each of which deserves careful notice: (1) Khāravela's army and its equipment; (2) His administrative policy and method; (3) His religion and religious policy.

It is our duty to make it known that we have relied in this paper on the texts prepared by us on the Hāthi-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves in a new critical edition of them which is in the press and expected to be out by the end of this month. As regards the points that we have sought to prove, the position will not materially differ even if we rely upon the texts published by Mr. Jayaswal, Prof. R. D. Banerji and others.

Now let us take up the three points in order for discussion:

1. Khāravela's Army and its Equipment.

As to the numerical strength of Khāravela's army, we read in the Hāthi-Gumphā record of his eighth regnal year (I.9) that His Majesty marched out with a mighty army (*mahatī senā*) enabling him to bring a terrible pressure to bear upon the people of Rājagaha. The second year's record (I. 3) says that the Kaliṅga army of King Khāravela consisted of a multitudinous troops of the horses, the war elephants, the foot soldiers and the chariots (*haya-gaja-nara-ratha-bahulaṃ daṃḍam*), that is to say, of the traditional four divisions of an Indian army. The fact that King Khāravela was able to undertake in the very second year of his reign, such a campaign towards the western quarter in defiance of so powerful a rival as King Sātakarṇi distinctly proves

that his fighting army was, more or less, the fighting army of his predecessors, the kings of the Aira-Meghavāhana dynasty.

Senā or army is a genral term for denoting the fighting strength of a king. The horse (*haya*), the elephant (*gaja*), the footman (*nara*) and the chariot (*ratha*) are the four terms to represent the four divisions of an army, whife *bala* and *vāhana* (troop and conveyance) are the two terms to distinguish the fighting warriors and soldiers from the horses, elephants and chariots considered as vehicles and conveyances. We have the use of all these technical terms in Khāravela's inscription.

As to the equipment of Khāravela's army, we find that in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription (I. 16), His Majesty has been represented as *apatihata-caka-vāhana-bala. Vāhana bala* is evidently the same expression as *senāvāhana*, which occurs in the eighth year's record. Can there be any doubt that by *senā-vāhana*, the drafter of the inscription intended to signify the troops and transports? In the Culla-Kāliṅga-Jātaka, King Kāliṅga of Kaliṅga, precisely as Kaliṅgādhipati Khāravela in the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, has been described as a warrior who was in a position to march out for conquest with a mighty army (*mahatyā senayā*), equipped that he was with multitudinous troops and tranports(*sampanna-bala-vāhana*). If this reasoning be at all sound, it clearly follows that 'undaunted' or 'invincible' (*apatihata*) was the character of Khāravela's fighting army.

There is nothing distinctly on record to indicate whether, when and how King Khāravela increased the number and fighting equipment of his army. It may be easily inferred, however, from the eight year's record

(I. 9) that the troops and tranports with which he attacked the people of Rājagaha did not suffer to withstand the counter attacks. He must have sufficiently reinforced his fighting army and increased its equipment before he marched out again in the twelfth year to produce consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha, as well as to subdue Bahasatimita, the then reigning king of Magadha (I. 13),

Thus it may be shown that the Kaliṅga army of King Khāravela was sufficiently well-equipped and enormously large. And yet the fact remains that the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription does not supply us with the actual figures relating to Khāravela's troops and transports. A tolerably clear idea of the numerical strength of his fighting army may, however, be formed from a few collateral evidences.

We know for instance "from the earlier account of Megasthenes (Indika, Frag. 1.6) that the King of the Kaliṅgas was protected by a standing army, numbering 60,000 infantry, 1000 cavalry and 700 war elephants." Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji rightly suggests that "this army must have been considerably expanded by the time of Aśoka, when the number of casualties alone is stated to be at least 4 lacs (taking the number of those who ultimately succumbed to the wounds of war to be, say, 3 lacs)."(1)

Prof. Mookerji's reference is evidently to Aśoka's, R E. XIII, containing, as it does, an account of the heavy casualties suffered by the Kingdom of Kaliṅga in the aggressive war waged by the Maurya Emperor in the eighth year of his reign. This account goes to prove that the fighting

1. Aṣoka, p. 16.

army of Kaliṅga could afford to suffer the losses of 150,000 men as deportees, of 100,000 men as those killed in action, and of "many times as many" men as those "who died of wounds received in the fight."

Here the expression "many times as many" is vague and indefinite, and guilty, no doubt, 'of an exaggeration'. The following seems to be a reasonable estimate of the fighting army of Kaliṅga which has been recently suggested by Pro. Mookerji: "If the number of those (who died of wounds received in the fight) be taken to be at least thrice of the killed, the total number of casualties would be 4 lacs, and adding to this the number of the deportees, the number of the army that fought on the battle-field would be at least 5½ lacs".

Having regard to the fact that in the case of Aśoka's Kaliṅga War, the army of Kaliṅga fought in defence against a foreign invasion, and that in the case of Khāravela's campaigns, the army of Kaliṅga marched out to produce a marked impression all over India, it may be safely presumed that the total number of the standing army of Kaliṅga during Khāravela's reign was by far the greater, and by no means less than 5½ lacs. In accordance with Plutarch's statement (Life of Alexander, Ch. XII), *Androkoltos* (Chandragupta Maurya) was able to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of 600,000. If it was possible for Chandragupta Maurya to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of 6 lacs, there is no reason why it would be impossible for Khāravela to undertake military campaigns all over India with an army, numbering thereabout.

It cannot be supposed that King Khāravela marched out with the whole of the standing army of Kaliṅga without leaving a fraction of it for the defence of the kingdom in his absence. This fraction must be added to the number of the units with which he marched out in order to determine the total number of the standing army of Kaliṅga during his reign. In the case of Chandragupta Maurya, we find that he proceeded to conquer the whole of India with an army of 6 lacs, while the standing Maurya army during his reign consisted of 7 lacs in round numbers, 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants attended by 36,000 men, and 8,000 chariots managed by 24,000 men. It is impossible to think that the total of the standing army of Kaliṅga during Khāravela's reign exceeded 6 lacs.

The idea of militia was not, perhaps, altogether absent. The account given by Aśoka of his Kaliṅga War tends to create an impression in favour of the opinion that the conquest effected by the Maurya Emperor proved ultimately to be a defeat to the people of Kaliṅga. If the general people of Kaliṅga had not somehow taken part in the battle, there is no reason why King Aśoka would feelingly dwell upon the suffering caused to the civilian population "by violence or slaughter or separation from their loved ones."

In the Hāthi-Gumphā record of Khāravela's eighth regnal year (I. 9), we read that he effected a timely retreat to Mathurā in order to relieve the troops and transports of his army terrified by the uproar of counter attacks from the people of Rājagaha. If our interpretation of this particular record be correct, it follows that the citizens of Rājagaha took up arms in defence of their city against a foreign invasion. The twelfth year's record (I. 13) shows that His Majesty's conquest of Aṅga-Magadha was

not completed until he was able to force the inhabitants of these two countries after subduing King Bahasatimita (*Aṅga-Magadha-vāsinām ca pāde vaṇdāpayati.*) It is evident from many of the records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that in undertaking military campaigns all over India King Khāravela tried by all possible means to evoke the patriotic sentiments among his subjects, the inhabitants of the kingdom of Kaliṅga in general and the citizens of his capital in particular. The record of his seventh regnal year (I.8) says that he caused a hundred kinds of pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, guards and horses, and all ceremonies of victory to be performed. The eighth year's record (I.9) says that he sumptuously feasted all sections of the people once in Mathurā and subsequently in Kaliṅga, and organised a triumphal procession as a means, no doubt, of impressing on the minds of the people the idea of victory. The erection of a new royal palace known by the name of *Mahāvijaya-pāsāda* "the Great Victory Palace", the assuming of true self-conferred title *Mahāvijaya*, "the Great Conqueror", the bringing back by a triumphal procession from Aṅga-Magadha to Kāliṅga of the Kaliṅga Throne of Jina which was carried off by King Nanda as a trophy, the receiving of tributes and valuable presents from the King of Pāṇḍya as well as from a hundred Vāsukis, the entertaining of the citizens of the capital of Kaliṅga with feasts, festivities and musical performances, the remitting of all taxes and duties, the adorning of the capital with new roads, squares, gate-bars and towers—all helped him to keep the people always in excitement and to induce them, as we may say, to join the army to fight for the glory of their country.

It seems that Mr. Jayaswal and Prof. Radhakumud

Mookerji have tried the impossible in endeavouring to infer the total of the population of Kaliṅga from the total number of its standing army. Whether assuming with Goltz that "every 15th soul of the population can take up arms in defence against a foreign population" or slightly altering with Prof. Mookerji the proportion of its fighting strength to its total population from six per cent to eight per cent one counts 75 or 60 lacs as a reasonable figure of the population of Kaliṅga in Aśoka's time against the present population of 50 lacs, we must treat it as nothing but an ingenuity without proofs. To infer the total of the population of a country from the total of its standing army no matter whether it is Kaliṅga or any other land is to forget that history is neither logic nor mathematics. Anyhow, we may assure Prof. Mookerji that Khāravela's inscription keeps us entirely in the dark about the population of Kaliṅga.

2. Kharavela's Administrative Policy and Method.

The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription bears a clear testimony to the fact that it was a declared policy of Khāravela to govern his kingdom in accordance with established customs and not departing from the traditional methods of his forefathers. In order that his subjects might have no misgiving on this point he did not forget to remind them of the fact that whatever he did, he did in consonance with the noble tradition of the former kings of Kaliṅga. For instance, the fourth year's record of his reign (1·5) says that he governed the Vidyādhara-country in accordance with the principle and usage of the former kings of Ka-

1. J B O R S, Vol. III, Part IV, page 440.
2. Asoka, p. 163, 6 n. 3.

liṅga, all over by the highest kind of law *Vijādharādhivāsaṃ......Kaliṅga pūvarājānaṃ dhamena va nitina va pasāsayali savata dhamakīrlena.* Similarly, in the tenth year's record (1·11). we read that he caused proper homage and honour to be paid to the memory of the former kings of Kaliṅga as a public demonstration, no doubt, of his loyalty to the tradition of his royal predecessors (*Kaliṅgapūvarājānaṃ yasa-sakāraṃ Kārāpayati*). The eleventh year's record (1·12) says that he reclaimed and rehabitated Pṛthūdaka, founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, by arranging to drive its grassy jungle into the Lāṅgla river (*Kaliṅga-pūvarājanivesita-Pithūdagādabhaṃ Nagale nekasayati*). In the very opening paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text (1·1), he has been represented as "an increaser of the fame and prosperity of the royal house of king Ceta." (*Cetārajavaṃsa-vaddhana*). The same opening paragraph goes to show that he felt much pride in declaring his connection with the reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga. And the same inference can be drawn from the concluding paragraph (1·16) where he figures as a king who descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages (*rājisi-vaṃsa-kula-vinisia*).

It is clear from the records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that king Khāravela successfully followed all the traditional methods of Indian Kings to please his subjects. For instance, the first year's record (1·2) says that as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year of his reign, he undertook to repair the capital of Kaliṅga, to build up the embankments of deep and cool tanks and to restore all the gardens, avowedly as a means of pleasing the people, his subjects (*pakatiyo ca raṃjayati*). In the sixth year's record (1·7), we read that he showed a great favour to

the inhabitants of towns and districts by remitting all taxes and duties, which, too, was one of the traditional methods of gaining popularity by a king with his subjects. The third year's record (1·4) goes to show that he tried to entertain the citizens of the capital of Kaliṅga by arranging for musical performances and festivities and merry gatherings.

It is equally clear from other records in the Hāthi-Gumphā text that King Khāravela spared no pains and left no stones unturned to win the hearts of his subjects by convincing them of the fact that he gave them the full benefit of a good and efficient government, and he enhanced their happiness by administering justice with an even hand by increasing the wealth and prosperity of his kingdom, by the maintenance of internal peace and order, by well guarding the kingdom against foreign invasions, by facilitating communication with the capital, and no less by securing for the people a fertile tract of land for agricultural purpose.

The details of Khāravela's administrative machinery are unknown. The Hāthi-Gumphā text records (1·14) that the royal servants *(rāja-bhatakā)* gladly co-operated with him in excavating the caves for the Jain saints and recluses on the Kumāri Hill. The reference to the royal servants is to be found also in the record of his eighth regnal year (1·9). As regards these royal servants, we have mention of a *Nagara-akhadaṃsa* (Town-judge) in the old Brāhmī inscription (No. IX), of a *Mahāmada* (if it is the same official designation as *Mahāmatta*) in the inscription (No. X), and of a *Pādamulika* (if it is the same official designation as Rājapādamūlika in the Jātakas) in the in-

scription (No. XIV). We have no information as to whether there were any separate boards and departments and as to whether any innovations were introduced by King Khāravela in the existing administrative system. Khāravela was evidently too much preoccupied with the ideas of military campaigns and expansion of dominions to be able to think of administrative changes, and Kaliṅga was too small a kingdom, compared with the Maurya empire, to require any very elaborate administrative arrangements.

As regards attitude towards the tradition of the former kings, there are some important points of difference between King Khāravela and King Aśoka. As is well known, King Aśoka has not cared at all to refer to his royal pedigree in his edicts. His reference to his brothers, sisters and relatives (R. E. V.) has no bearing upon the question of his ancestry. Even the name of the Maurya royal dynasty to which he belonged does not find mention. In his famous Bhabru Edict, he has simply introduced himself as "the king of Magadha" *(lājā Māgadha)*. In the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen (No. II), Her Majesty has been represented not by her personal name but as the chief queen of Khāravela-siri and the daughter of the high-souled King Hastisāha Hastisiṃha of rising glory *(rājino Lālakasa Hathisāha-saṃpanātas dhutā)*. While in Aśokās "Queen's Edict" he has issued instructions to his high functionaries to commemorate all the works of benevolence done under the auspices of his second queen by inscriptions recording them as "donations of his second queen Kāluvāki. the mother of Tivala." (*Dutiyāye deviye Tivala-mātu Kāluvākiye* [*dane*]). Thus the same difference of Aśoka's mental attitude has been clearly brought out in his 'Queen's Edict' in his instructions to commemo-

rate his second queen's donations by inscriptions representing her by her personal name and as his second queen and the mother of Prince Tivala.

In as many as five of his edicts (R. E. IV, R. E. V., R. E. VI; R. E. VII, R. E. VIII) King Aśoka has discussed his own position as a ruler with reference and in contrast to that of the former Kings "who reigned in the past, during many hundred years." Like all great reformers Buddha, Christ and others, he has declared himself with reference to those who had gone before him to the effect that he came rather to fulfil than to destroy the Law. He says (P. E. VII) that he was able to recognise that the underlying motive of the former kings was to see the Law prosper sufficiently among the people, but the means adopted by them was not well suited to the end. True to this underlying motive or spirit, he proceeded, to devise, as a ripe fruit of his own reflections, certain new methods such as the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras,* the public proclamations conveying happy royal messages, the formulations of moral principles, the enactment of many legislations, the introduction of quinquenial and triennial tours of official inspection, the arrangements for a prompt despatch of business, the granting of the power of discretion to the high judicial offiicers, whereby he could see the Law prosper sufficiently among the people. So far as these methods went, he claimed that he had played the most difficult part of a pioneer (*ādikara*).

On the other hand King Khāravela, as he is represented in his inscription appears to have followed the traditional methods of the former Kings of Kaliṅga without exercising any discrimination on his own part. He did

not play the role of a critic and reformer. He carried out a set programme of royal duties under the promptings of noble instincts and impulses, rather mechanically, without ever realising the need of a conscious adjustment of new methods to changed conditions of a progressive people. Thus in spite of the splendid success attending his administration, the credit must go to the time-honoured tradition which as one might say, he had the prudence enough not to question.

3. Khāravela's Religion and Religious Policy.

If the invocation formula of the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription, *Namo arahaṃtānaṃ namo savva-sidhānaṃ*, be indecisive as to whether Jainism was the religious faith of its composer or it was the religious faith of King Khāravela, for whom the text was composed, the contents of the Hāthī-Gumphā and other old Brāhmī inscriptions clearly prove that Jainism was the religious faith of King Khārvela and other excavators of the caves on the Kumāri Hill. For instance, the inscription of Khāravela's chief queen (No. II) records that the cave commemorating her name was made for the sake of the Kāliṅga recluses of Arhata persuasion (*Arahaṃta-pasādānaṃ Kaliṃgānaṃ samanānaṃ*). Similarly the thirteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (I. 14) says that 117 caves were built on the Kumārī Hill to serve as resting places of the Ārhatas or Jain saints residing there (*arhato pasinivāsato hi Kāya-nisīdiyāya*). Buddhism became the state religion of India when King Aśoka embraced it and vigorously espoused its cause. His father and grandfather were supporters of religions other than Buddhism. Even when he espoused its cause, it is difficult to prove that all the

members of his royal family favoured Buddhism. If there are Buddhist legends in Pāli as well as in Sanskrit asserting that some of his wives, sons, daughters, brothers and relatives had become Buddhists, there are both inscriptions and legends to prove that some or most of them had not become Buddhists. On the other hand, the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription goes to prove that Jainism had become the state religion of Kalinga even long before the reign of Khāravela. With the royal support at its back, it had become the predominant faith in Kaliṅga. The thirteenth year's record (l.14) clearly brings out three facts of importance in this connections. (1) that when King Nanda had conquered Kaliṅga, he carried off the throne of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga as the highest trophy (*Naṃdarāja-nīta Kāliṃga-Jināsana*) (2) that King Khāravela signalised his conquest of Aṅga-Magadha by bringing back that Throne of Jina to Kaliṅga by a triumphal procession; and (3) that King Khāravela professed Jainism in common with his queens, sons, brothers, relatives and royal servants. One cannot mistake that, somehow or other, the affection and honour of the royal family as well as of the people of Kailṅga became bound up with the Jina throne.

This is not to say that there were no other religions and religious shrines in Kaliṅga. The Hāthi-Gumphā inscription clearly proves that there were other religions and religious edifices. If the remaining religions, including the different forms of animism, be designated in the lump as Hinduism one can say that during the reign of King Khāravela as well as during the reign of his predecessors, Hinduism flourished side by side, with Jainism and that the Hindu temples dedicated to various deities shone forth along with the cave-dwellings of the Jain saints and recluses,

The royal epithet *savva-pāsaṃda-pūjaka* occuring in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthi-Gumphā text (1·16) attests, beyond boubt, that King Khāravela of Kaliṅga unknowingly followed in the footsteps of King Devānaṃpiya piyadasi Aśoka of Magadha in declaring himself as a ruler "who honoured all denominations" there would have been no necessity for the use of such an epithet, if there were no adherents among the people of Kaliṅga of different denominations. Similarly there would have been no necessity for the use of the epithet *savva-devāyatana-saṃkāra-kāraka* "the repairer of all temples of deities", if there were no worshippers among the people of Kaliṅga of those deities at the temples dedicated to them. The second epithet representing Khāravela not as a builder but only as a repairer of those temples, goes rather to show that those places of worship had existed from an earlier time. What those temples could be and where they were actually to be found, unfortunately the Hāthi-Gumphā inscription keeps us entirely in the dark. And no Hindu temples have as yet been discovered with inscriptions or tablets recording that they were caused to be repaired by King Khāravela.

Who could the recgonised representatives of the different religious denominations be is also a question at issue. Fortunately the answer is not far to seek. For the fourteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (1·15) says that apart from 117 caves excavated on the Kumārī Hill for the residence of the Jain saints and recluses, King Khāravela constructed a separate cave for the accomodation of the honoured recluses of established reputation (*sakala-samana-suvihitā*), as well as for the accomodation of the *yatis*, hermits and sages hailing from a hundred

directions (*Sata-disānaṃ yatinaṃ tāpasa-isinaṃ leṇaṃ Kārayati*). Here the *yatis*, hermits and sages must be taken as representatives of the fourth and third Brahmanical stages of effort (*āśramas*), that is to say, of the orders of Brahmanical ascetics. It is somewhat difficult to decide whom the King actually meant by referring to them as *Sakala-samana-suvihitā* "the honoured recluses of established reputation."

Mr. Jayaswal contends for the reading *sukata-samana-suvighitā*, taking *sukata* to be the same word as *sukṛta* "virtuous". *Kata-samaṇa* occurs indeed in the Upāli-Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya, as Jaina mode of praise applicable to a recognised recluse teacher. Buddhaghoṣa explains it as meaning "recluse who has fulfilled the aims of recluse life". Taking *Sukata* to be the correct reading it is easy to tend to equate it with *Sagata*, which is a well known epithet of the Buddha. But it would be risky enough, in the absence of clear evidences, to suggest that the Buddhist teachers gained a foot-hold in Kaliṅga either during the reign of Khāravela or before. We have reasons to think that by *Sakala-samana-suvihitā* or *sukata-samana suvihitā* the composer of Khāravela's inscription rather kept in his view of Jain recluses who as occasional visitors, had to be distinguished from those who permanently resided on the Kumāraī Hills. Anyhow, the thirteenth year's record of Kharavela's reign (1·14) says that 117 caves on the Kumāri Hills were excavated to serve as resting places of the Jain saints who resided there (*Kumāri-pavate arahato parinviāsato hi Kāya-nisīdiyāya*). In the edicts of King Aśoka, notably in his P. E. VII, the Jainas (*Nigaṃṭhā*) the Ājivikas and the Buddhists (*Saṃghaṭhā*) have been mentioned as typical representatives of the

orders of the recluses as distinguished from those of the Brahmanical ascetics, while in Kharavela's inscription, the *yatis*, *tāpasas* and *isis* are mentioned as representatsves of the Brahmanical orders and, as regards the representatives of the *Śramaṇas*, the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas are passed over in silence. The eighth year's record of Khāravela's reign (1.9) says that His Majesty feasted all the inhabitants (*gharavāsī*) all the royal servants (*rāja-bhatakā*), all the householders (*gahapatayo*), all the Brahmins (*bamhanā*), as well as the Jaina recluses (*arhata-samaṇā*) once in Mathurā and subsequently in Kaliṅga. It will be noticed that in the above enumeration, the royal servants have been distinguished from the general population (*gharavāsī*), in the same way that the Brahmaṇas and the Jain recluses have been distinguished from those who kept to household life (*gahapatayo*). Here the Jain recluses have been specifically mentioned as representatives of the *śramaṇas* while the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas have found no recogonition. Seeing that the same sort of statement occurs in the Hāthi-Gumphā record (1.9) with regard to feasting in Mathurā and to that in Kaliṅga, we may be led to think that even Mathurā proved to be up till the reign of Khāravela an impenetrable region for Buddhism, although this faith was destined to thrive there together with Jainism during the reign of the Kuśāna Kings.

It is quite clear, we think, from the foregoing discussion that King Khāravela was a Jain from his very birth. King Aśoka was not born in a Buddhist family. It can be established by the evidence of his own inscriptions and Buddhist legends that he was converted to Buddhism, his conversion itself being a gradual process of

mental change and that he possessed and displayed all the zeal of a new convert. Khāravela does not appear to have taken religion so seriously as Aśoka.

If Khāravela was a Jain, what sort of Jain was he? The education which he received was purely secular and did not differ from that received by other Indian Princes. His coronation ceremony was celebrated, as may be easily imagined, in accordance with Brahmanical rites. The principles and methods which he adopted in governing his kingdom were precisely those prescribed in the Brahmanical treatises on Hindu Royal polity. Jainism did not compel him to exercise any scruples in undertaking military expeditions and aggressive wars for territorial expansion and world domination. The patriotic spirit which underlay all his activities was not inspired by Jainism. As for Jainism, he caused a large number of caves to be constructed on the Kumārī Hill to provide the resident Jain saints and recluses with resting places, and erected ornamented stone pillars and shrines and pillared halls on a slope of the same hill. As for Hinduism, he made donations for repairing the temples dedicated to various Gods and Goddesses, and feasted also the Brahmin ascetics and Jain recluses. Is it not to be inferred from all these that so far as this world was concerned, he was a Hindu, and so for as the other world was concerned, he was a pious Jain?

Khāravela differed indeed form Aśoka in beating the drum of victory by sword (*bherīghoṣa*) rather than in proclaiming the glory of conquest by Dhamma, the nobler and higher ideal of progressive humanity. He was proud to give out to the world that he excelled in the knowledge of the science of Music (*Gaṃdhavva-veda-budha*) rather

than in that of the deeper truths that Jainism had to teach. He caused a pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, guards, and horses, in short, of emblems of royalty (*kakudaharas*). He differed from Aśoka also in his endeavour to entertain the citizens of the capital even by pandering to their taste, by *dampa-dapa*, by dances, songs, and instrumental music, and by festivities and merry gatherings (*dampa-naṭa-gīta-vādita-saṃdasanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi*). If *dampa* be the correct reading, it is, without doubt, the same word as *darpa*, which is mentioned in the Artha-Śāstra as a sport and pastime (*krīḍā*) along with *madya-krīḍā*. The Artha-Śāstra prescribes a fine of three *paṇas* for the ladies of good society going to witness these two sports and pastimes.[1] There must have been something inherently wrong in them for which the Artha-Śāstra found it necessary to prevent the ladies of good society under penal laws witnessing them.

The word *madya* ("spirituous liqour") suggests that in the sports and pastimes bearing its name there was a good deal of drunkenness, a good deal of licentiousness, a good deal of intemperance, a good deal of midnight revelry.

The exact significance of *dampa* or *darpa-krīḍā* is unknown. Bhaṭṭasvāmī's commentary on the Artha-Śāstra does not throw any fresh light. It may be a general name for a number of sports and pastimes in which challenging, boasting, competing and betting play an important part. The name *dampa* or *darpa* seems to convey the idea of combating such as in wrestling, boxing, mock-fighting and gladiatorial feats. Anyhow there must have been in this kind of sport and pastime a good deal of excitement, a good

1. Artha-Sastra, III. 3·58: *Pratisiddha stri darpa-madya-Kridayam tripanam damdam dadyat.*

deal of noise and tension for which the ladies of good society were prevented from witnessing it.

If *dapa* be the correct reading, it is, without doubt the same term as *davakamma*, which is mentioned in the Mahā-Niddesa (p. 379) as an example of *vācasikā khīḍḍā (vācasika-krīḍā)* along with *nāṭikā* (dramatic acting,) *gīta* (singing) and *tāsa* (posing), precisely in the same way that in the Artha-Śāstra *darpa* and *madya-krīḍā* are mentioned along with *prekṣā* (dramatic performances, operas). The commentary explains *davakamma* in the sense of 'comics' (*hāsa-karana-kīṭā*).

Whatever be the correct reading of the word, it is certain that Khāravela did not refrain from pleasing the citizens of his capital by 'combats' or 'comics' and by dancing, singing and instrumental music, which were against the doctrine of Jainism. There is no evidence to prove that he exercised discrimination like Aśoka in selecting and encouraging only those *samājas* or joyous gatherings which were the approved ways of educating the people even through amusements and festivities.

It is true that Khāravela, too, honoured all denominations, which is to say, that he, too, observed the principle of religious toleration. But his idea of religous toleration was essentially of a Hindu nature. In his case, just as in the case of a Hindu, toleration implored the idea of non-interference, non-intervention, not meddling in another man's religion. He found it to be a wise policy on his part to have each sect to follow its own creed without taking the trouble of considering the details of each faith. He does not appear to have made an attempt to bring all

1. For the meaning of this term, see Radha Kumud Mukerji's Asoka, p. 129, 6. n. 1.

sects on a common platform for a free and frank discussion and an interchange of ideas for discovering the common ground and mission of all religions, as well as determining the merits and defects of each religion. Aśoka and Akbar had their own ideas and programmes of religion. But Khāravela had no such ideas and programmes. How Aśoka's idea of religious toleration differed from that of Khāravela will be manifest from Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji's translation of Aśoka's R. E. XII which is quoted below *in extenso*:

"His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King is honouring all sects, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and offerings of various kinds is he honouring them. But His Sacred Majesty does not value such gifts or honours as that how should there be the growth of the essential elements of all religious sects. The growth of this genuine matter is, however, of many kinds. But the root of it is the restraint of speech, that is, there should not be the honour of one's own sect and condemnation of others' sects *without any ground. Such slighting should be for specified grounds only. On the other hand, the sect of others should be honoured for this ground and that..................concord alone is commendable in this sense that all should listen and be willing to listen to the doctrines professed by others. This is, in fact, the desire of His Sacred Majesty, viz., that all sects should be possessed of wide learning and good doctrines*".

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NALANDA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE.

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Derivation of the name.

The appellation of Nalanda goes back at least to the time of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina and of Gautama Buddha, *i. e.*, to some five centuries before Christ. This we learn from the Sūtrakṛtāṅga and the Nikāyas, the oldest known works of the Jains and the Buddhists respectively. Both the great teachers of humanity, namely Mahāvīra and Buddha were connected with the locality which this name designated when they were actually promulgating their respective doctrines. The correct pronunciation of the name is Nālandā—long *a* in *n* and *d*—and not Nalanda or Nalendra as given in Taranth's "The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources" by M. Wallasser (Reprint from " Asia Major " Birth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, pp. 15 etc.,) or in the Buddhist Records of the Western World, (Beal, pp. 167 etc.). The name occurs as Nalanda not only in the works which I have just now named and others to which I shall refer in the sequel, but in the copper plate and other inscriptions which have now come to light. That it ends in long *a*, not short *a*, is clear from the form Nalandayam (locative singular) which occurs there. The etymology of the term is however not known definitely. What Hiuen Tsiang says about it is evidently a *nidāna gāthā* or popular etymology. The story he gives in this connection is this: Tathāgata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva here, *i.e.*, at Nalanda. He became the king of a great country and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them and in remembrance of that virtue the place was called Nalanda and the Saṅghārāma

there was so called in perpetuation of that name. According to this story or *gāthā*, the derivation would be ***na-alam-da***, *i. e.*, no end in gifts or "charity without intermission". According to I-tsing the locality was named after a Nāga called Nanda (J. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. XIII, P. 571) and might have originally been called Nāgānanda. If that were so, the assimilation of *ga* and *na* and the addition of *la* must have been responsible for the appellation of Nalanda, though the final long a will remain somewhat inexplicable. In view of the fact the locality abounds with lotuses even now, it does not appear to be improbable that it was so named because it gave lots of *nalas* or lotus flowers, as well as scholars by *dhvani* or implication of course, in later ages This is only a conjecture which I have hazarded for your consideration. Later on the locality came to be known by the name of the adjoining village of Baḍagāon. Till recently, even the railway station which led to it was so called and I can take a pardonable pride in saying that the change of the name of the station to Nalanda is largely due to me. That the locality went by the name of Baḍagāon in the 17th century of the Christian era will be evidenced by the Jain works like the *Pūrvadeśa-caitya-paripāṭī* written by Paṇḍita Haṃsasoma in the year 1565 of the Vikrama era, and also by the Sametaśikhara-tīrtha-mālā which was composed by Paṇḍita Vijayasagara, a Tapagaccha monk, about the Vikrama year 1700. According to these works, Baḍagāon was the popular name नालंदे पाडै ---- हौडा लोक प्रसिद्ध ते बडगांम कही जे ......) These books give an account of the pilgrimage of some of the Jains who visited their principal tīrthas in the East about the 16th and the 17th century. They would show that during the time the pilgrims came over there Nalanda was in ruins and deserted and Vaḍagām which

was sacred to them on account of its connection with Indrabhūti who was perhaps the greatest and the earliest disciple of Mahavīra was fairly prosperous. Consequently, the whole locality came to be designated as Vaḍagām, (Sanskrit Vaṭagrāma), so called because of the abundance of the *vaṭas* or banyan trees there. It was also a seat of learning as is evidenced by a number of manuscripts which originated from it. This fact, it may be incidentally pointed out, will clearly show that late Doctor Bloch was ceratinly wrong when in his article entitled THE MODERN NAME OF NALANDA that appeared in the Royal Asiatic Society's Jonrnal some years ago (1909, pp. 440 ff.) he asserted that it was a modern appellation. Vincent Smith's remark made in his EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA (p. 312, footnote) to the same effect is equally erroneous. It will not be out of place to remark here in passing that the identification of this name with Vihāragrāma put forth in the Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. VI, p. 425) is unfounded and has to be rejected. The name of Nalanda which fell into disuse and was superseded by Baḍagām has, thanks to the Archaeological Survey Department, again revived and gained ground not only in the case of the Railway Station but in having a College at Bihar-Sharif designated after it. In earlier days it went to Ceylon but now it has migrated even to London where it is now playing the role of Rhys David's residence, which is appropriately named after it in view of the splendid researches in Buddhist literature made by the savant who occupies it. By the way, I might hazard one more conjecture. The Sudassana-jātaka (Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XI, p. 238) tells us that 'when the Tathāgata was at Jetavana, he thought that the Therā Sāriputta, who was born

at Nala-grāma, had died on the day of the full moon in the month of Kārtika in that very village of Nala.' Fa Hian would tell us the same thing. Now the question is where to locate this Nalagrāma. Remembering the fact that a hamlet of Baḍagāon is still called Sarichakka and lies close to the site of the ancient Nalanda and that, as has been stated by Rhys Davids, it was termed Varaka which I believe is the same as the Bahirika of the Jaina works, although Rhys Davids and Fausboll felt puzzled over it—can we not take it to have been a part of Naḷanda if not Nalanda itself, as Sarichakka now is of Baḍagām?

Nalanda in Jaiṇa Literature.

According to the Jaina works Nalanda seems to have been a suburb or *bahirika* of Rājagṛha in the time of Mahavīra who as stated therein spent fourteen *Cāturmāsyas* there. The following quotation from the Sūtrakṛtānga would show that Nalanda was a very prosperous and flourishing town before the Christian era. The quotation is taken from the chapter called Nalanda, I mean, the seventh lecture of the second book. As has already been remarked by Jacobi this only gives the typical description of towns. The text has only the first words of the description but the complete description is given in the Aupapatika Sūtra, S. 1.

Tenam kalenam tenam samaenam Rayagihe namam nayare hottha riddhiphita samiddhe vannao java padiruve tassanam Rayagihassa navarassa bahiya uttara puratthime disibae etthanam Nalamdanamam bahiriya hittha anog-habhavanassa yasannivittha jeva padiruva 1.

tatthanam Nalamdae bahiriyae Leve namam gahavai hottha addhe ditte vitte vitthana-vipula-bhavana-sayan-asana-jana-vahanainno bahu-dhana-bahu-jaya-ruva-rajate

aogapaoga sampautte vitthadiyapaura bhattapane bahudasi, dasa, gomahisa, gavela-gappabhue bahujanassa apari bhueyavi hottha 2.

senam Leve namam gahavai samano vasaeyavi hottha abhigaya jivajive java viharai niggamthe pavayano nissamkiye nikkamkhie nivvitigitthe laddhatthe gahiyatthe putthiyatthe vinitthiyatthe abhigihiyatthe atthimimja pemanuragaratte ayamauso niggamthe pavayane ayam atthe ayam paramatthe sese anatthe asiyaphalihe appavayaduvare viyattam teurappavese chaudasattha suhittha-punna-masinisu padipunnam posaham sammam anupalemano samane niggamthe tahavihenam esanijjenam asanapanam khai masaimenam padilabhamane bahuhim siladvayaguna viramanapachchhavakhae posahova vasehim appanam bhave mane evam chanam vihari 3.

tassanam Levassa gahavaissa Nalamdae bahiriyae uttara puratthime disibhae etpanam sesa daviya namam udaga sala hottha anegakhambha-saya-sannivittha pasadiya java padiruva tissenam sesa-daviyae udaga-salae uttara puratthime disibhae etthanam hatthijame namam vanasamde hottha kinhe vannao vana samdassa 4.

Jacobi has thus translated it:

'At that time, at that period, there was a town of the name of Rajagriha: it was rich, happy, thriving, *etc.* Outside of Rājagṛha, in a north-eastern direction, there was the suburb Nalanda. It contained many hundreds of buildings, *etc.* In that suburb Nalanda, there was a householder called Lepa; he was prosperous, famous; rich in high and large houses, beds, seats, vehicles and chariots; abounding in riches, gold, and silver; possessed

of useful and necessary things; wasting plenty of food and drinking, owning many male and female slaves, cows, buffaloes and sheep; and inferior to nobody. This householder Lepa, a follower of the Śramaṇas, comprehended (the doctrine of) living beings, and things without life etc. This householder Lepa possessed in a north-eastern direction from the suburb Nalanda, a bathing hall, called Seshadravya; it contained many hundreds of pillars, was beautiful etc. In a north-eastern direction from this bathing hall Seshadravya there was a park called Hastiyama (Description of the park). This text also is given in the Aupapatika-sūtra, S. 3. (See foot-note 3 on p. 420 of Volume XLV of the Sacred Books of the East Series).

Another old Jain work namely the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu who is believed to have died in the Vikrama year 170 (Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to the Kalpasūtra, p. 13, Leipzig 1879 edition) similarly speaks of Nalanda as a bahirika of Rājagṛha where Mahāvīra spent fourteen Cāturmāsyas. It says: (p. 64, (Jinacaritra, para 122.)

Tenam kalenam tenam samaenam samane bhagavam Mahavire Atthiyaggama-nisae padhamam amtaravasam vasa-vasam uvagae, Çampam ca Pitthicampam ca nisae taọ amtaravase vasa-vasam uvagae, Vesalim nagarim Vaniyaggamam ca nisae duvalasa amtaravase vasa-vasam uvagae, Rayagiham nagaram Nalamdam ca bahiriyam nisae coddasa amtaravase vase-vasam uvagae, ca Mahiliyae do Bhaddiyae, egam Alabhiyae, egam Paniyabhumie, egam Savitthie, egam Pavae majjhimae Hatthipalassa ranno rajjusabhaẹ apacchimam amtaravasam vasa-vasam uvagae.

The Jain works Pūrvadeśacaityaparipāṭī and Sameta-śikhara-tīrtha-mālā to which allusion has been made above testify to the former prosperity of Nalanda. Both these works are not published. The quotations which I give below were kindly supplied to me by a Jaina monk when I was excavating at Nalanda long ago.

The Pūrvadeśacaityaparipāṭī which was composed by Pandita Hamsasoma in Vikrama Saṃvat 1565 says:

नालंदे पाडै चौद चौमास सुणी जै
हौडा लोक प्रसिद्ध ते बंडगांम कही जै
सोल प्रसाद तिहां अच्छै जिन बिम्ब नमीजै

"Nalanda (was) a suburb (of Rājagṛha) where we hear Mahāvīra (spent) fourteen rainy seasons. Now it is called Baḍagām. There are sixteen fine temples where Jina images are worshipped".

The Sametaśikharatīrthamālā is more explicit. It records:

बांहिरी नालंदा पाडो
सुणायो तस पुण्यपवाडो
वीर चौद रुहा चौवास
हौंडा बडगाम निवास
बिंहु देहरे एकसो प्रतिमा नवीलहिई बोधनी गणिमा

i. e., Outside (of Rājagṛha) there is a pāḍa (mohalla or suburb) called Nalanda. Imagine the extent of its sanctity Vīra (the great Jina Mahāvīrasvāmi) spent fourteen Caumāsas or rainy seasons here. Now it is known as Baḍagām. .... In only one temple of it there were 100 images of Buddha which in other fanes were countless.

If Nalanda was really a Mohalla or pāḍa of Rājagṛha as these authorities would show we can well imagine the extent and prosperity of the old Rājagṛha in earlier

days and also how thriving people must have been then. The distance between Rājagṛha and Nalanda nowadays is not less than seven miles.

Nalanda in Buddhist Literature.

The earliest mention of Nalanda in Buddhist Literature, I know of, is in the Brahmajala-sūtra and the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra of Dighanikāya. In the former we find (Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XI. pp. 12—15):

1. Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagava antara ca Rajagaham antara ca Nalandam addhana-magga-patipanno hoti mahata bhikkhu-samghena saddhim panca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi. Suppiyo pi kho paribbajako antara ca Rajagaham antara ca Nalandam addhana-magga-patipanno hoti saddhim antevasina Brahmadattena manavena. Tatra sudam Ṣuppiyo paribbajako aneka-pariyayena Buddhassa avannam bhasati, Dhammassa avannam bhasati, Samghassa avannam bhasati, Suppiyassa pana paribbajakassa antevasi Brahmadatto manavo aneka-pariyayena Buddassa vannam bhasati, Dhammassa vannam bhasati, Samghassa vannam bhasati. Iti ha te ubho acariyantevasi annamannassa uju-vipaccanika-vada Bhagavantam pitthito anubaddha honti bhikkhu-saṃghan ca.

2. Atha kho Bhagava Ambalatthikayam rajagarake eka-rattivasam upaganchi saddhim bhikkhu-ṣamghena.

The latter (Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. XI, pp. 12—15) says:

Atha kho Bhagava Ambalatthikayam yathabhirantam viharitva ayasmantam Anandam amantesi, "Ayam'Ananda yena Alanda ten'upasamkamissamati."

"Evam bhante "ti kho ayasma Anando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagava mahata bhikkhu-sanghena

saddhim yena Nalanda tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane.

" Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Ambalatthika. he addressed the venerable Ananda and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go over to Nalanda. Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Nalanda and there at Nalanda, the Blessed One stayed in the Pavarika mango grove. Now when the Blessed one had stayed as long as was convenient at Nalanda he addressed the venerable Ananda, let us go on to Pataligrāma."

Some other references to Nalanda in ancient Buddhist texts known to me are these:

Samyutta Nikaya, Pt. II, p. 220. Kassapa Samyutta, 3rd sutta.

So evam pabbajito samano addhana-magga-patipanno addasam Bhagavantam antara ca Rajagaham antara ca Nalandam Bahuputte cetiye nisinnam.

Samyutta Nikaya Pt. III, p. 110. Salayatana Samyutta, 126.

Ekam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane. Atha kho Upali gahapati yena Bhagava ten' upasamkami.

Samyutta Nikaya Pt. III, p. 311. Gamani Samyutta, No. 6.

Ekam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane. Atha kho Asibandhakaputto gamani yena Bhagava ten'upasamkami, upasamkamitva Bhagavantam abhivadetva ekam antam nisidi.

Samyutta Nikaya Pt. III, p. 323. Gamani Samyutta.

Ekam samayam Bhagava Kosalesu carikam caramano mahata bhikkhu-samghena saddhim yena Nalanda tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane,

Tena kho pana samayena Nalanda dubbhikkha hoti dvihitika, setatthika salakavutta.

Tena kho pana samayena Nigantho Nathaputto Nalanda-ayam pativasati mahatiya Nigantha parisaya saddhim.

Atha kho asibandhaputto gamani niganthasavako yena Nigantho Nathaputto ten'upasamkami. Upasamkamitva Nigantham Nathaputtam abhivadetva ekam antam nisidi.

Samyutta Nikaya Vol. V, p. 159. Satipatthana, Samyutta Nalandavagga.

Ekam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane. Atha kho ayasma Sariputto yena Bhagava ten'upasamkami.

Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga XI.

Brahmajalam avaso Ananda kattha bhasitam ti. Antara ca bhante Rajagaham antara ca Nalandam rajagarake Ambalatthikayam ti.

Digha Nikaya Vol. I, p. 211 xi Kevaddha Sutta.

Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagava Nalandayam viharati Pavarikambavane. Atha kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto yena Bhagava ten'upasamkami, upasamkamitva Kevaddho gahapativa nisidi. Ekamantam nisinno kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto Bhagavantam etadavoca:

'Ayam bhante Nalanda iddha c'eva phita ca bahujana akinnamanussa Bhagavati abhipasanna. Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum samadisatu, yo uttari-manussa-dhamma iddhi-patihariyam karissati. Evayam Nalanda bhiyyosomattaya Bhagavati abhippasidissatiti'

Evam vutte Bhagava Kevaddham gahapati-puttam etad avoca: 'Na kho aham Kevaddha bhikkhunam evam dhammam desemi: "Etha tumhe bhikkhave gihinam odata-vasananam uttari-manussa-dhamma iddhi-patihariyam karothati."

2. Dutiyam pi kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto Bhagavantam etad avoca:

'Naham bhante Bhagavantam dhansemi. Api ca evam vadami: "Ayam bhante Nalanda iddha c'eva phita ca bahujana akinna-manussa Bhagavati abhippasanna. Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum samadisatu yo uttari-manussa-dhamma iddhi-patihariyam karissati. Evayam Nalanda bhiyyosomattaya Bhagavati abhippasidissatiti.

Dutiyam pi kho Bhagava Kevaddham gahapati-puttam etad avoca: 'Na kho ahem Kevadadha bhikkhunam evam dhammam desemi: "Etha tumhe bhikkhave gihinam odata-vasananam uttari-manussa-dhamma iddhi-patihariyam karothati."

3. Dutiyam pi kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto Bhagavantam etad avoca:

'Naham bhante Bhagavantam dhansemi. Api ca evam vadami: "Ayam bhante Nalanda iddha c'eva phita ca bahujana akinna-manussa Bhagavati abhippasanna. Sadhu bhante Bhagava ekam bhikkhum samadisatu yo uttari-manussa-dhamma iddhi-patihariyam karissati. Evayam

Nalanda bhiyyosomattaya Bhagavati abhippasidissatiti.'

'Tini kho imani Kevaddha patihariyani maya sayam abhinna-sacchikatva paveditani. Katamani tini? Iddhi-patihariyam adesana-patihariyam anusasni-patihariyam.

Digha Nikaya, Vol. II, p. 83.

Tatra pi sudam Bhagava Nalandayam viharanto Pavarikambavane etad eva bahulam bhikkhunam dhammim katham karoti: "Iti silam iti samadhi iti panna, sila-paribhavito samadhi mahapphalo hoti maha-nisamso, samadhi paribhavitva panna mahapphala hoti mahanisamsa panna-paribhavitam cittam sammad eva asavehi vimuccati seyyathidam kamasava bhavasava ditthasava avijjhasavati.

Atha kho Bhagava Nalandayam yathabhirantam viharitva ayasmantam Anandam amantesi:— Ayam 'Ananda yeva Pataligamo ten 'upasamkamissamati'.

Upali Sutta. Majjhima Nikaya, Vol. I, p. 371.

Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagava Nalandyam viharati Pavarikambavane. Tena kho pana samayena Nigantho Nathaputto Nalandayam pativasati mahatiya nigantha parisaya saddhim. Atha kho Dighatapassi nigantho Nalandyam pindaya caritva paccha bhattam pindapatta patikkanto yena Pavarikambavanam yena Bhagava ten 'upasamkamitva Bhagavata saddhim sammodi, sammodaniyam katham saraniyam vitisaretva ekamantam atthasi.

Majjhima Nikaya, Vol. I, p. 377 f.

"Tam kim mannasi gahapati: Ayam Nalanda iddha c,eva phita ca banujana akinna manuusa ti". "Evam Bhante, syam Nalanda iddha c'eva phita ca bahujana akkinna-manussa ti". "Tam kim mannasi gahapati idha puriso agaccheyya ukkhittasiko, so evam vadeyya: 'Aham

yavatika immisa Nalandaya pana, te ekena khanena ekena muhuttena eka-mamsa-khalam ekamamsa-punjam katun'ti. "Dasa pi bhante purisa, visatim pi purisa, timsam pi purisa, cattarisam pi purisa, pannasam pi purisa, na-ppahonti yavatika immisa Nalandaya pana, te ekena khanena ekena muhuttena eka-mamsa-khalamekamamsa-punjam katum, kim hi sobhati eko chavo puriso" ti "Tam kin mauassi gahapati; idhagaccheyya samano va brahmano va iddhima cetovasippatto, so evem vaddeyya: 'Aham imam Nalandam ekena manopadesena bhasmam karissami'ti. "Tam kim manassi gahapati pahoti nu kho sa samano va brahmano va iddhima cetovasipatto imam Nalandam ekena manopadesena bhasmam katun"ti. "Dasa pi bhante Nalanda visatim pi Nalanda timsam pi Nalanda cattarisam pi Nalanda pannasam pi Nalanda pahoti so samano va brahmano va iddhimma cetovasippatto ekena manopadesena bhasmam katum kim hi sobhati eka chava Nalanda" ti. "Gahapati, gahapati, manasi karitva kho gahapati byakaroti. na kho sandhiyati purimena va pacchimam pacchimena va purimam.

* * * *

Mam hi bhante annatitthiya savakam labhitva kevala-kappam Nalandam patakam parihareyyum: Upal-'amhakam gahapati savaka-ttupa-gato ti.

None of these texts represents Nalanda as a part of Rājagṛha but the way in which they speak of it would show that at the time of the Blessed One Nalanda was considered to be a distinct locality. Had that not been the case, the expression *antara ca Rajagaham, antara ca Nalandam* (*ndam*) would not be justified. Keeping these and the Jain texts in view, I would take Bahirika

in the sense of a suburban area or locality lying outside the limits but in the vicinity of Rājagṛha. I am not aware if Nalanda figures anywhere in the Brahmanical literature. Possibly it does not, because it had no connection with Brahmanism. Rājagṛha, we know is a place of epic fame, being connected with Jarāsandha, the mighty foe of Krishna whom Bhīmasena vanquished in a duel. Jarāsandha ka Akhāṛā is still pointed out to the visitors to Rājagṛha by the ingenious Paṇḍās of the tīrtha there.

In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. (Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 54) of Mysore (1919 edition, page 57, note 1) there is the following reference to the Suyangangasutra where Nalanda is mentioned as a Bāhiria (Bāhirikā).

"रायगिहेणामं बाश्ररे .... नालंदाणामं बाहिरिश्रा होत्था अणेगभवण सश्रसण्णिविट्ठा"। (राजगृहं नाम नगरे नालन्दानाम बाहिरिश्रा श्रासीत् अनेकभवनशतसन्निविष्टा इति परमैश्वर्य-समृद्धबाहिरिकाजातिविशेषं सूत्रकृताङ्गसूत्रे नालन्दाध्ययनने दृश्यते ।

Here too Nalanda is spoken of as prosperous suburb of Rājagṛha full of hundreds of mansions. I may be permitted to remark that the note, apparently editorial, to the effect that Bāhirikā is a *jāti* is far from being correct.

What I have stated above would show that Nalanda was a very prosperous town or locality several centuries before and after Christ. It would appear that the long stay of the two great teachers namely Mahāvīra and Gautama-Buddha at the place, its large lakes and beautiful lotus-ponds and the relations which it had with the two great disciples of Jainism and Buddhism, namely, Indrabhūti and Sāriputra largely contributed towards its renown and sacredness which made it what it was during the early

mediaeval period. No mention of it as a University in early literature, Buddhist or Jaina, is known to me and I am inclined to think that the place became a literary centre of renown only after the 4th century of the Christian era. Otherwise Fa Hian who visited all the important Buddhist centres in India between 405 and 411 must have spoken of it in his itinirary. On the other hand he is silent and passes over it. His silence seems to be significant. I think it must be about the time of Hiuen Tsiang who visited different parts of India between 630 and 645 A. D. that it reached the zenith of its glory as a centre not only of Buddhist lore but of general Sanskrit culture and grew into a place of international reputation as is evidenced by the accounts given by him and other visitors and also by the documents like the copper plate inscription I was fortunate to dig out in 1921. What the famous Chinese pilgrim who is rightly called the prince of pilgrims, has stated about the 'world famous monastery of Nalanda' need not be recapitulated here but I may conclude my note with the following few stanzas from the eulogy given in the stone inscription of the time of Yaśovarmadeva which Mr. Page has unearthed and which I am publishing in the Epigraphia Indica:

> y=asav=urjita–vairibhu-pravigalad–dan–amvu(bu) pano-llasan-madyad-bhringa-karindra-kumbha-dalana-prapta-sriyam bhubhujam Nalanda hasat=iva sarvva-nagarih subhr - abhra-gaura--sphurach--chaity--amsu-prakarih=sad—agama – kala vikhyata—vidvaj—jana yasyam=ambu-dhar-avalehi-sikharasreni = vihar-avali mal=ev=ordhva--virajini viracita dhatra monojna bhuvah nana ratna-mayukha-jala-khachita-prasada-devalaya sad--vidyadhara---samgha--ranya--vasatir= dhatte sumeroh sriyam.

ON THE SO-CALLED SUMERO-INDIAN SEALS

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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the possible relation of the civilization of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa to that of the Sumerians of ancient Sumer. When in 1924 Sir John Marshall first published an article on this ancient civilization in *The Illustrated London News,* it at once attracted the attention of the veteran scholar, Professor A. H. Sayce, who, a week later, in an article in the same journal called attention to certain likenesses between the art and script on the seals and those of similar objects from ancient Elam and Babylonia. He thought the seals comparable to the "tablettes de compatibilite" discovered by de Morgan at Susa and published in his *Delegation en Perse* Vol. VI, pl. 12 ff. and Vol. XVII, and which came from the third millennium before Christ. He suggested that one of the seals bore a cuneiform inscription, to which a text in the Indian script had been added later.

Some twelve days later, a joint article by C. J. Gadd and Sidney Smith both of the British Museum, appeared in the same journal, and carried the comparison with Babylonia still further. Gadd found sixteen signs which he thought could be equated with Sumerian signs ; he pointed out that the brick-work resembled Babylonian brick-work of the third dynasty of Ur and gave illustrations, (p. 616) ; he further thought that the artistic execution of the pictures of bulls on the Indian seals resembled the Sumerian execution of the same kind of subject.

Apparently it was these articles that gave L. A. Waddel his cue. At any rate in the next year he published

his *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, in which he claimed to have successfully read ninteen inscriptions, a claim that a study of his book does not show to be well founded. Fascinatad by Dr. Waddel's work, an Indian scholar, R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, published in 1927 his *Sumerian Origin of the laws of Manu*, Madras. It was because of the extraordinary claims of these works that the writer turned his attention to these documents. It appeared to be time that a student of Sumerian civilization should acquaint himself with the facts on which such claims were based.

A close examination of the seals revealed the fact that the number of the Indian signs which could with probability be called Sumerian was pitiably small, while some of them reminded one of certain signs of the so-called Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. A comparison with that script accordingly followed. One day one of our Chinese students saw some of the script and at once remarked that some of the characters resembled ancient Chinese ; that made it obligatory to institute a comparison with Chinese. The comparison was then naturally enlarged to include also Elamitic, Egyptian, Cretan, and Cypriote, as well as Sumerian, Hittite, and Chinese. As the work advanced a larger number of inscriptions became accessible. Up to the present time the writer has studied seventy-two inscriptions, and has from them prepared a sign list of 124 different signs not counting 51, which are some of them certainly, and others probably, mere variant forms. Of these, 35 might conceivably be Sumerian, though but four of them resemble Sumerian signs with sufficient closeness for one to say confidently that they are Sumerian. Other signs differ so widely from Sumerian as to prove

at once that the writing is the product of a development quite distinct from the Sumerian and independent of it. One need only cite here the different ways in which the human form is represented in the two scripts. In the Indian script there are five signs (six, counting a variant) representing the human figure. Four of these represent a full-face view of the whole figure, and two, a side view but they are all made much more in the style of Egyptian hieroglyphs of the human figure than the Sumerian. In Sumerian we have but one sign representing a complete human form[1], and that is most awkward and distorted picture. The idea of human being was usually expressed in Sumerian by a mere torso[2]. Again, to take but one more example, the signs derived from pictures of pottery in the Indian script are made in quite a different way from signs in Sumerian derived from the same class of objects.[3] Those in the Indian script resemble much more closely signs of the same class in the Hittite and Cretan scripts, one sign, resembles the sign for 'sheep' in Sumerian, (Barton, No. 482) though in Sumerian it has 51 other ideographic meanings. The Sumerian sign was probably derived from a representation of a sheep-fold or enclosure. The Indian sign resembles, however, quite as closely a Chinese sign which is an outline of a divided field (Chalfant, No. 184) ; and still more closely a sign in Proto-Elamite, (Scheil, No. 223), the meaning of which is as yet undetermined. It cannot therefore, be taken as Sumerian. The similar forms in these widely separated scripts must be regarded as independent developments. The same must

1. See. No. 206 in Barton's *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing.*
2. For different Sumerian representation of parts of the human body, see the Pictographic Index on p. 174 of Part I of the work cited in the preceding note.
3. See Barton, *op. cit.*, Part 1., 185 f., for a list of the pictures of pottery in Sumerian and writing.

be said of some other signs. Representations of a double headed axe appear in the Indian script, (beside the main picture there are five variants of it); also in Sumerian,[1] Elamite,[2] Cretan[3], and Cypriote[4] The bow is found in Sumerian,[5] Elamite,[6] Egyptian,[7] and Chinese.[8] Of these the Elamite picture more nearly resembles the Indian than any of the others. The Sumerian representation is less like the Indian than any of the others. A bow and arrow appear in Indian[9], Elamite[10], and Chinese. In short a detailed comparison of the 124 signs of these 72 brief inscriptions proves indisputably[12] the independence and originality of the Indian culture revealed by the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. It is as original as that of China, Elam, Sumer, the Hittites, Egyptians, or Cretans. One inscription only could be Sumerian.

A comparative study of the examples of this new script that are so far accessible also proves that it had already undergone a long period of development when these inscriptions were written. This is shown in various ways. It will be sufficient in this preliminary report to give one or two examples of the kind of proof that is available. On one of the seals a sign occurs which is clearly the head and neck of a horse wearing a bridle.[13] Six different variants of this sign occur in the seals, and all of them except this one are

1. Barton, No. 594.
2. Scheil, No. 11.
3. Evans, No 36.
4. Deake, No.
5. Barton, No. 394.
6. Scheil, 140
7. See under "Weapons" in either of the Egyptian sign-lists mentioned in the bibliography.
8. Chalfant, No. 211.
9. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1924—25, Pt. XXVIII. No. 22
10. Scheil, No. 140 and 145.
11. Chalfant, No. 225.
12. The comparative table will be published in the near future.
13. See Waddell, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, Fig. 2. p 13. No IX.

so conventionalized that, but for this clear picture, we could not tell what the original was. As it is they form a graded series, which does not leave the origin in doubt.

Another example is afforded by the pottery signs, signs derived from pictures of earthenware pots. There are two of these[1]: and signs that are so conventionalized that it is only by comparative study that their origin becomes evident. Fortunately in the Hittite script and in Cretan[2] we have inscriptions where the full form of the jar appears, and others in which it is represented, as here, in outline only. Since the series in these two scripts is so convincing, and since it is also clear that Cretan and Hittite developed quite independently of one another, it becomes probable that in developing such signs the mind of men in another portion of the world would work in the same way. We can with considerable confidence, therefore, assume that the two signs in question are outlines of different shapes of earthenware jars, but, the fact that the full picture has become so skeletonized, is evidence that, when these seals were written, the writing was not in its earliest stage of development.

Again, we have a sign, which appears twice, that seems to be an outline of a turtle,[3] but it is far more skeletonized and much less of an original picture than the turtle sign in Elamite[4], or in early Chinese[5].

Since the original hieroglyphs are so conventionalized it will be impossible to classify them all until the script is deciphered and the investigator can test his conjectures

1. See Cowley, *Hittites*, p. 88.
2. Cf. Evans, No. 47.
3. See *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1924–25, Pl. XXVIII, No. 6.
4. Cf. Scheil, 916.
5. Cf. Chalfant, No. 10.

from the form of the sign by its signification. Bearing that fact in mind, and fully realizing that in many cases an opinion formed now must be held subject to correction, the writer has been able to make the following tentative classification. Five signs are derived from the human form. Three are possibly human arms and hands. One is, as has been said, the head of a horse. Four are pictures of fishes. Two are probably turtles. Ten are pictures of plants. Seven are derived from representations of the sky, the sun, the moon, and water. Two may represent buildings. One is clearly an altar. Three are implements of war. Two are derived from pottery. Eighty-three are as yet unclassified. Of these one of the pottery signs and one of the fish-signs occur most often in the inscriptions studied. A probable reason for this will appear at a later point of the discussion.

Before turning from the evidence of the script, it should be noted that the four signs on No. VI in Waddell's *Sumerian Seals Deciphered* are like Sumerian. If so, they would be read LIL-LIL-A-EN[1], which might be a proper name, Lillilaen, or Lillila, Lord. If this be the correct reading of this inscription, it in no way disproves the correctness of the conclusion already reached, that the script of these seals is an indigenous Indian script quite independent of Sumer. The bullock and altar portrayed on the seal are of the Indian type, not the Sumerian. Whoever offered the sacrifice, was doing it as a resident of India. He may have been a Sumerian resident there. At the most the seal would prove commercial intercourse or travel between Sumer and India.

1. The signs could also be read GE—GE—A—EN, "Gegca, lord".

Another interesting point revealed by this study is that the Indians, like the Sumerians, Egyptians, Hittites, etc., made their notation of numerals by straight line, a short perpendicular line, repeated the proper number of times, being empolyed for each numeral up to ten. They also employed what seems to be a decimal system of numbers, and indicated the tens by the requisite number of longer lines. Thus in Waddell Fig. 2 No. XVI has the numeral 37. The original Sumerian numerical system was sexigesimal; the decimal system not having been adopted by them until after contact with another race—perhaps the Akkadian Semites[1]. The presence of a decimal system in India would, therefore, be an argument for an origin distinct from the Sumerians.

Another argument employed to establish a connection between Sumer and this ancient civilization of the Indus Valley has been the similarity of the representations of the necks of bullocks in the art of the two countries. In both countries lines were employed to depict the folding skin of the neck. Attention was called to this similarity by Gadd and Sidney Smith in 1924,[2] and in the present year, 1928, Smith has called attention to the matter again,[3] reinforcing his argument by a seal found at Ur by Woolley in 1926,[4] the bullock on which resembles those of Indian art more closely than any previously known. If, however, this common artistic feature indicates similarity of influence, it would seem that we should include Egypt in the circle of that influence, for the same feature is to be seen on the

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1. Cf. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, p. 170 f. The statement made there needs some modification. The names of the Sumerian numerals show that underlying the sexigesimal system there is a quintal system. There are separate names for the numerals from one to five, but the name for six is five-one, for seven, five-two, and so on up to ten.

2. *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 4th, 1924, p. 616.

3. *Early History of Assyria to 100 B C.*, pp. 49—52.

4. *The Antiquarian Journal*, VIII. Pl. IX, No. 2.

necks of some prehistoric bullocks depicted on a plaque found in Egypt . Hommel has long contended that Egyptian civilization was derived from Bobylonia.[2] While such a claim is on the whole not valid, it is true, as Petrie has perceived[3], that at a definite period of pre-dynastic history Babylonian and Elamite influences can be traced in Egypt. It would seem to the writer, however, to be an open qustion whether this artistic method of representing folds of skin on a bullock's neck is not one of those similarities that result from the psychological unity of mankind. Confronted with the same materials and the same problems in different parts of the world, men have, independently of one another, solved many of their problems in the same way. Is not this artistic device another instance of this?

Although the new Indian script cannot be read, it is possible tentatively to form some opinion of the contents and to some degree of the meaning of the inscriptions. The larger number of the inscribed seals studied picture a bullock with one long horn standing with his head over an altar. There are 28 of these. That the picture in question is intended for an altar[4] seems more than probable after comparing it with pictures of altars in Sumerian,[5] Elamite[6], Hittite[7], Egyptian[8], Cypriote[9], and Chinese[10]

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1. See de Morgan, *Prehistoric orientale*, II Paris, 1926, p. 140.
2. See *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1892, pp. 218—244, and *Grundriss der Geographie and Geschichte des alten Orients*, zwite Halfte, Munchen 1227, p 751. ff.
3. *Prehistoric Egypt*, p. 49.
4. Waddell takes this picture of the altar together with the head of the living animal above it, and, disregarding the animal's body, identifies the two with the Sumerian sign, EDIN, and takes it as the name for India.
5. Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, pp. viii and 182.
6. Scheil, Nos. 350 and 351.
7. Messerschmidt, Tafel XXIII.
8. Sign-list in Erman's *Aegyptische Gramatik, E. No 2.*
9. Deeke, No. 45.
10. Chalfant, No, 157.

writing. Such seals are of religious significance, and certain features of some of them enable us, in the writer's judgment, to make a fair guess that the inscription is a record of viands offered with the animal in sacrifice. Another, which is probably sacrificial, pictures a *bos Indicus* with his neck behung with garlands,[1]. Another which pictures the sacred pīpal tree is also probably of religious significance.[2] One pictures a rhinoceros standing with his head over an altar:[3] while another pictures a rhinoceros before which a man stands a in sort of enclosure with hands extended toward the rhinoceros as though in prayer.[4] Probably these represent religious scenes also and indicate that the rhinoceros was a sacred animal.

Another group of pictures represent what, at first sight, seem to be domesticated animals feeding from large dishes which serve as feeding troughs. Bullocks and elephants are so portrayed[5]. But once a rhinoceros,[6] and once a tiger are also so pictured[7]. This fact suggests that all these picture religious scenes also, and that all these animals are being fed because they were regarded as sacred.

One is purely a hunting scene; it represents a man shooting a tiger from a tree. Another is a mythological scene; it represents a fight between two imaginary creatures such as never existed on sea or land[8]. On the whole it seems probable that most of the inscribed seals had a

1. Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1924-25, pl. XXVIII.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Illustrated London News*, January 7th, 1928.
5. See reference in note 1.
6. *Archaeological Survey of Idia Annuul Report*, 1924-25, Pl. XXII.
7. *Ibid.* Pl. XXVIII.
8. *Illustrated London News*, January 7th, 1928.

religious significance. Even the picture of shooting the tiger from a tree may have been intended as the record of a thank-offering for the conquest of a dangerous beast. Perhaps the records of sacrifices, the pictures of sacred animals feeding, the struggle of mythological creatures, etc., were treasured and worn as amulets. This is suggested by the fact that the objects were found in houses.

Judging by the position of the numerals, the script was usually written from left to right, but could also be written from right to left.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the script is not yet deciphered, and the present writer makes no pretence at having done so. Nevertheless, if our analysis of the meaning and purpose of these inscribed objects is at all correct, it is possible from one's knowledge of similar objects in ancient Sumer to make shrewd guesses as to the meaning. Further, one can often tell, in looking at pictographic writing, what the topic is that is being treated, and in general what the treatment is, even when he does not know the language in which the inscription is written. Similarly Chinese and Japanese, because of their use and understanding of the same script, can often tell what sentences in the language of each other are about, and get the general tenor of the meaning, without understanding the language.

From such documents as the "Bullae" of Barnamtarra[1], the queen of Lugalanda, king of Lagash, as well as from our knowledge of the materials of sacrifices the world over, we infer that, if many of these Indian seals

1. Allotte de la Fuye, *Documents presargoniques*, Fasioilus I. Hundreds of similar records are contained in the tablets of this period.

are records of sacrifices, there was included, along with the animal sacrificed, other viands which the worshippers prized as food and drink. Bearing these facts in mind, and remembering that in Sumerian wine was, by a natural psychological association, expressed by an earthen jar, we suggest that the inscription Waddell's *Sumerian Seal Deciphered*, Fig. 3, No. XIX read "............fishes; 7 jars of unfermented soma," and that No. XVI may have read "22............vegetables; 37 jars of fermented soma." These provisional readings are based in part on the guess that the signs ⊓⊓ and Λ represented respectively the ideas "unfermented" and "fermented", the lines being added in the latter sign to indicate the electrifying effect of fermentation. It should be added that no certainty of correctness is claimed for these readings, but that they are more likely to be on the right track than any of Waddell's interpretations.

The general correctness of this approach to the understanding of these seal-inscriptions seems to be confirmed by the popularity of the fish and pottery signs already mentioned. Fish was a food; soma a popular drink. These would naturally be included in sacrificial offerings. The frequency of the occurrence of the signs is, on this theory, accounted for.

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DETERMINATION OF CARDINAL POINTS BY MEANS OF A GNOMON.

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For scientific reasons[1] in town-planning, in laying out villages and for the orientation of buildings and rooms therein it is indispensably necessary that all the quarters of the spot on which these objects are to be built should be determined with all accuracy and precision.

The compass or the instrument consisting of a magnetised needle which indicates on a card the directions at any given time was not used by the ancient architects and astronomers partly because they did not perhaps know[1] its principles but more presumably because it does not give accurate results in all places and times. For ascertaining cardinal points both in India and Europe the

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1. For instance if an architectural object be not laid out with such facades, as would afford required ventilation and protection from the sun, rain and wind the health of the inhabitants will be inevitably affected. Vitruvius well illustrates the point :

"Their circuit being completed, it behoves us to consider the manner of disposing of the area of the space enclosed within the walls, and the proper directions and aspects of the streets and lanes. They should be so planned as to exclude the winds : these, if cold, are unpleasant, if not, are hurtful; if damp, destructive. A fault in this respect must be therefore avoided, and care taken to prevent that which occurs in so many cities. For instance in the island of Lesbos, the town of Mytilene is magnificently and elegantly designed, and well-built, but imprudently placed. When the south wind prevails in it, the inhabitants fall sick ; the north-west wind affects them with coughs ; and the north wind restores them to health ; but the intensity of the cold therein is so great that no one can stand about in the streets and lanes" (Book 1, Chap. VI, Gwilt's Translation p. 21).

Proper facades are also considered for the residential buildings and the rooms therein (see the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 612-614).

1. Inventiou of the compass has been claimed by the Chinese, the Arabs, the Greeks, the Etruseans, the Finns and the Italians from 2634 B. C. onwards, "but the earliest definite mention as yet known of the use of the mariner's compas" occurs in a treatise written by Alexandar Neckam in the 12th, centuary A. D. and "the earliest unquestionable description of a pivoted compass" is contained in another treatise written in 1269. But "when and by whom the compass card was added is a matter of conjecture" (The Encyl. Britannica, 11th edition VI, 808; 801, 809).

astronomers and architects made use of the shadow cast by a gnomon.

The subject has been discussed more or less elaborately by all the leading authorities of astronomy and architecture. Thus in the *Sūrya-siddhānta* a whole chapter (III) is devoted to the following topics :—

"Construction of the dial and description of its parts(1-6); the measure of amplitude(7), of the gnomon, hypotenuse and shadow, any two being given to find out the third(8); precession of the equinoxes(9-12); the equinoctial shadow(12-13); to find, from the epuinoctial shadow, the latitude and co-latitude (13-14) ; the sun's declination being known, to find, from a given shadow at noon, his zenith-distance, the latitude, and its sine and cosine (14-17) ; latitude being given to find the equinoctial shadow (17) ; to find, from the latitude and the sun's zenith-distance at noon, his declination and his true and mean longitude (17-20) ; latitude and declination being given, to find the noon shadow and hypotenuse (21-22) ; from the sun's declination and the equinoctial shadow to find the measure of amplitude (22-23) ; to find, from the equinoctial shadow and the measure of amplitude at any given time, the base of the shadow (23-25) to find the hypotenuse of the shadow when the sun is upon the prime vertical(25-27) ; the sun's declination and the latitude being given, to find the sine and the measure of amplitude (27-28); to find the sines of the altitude and zenith-distance of the sun, when upon the south-east and south-west vertical circles (28-33); to find the corresponding shadow and hypotenuse (33-34); the sun's ascensional difference and the hour-angle being given, to find the sines of his altitude and zenith-distance, and the corres-

ponding shadow and hypothenuse (34-36); to find by a contrary process, from the shadow of the given time, the sun's altitude and zenith-distances and the hour-angle (37-39); the latitude and the sun's amplitude being known, to find his declination and true longitude (40-41); to draw the path described by the extremity of the shadow (41-42); to find arcs of the right and oblique ascension corresponding to the several signs of the ecliptic (42-45); the sun's longitude and the time being known, to find the point of the ecliptic which is upon the horizon (46-48); the sun's longitude and the hour-angle being known, to find the point of the ecliptic which is upon the meridian (49); determination of time by means of this data (50-51).

In this passage it should be noticed that the principles of dialling and finding out cardinal points by means of a gnomon are described in detail.

In the *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta also there is an entire chapter (XIX) of twenty verses dealing with the principles of gnomon and shadow (*Śānku-cchāyādi-jñānādhyāya*) but not in so much detail as in the *Sūrya-siddhānata*; besides Brahmagupta makes use of lamp-light in place of the sun's. In the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarācārya there is a chapter (XI) named *Chāyā-vyavahāra* which deaes in ten verses with the determination of shadow, *i. e.*, its measurement by means of gnomon : herein also the lamp-light is used (Part II, Chap. II, Section 4).

In the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* of Varāha-mihira there are two chapters (II. 10-13; XIV. 1-11, 14-22) which refer to the subject of shadow and gnomon.

The *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* (VII. 36-39) refers to the "rules for resolving the questions on directions by means of a gnomon,"

Of all the architectural treatises the *Mānasāra* (VI. 1-120) deals with the subject most exhaustively, of which details are discussed later on. Next comes the *Mayamata* which, as a summary of the *Mānasāra*, gives a synopsis in the same sixth chapter but only in 28 verses, and leaves out all the difficult passages referred to later on although a passing reference is made (VI. 11-13) to *apacchāyā*[1]. In the *Śilpa-ratna* of Śrīkumāra there is a chapter (XI. 1-22) named *Dik-pariccheda* which deals with the subject of finding out cardinal points by means of a gnomon but has no reference to *apacchāyā*[2]. Another treatise named *Kāśyapa-śilpam* which also deals with the subject (I. 60-70) and refers too briefly in a single line (65) to the matter of *apacchāyā*. A scanty reference to the finding of cardinal points by means of a gnomon is made in a pamphlet named *Vāstu-vidyā* (III. 7-10). A still more scanty reference to the subject is met with in another pamphlet entitled *Manuṣyālaya-candrikā* (II. 1-4).

The subject of finding out cardinal 'winds' and especially of dialling are very elaborately described in the treatise of Vitruvius (Book I, Chap, VI; Book IX. Chap. IV, VIII, IX). But there is no reference in this standard architectural treatise of the Romans to the finer calculation and the most accurate determination of the cardinal points which are discussed in great detail in the *Mānasāra*[3].

The mode ordinarily adopted appears to be common in all the authorities quoted above and simple if absolute accuracy and precision be not taken into consideration. As stated in the *Mānasāra* and several other architectural and

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1. See pp. 8—9
2. Which is considered in order to correct the declination of the shadow (see p. 8—9)
3. See pp. 8—9.

astronomical works a gnomon is made of wood and measures generally 24, 18 or 12 angulas in length, 6, 5 or 4 angulas at the base and 2, 1 or $\frac{3}{4}$ angulas at the top which is shaped like an umbrella. In the selected spot it is fixed on a piece of ground levelled with the help of water. Then a circle is described from the bottom of the gnomon with twice the length of the gnomon as radius. Two points are marked on the circumference of the circle, when the shadow of the gnomon meets it before and after noon[1]. The straight line joining these two points is *roughly* taken to be the east-west line. The line which bisects this east-west line (at right angles) would be necessarily the *rough* north-south line. The bisecting is done as is usual in geometry. With each end of the east-west line as centre and the length of the line as radius two circles are drawn, which intersect each other at two points forming a fish-like common segment; the straight line joining these intersecting points bisects the east-west line at right angles, and would pass through the centre of the bottom of the gnomon and be the north-south line. The intermediate quarters are found in the same way by constructing the fish between the points of the determined quarters [2].

1. When the radius of the horizontal circle is double the gnomon, the shadow touches the circle at h hours before noon and again at h hours after noon, where the value of h is given by the following table:

Table of value of h for two places at various times of the year.

	22nd. June. h m	March 21 and Sep 23. h m	Dec. 2 h m
(North India) Ujjain (latitude 23°)	4 - 37	4 4	2 58
(South India) Canjeveram (lat 13°)	4 26	4 11	3 32

2. Vitruvius also adopted a similar mode to find out, as he says, the eight directions of the winds:

"To find and lay down their situation we proceed as follows: let a marble slab be fixed level in the centre of the space enclosed by the walls, or let the ground be smoothed or levelled, so that the slab may not be necessary. In the centre of this plane, for the purpose of marking the shadow correctly, a brazen gnomon must be erected. The shadow cast by the gnomon is to be marked about the fifth anti-meridianal hour, and the extreme point of the shadow accurately determined. From the central point of the space whereon the gnomon stands, as a centre, with a distance equal to the length of the shadow just observed, describe a circle. After the sun has passed the meridian, watch the shadow which the gnomon continues to cast till the moment when its extremity again touches the circle which has been described. From the two points thus obtained in the circumference of the circle describe two arcs intersecting each other, and through their intersection and the centre of the circle first described draw a line to its extremity: this line will indicate the north and south points. One-sixteenth part of the circumference of the whole circle is to be set out to the right and left of the north and south points, and drawing lines from the points thus obtained to the centre of the circle, we have one-eighth part of the circumference for the region (of the north, and another eighth part for the region) of the south. Divide the remainders of the circumference on each side into three equal parts, and the divisions or regions of eight winds will be then obtained". (Book I. Chap. VI p. 22-23). This is further illustrated by diagrams (pp. 25-26). See Fig. I (enclosed herewith).

It is obvious that if the east and west points be not accurately found out the other points of the compass determined as they are on the basis of the east and west points can never be precise. The inaccuracy in the precise determination of the east and west points is caused by the variation of the shadow owing to the change of declination of the sun during the interval between the two instants when the shadows are observed.

For the purpose of rectifying the inevitable variation of the shadow no specific rules appear to have been laid down in any of the numerous astronomical and architectural treatises except in the Mānasāra and *Mayamata* which is but a summary of the *Mānasāra* ; and also perhaps in *Kāśyapa Śilpam* ; Vitruvius also does not seem to have elucidated the matter in his usual way. But the subject has been most elaborately treated in the *Mānasāra* of all these authorities with a curious similarity with the treatise of Vitruvius in respect of obscurity also on certain essential points. According to the *Mānasāra* the due east-west line can only be determined precisely by leaving out *apacchāyā* in finding out east and west points[1]. An exhaustive calculation of the *apacchāyā* is added. It is stated that the *apacchāyā* is two angulas in the first ten days of the month of Meṣa (March and April), one angula in the second ten days and none in the last ten days; in the month of Vṛṣabha (April and May) it is zero, one and two angulas in the first, second and in the last ten days respectively ; in the month of Mithuna (May and june) two, three, and four angulas in the first, second, and

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2, Manasara VI. 50-76,

last ten days respectively ; in the month of Kulīra (June and July) four, three and two angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Siṃha July and August) two, one and zero angula in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Kanyā (August and September) zero, one and two angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively; in the month of Tulā (September and October) two, three and four angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Vṛścika (October and November) four, five and six angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Dhanuṣ (November and December) six, seven and eight angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Makara (December and January) eight, seven and six angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Kumbha (January and February) six, five and four angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively ; in the month of Mīna (Feburary and March) four, three and two angulas in the first, second and last ten days respectively[1].

1. In other words the following is the scheme of variation.

	First ten days.	second ten days	Last ten days
Mesha	2	1	0
Vrisha	0	1	2
Mithuna	2	3	4
Karkata	4	3	2
Simha	2	1	0
Kanya	0	1	2
Tula	2	3	4
Vrischika	4	5	6
Dhanus	6	7	8
Makara	8	7	6
Kumbha	6	5	4
Mina	4	3	2

From the context (see p. 16) it would appear that these are not absolute measures in *angula or ¾ inch.* but *merely* proportions being so many parts of the length of the gnomon which is divided into 96 parts and which is half of the shadow. (see foot-note 1).

Vitruvius is vague on this point ; he simply says (Book IX, Chap. VIII) that the principles of dialling and the explanation of the increase and decrease of the days in the different months have been borrowed from the doctrines of the philosophers and adds this ; " The sun at the times of the equinoxes, that is when he is in Aries or Libra, casts *a shadow* in the latitude of Rome equal to *eight-ninths of the length of the gnomon.* At Athens the length of the shadow is three-fourths of that of the gnomon. At Rhodes five sevenths, at Tarentum nine-elevenths ; at Alexandria three-fifths ; and thus at all other places the shadow of the gnomon at equinoxes naturally differs Hence in whatever place a dial is to be erected, we must first obtain the equinoctial shadow" (Gwilts's Translation. p. 220)

It should be noted that the lengths of the shadow at different places or latitudes are not specified in the Manasara or any other Indian treatises referred to above.

As to why there is no *apacchāyā* is stated in a passage[1] which literally rendered amounts to this: 'The occassions as has been stated (by the ancients) when there is no *apacchāyā* will now be further specified here; in the aforesaid solar zodiac in Kanyā (August and September) and Vṛṣabha (April and May) during the other (*i.e.*, last) twenty days should there happen to be a constellation (which are assigned to the sixth and second zodiacs) the aforesaid (measures in) angulas (of apacchāyā) should be taken as nil (*i.e.*, should not be considered); knowing this he (architect) should use the cord (to find out the cardinal points); in these solar months even if those constellations take place (only) occassionally it (shadow) should be left out (*i.e.*, not taken into consideration), (because) the sages have allowed discretion to accept or reject in case of doubt (to the extent of) ten angulas[2].'

The difficulties in correctly applying the rules of the *Mānasāra* lie in two things, namely, the connotation of the term '*apacchāyā*' which was exactly meant by the author, and the actual process of subtraction of the *apacchāyā* presumably from the *chāyā* or shadow of the gnomon.

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1. अपच्छायं (या) तत्र नास्ति यदुक्तं तदिहोच्यते ।
   प्रागुक्तरविराश्यां तु कन्यायां वृषभस्थितम् ॥
   अपरे विंशतिदिने तत्तदृक्षं भवेद्यदि ।
   उक्ताङ्गुलं तत्र नास्ति सूत्रं ज्ञात्वा प्रसारयेत् ॥
   राश्यां युतं (ऋक्षयुतौ) रवेर्मासं (सौ) प्रोक्तापिच्च च परित्यजेत् ।
   ऊहापोहाप्यरक्षादि दशाङ्गुलं न्यत्र स्तं) सूरिभिः ।

2. The rendering of the last two lines is but provisional and has a grave objection, namely, when the maximum correction can be only eight it would be useless to allow to exercise discretion to the extent of ten, although instances of such an incongruity are not rare in the *Manasara* and other texts.

The term *apacchāyā* is obviously derived from *chāyā* which is unquestionably used throughout Sanskrit literature and the vernaculars descended from it in the sense of 'shadow' ordinarily meaning the dark cone projected from a planet or satellite on the side opposite to the sun; the artificial light and its shadow being similarly formed. In the well-known dictionaries[1] the term *apacchāyā* is stated to mean simply 'light or dim shadow' which in astronomical language may be rendered by penumbra *i. e.* a partial or lighter shadow formed *all* round the perfect or darker shadow. Taken in this sense the *apacchāyā* formed all round the *chāyā* of the gnomon can never be measured in angula with any scientific precision as no accurate line could be drawn between umbra and penumbra to show their demarcation and consequently it cannot be subtracted from the shadow, either from beyond the length or side of its extreme point meeting the circumference of the circle.

Another possible meaning of the term *apaçchāyā* would be the shadow which is displaced or wrongly placed *i. e.* which is not in its correct place. This sense of the term which is grammatically possible, is not, however, distinctly mentioned in the existing lexicographies probably because in this sense the term is not used in the literature which was accessible to the lexicographers. Despite its omission in general literature and the dictionaries based thereupon there is nothing against its being interpreted in this sense as a technical term of architecture if not also of astronomy. Taken to

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1. Cf. Monier Williams. p. Apte p. 105.

mean the deviated, declined, dislocated, displaced or false shadow, *apacchāyā*[1] may be left out in two different ways (see Fig. II and III) in accordance with its measures as specified in the *Mānasāra* if it were not against the established facts of astronomy. In fact Ram Raz seems to have such an interpretation in mind when he referred to the following passage of the *Sūrya-siddhānta* (without however giving any reference and thus baffling all attempts to trace it in any of the existing editions of the *Sūrya-siddhānta*):

"But, in consequence of the processional variation of the times of the shadow marked in the east and west of the circle, the difference in the sine of the declination between those times, being multiplied by the hypotenuse of the shadow at either of those times, and the product divided by the cosine of the latitude, the quotient will give the angulas; remove the western point so many angulas in the opposite quarter of the sun's declination, and the eastern point will become due east; or else, according as the sun is in the northern or southern solstice, the eastern point may be removed the same distance in that direction" This passage is elucidated by the help of an unnamed commentary:

"Having marked a point in the middle of a level piece of ground, from that point, and with a radius equal to the length of the shadow projected at the third *ghaṭikā* after the sun's rise, plus half of the diameter of the gnomon (because the shadow is measured from the circumference of the gnomon), let a circle be described, and in the centre

1. Cf. Apa-devata, apa-mrityu, apa-karma, *apa-karma*, apa-gati, etc. which also convey similar connotations.

of it let a *śaṅku* be erected, of twelve angulas in height and of the same diameter; mark points where the shadow falls before and after noon on the east and west of the circumference, then having computed the sines of the declination three *ghaṭikās* after the sun-rise, and three *ghaṭikās* before sun-set, multiply the difference between these two sines by the hypotenuse of the shadow at the third *ghaṭikā* after sun-rise, and the product being divided by the cosine of the latitude of the place, the quotient will give the angulas as their integral parts. Then remove the eastern point so many angulas etc. recording as the sun is in the south or north latitude, by this means all the points of the compass may be rectified[1] ".

In this case the *apacchāyā* appears to be measured from the *chāyā* by the circumference of the circle for all practical purposes, which shows the displacement (as in Fig. II). But in accepting *apacchāyā* in this sense the following are the grave objections:—

(*i*) The amount of the corrections given in the *Mānasāra* are too large, the maximum correction possible, on account

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1. Essay on the Architecture of the the Hindus, pp. 21-22.

This passage has also been quoted by Mr. A. V. T. Iyer in his *Indian Architecture* (*Vol I*, p. *92*) without either verifying its existence, presumably in some manuscript or reconciling it with the corresponding passages he himself has partially quoted from the *Manasara* and the *Mayamata* (pp. 80-86). But Mr. Ram Raz has frankly admitted his inability to explain the directions of the *Manasara* : " the portions of the manuscripts which are in my possesssion are so imperfect from the causes before noticed, that the whole taken together, conveys but a very imperfect idea of the subject treated on'' (ibid p. 19)

A similar admission has also been made in dealing with the principles of shadow by Dr. Thibaut in his effort to translate into English the *Pancha siddhantika* of Varahamihira (pp. 8, 77 etc. Translation) and Pt. Sudhakar Dvivedi who collaborated wiih Dr. Thibaut and wrote a Sanskrit commentary (p. 7 Text) but who occasionally passed over the difficulties with the remark that' no further elucidation is necessary as it is very simple, (P. 74, 7., etc.)

No mention of the *cpacchaya* is made in any of the numerous astronomical and architectural treatises (e. g. see pp. 2-4) which deal with all other principles of the shadow except in the Manasara and the Mayamata which is a mere summary of the Manasara and Kasyapa-silpam, and possibly in the untraced manuscript of the Surya-siddhanta wherefrom Ram Raz appears to have quoted.

of the change of declination of the sun in the interval between the morning observation and the after-noon one, being less than 1/300th part of the length of the gnomon, *i.e.*, less than 1/4 angula approximately, while in the *Mānasāra* it is stated to be 8 angulas (or even 10 angulas) in Makara[1].

(*ii*) The times when the correction is zero should be the solstices (June 21-22 and December 21-22), but it is not so in the *Mānasāra*,

(*iii*) The maximum corrections between the times when the correction is zero should be the same, but in the *Mānasāra* they are different[2].

If, on the other hand, the *apacchāyā* is to be subtracted from the length of the shadow in the west or east (fig. III) an angula being taken to be the 96th. part of the gnomon, the following are the objections: –

(1) The times when the correction is zero should be the solstices (June 22 and December 22) but it is not so in the *Mānasāra* (see. p. 9)

(2) The maximum corrections between the times when the correction is zero should be the same, but in the *Mānasāra* they are different.

(3) The real correction throughout the year will differ from that given in the *Mānasāra* (see above).

The actual mode of correction as given in the *Mānasāra* is also confusing. It is stated that the length of the gnomon should be divided into ninety-six parts, and of

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1. See p. 420, foot note.
2. See p. 420. Thus one maximum which occurs in the beginning of Vriscika is of 4 angulas and the other which occurs in the beginning of Makara is of 8 angulas; but these two should have been equal

these parts the *apacchāyā* should be left out and (the correct) east (point) should be (thus) found out; and this is followed by the measures of the *apacchāyā* in different months[1].

Again it is stated in a passage which may be literally rendered as follows:—

"The aforesaid angulas should be marked in the shadow to the left and right of the centre; what is left after deducting these angulas would give the correct (*i. e.*, due) east line. In the shadow facing the east-left the left (—point) should be marked. (In the shadow moving to the east in the left point should be marked; thereafter moving towards the west opposite the right *i. e.* left, the right point should be marked); and the artchitect should leave out the *apacchāyā* and draw the east-west line. By taking (the cord) through the north direction towords the east region (thus) the extension of the fish should be made and the angula point should be marked in front; the door (entrance) of the fish (*i. e.* points) of intersection should be marked to the south and north of that line; the line drawn joining the head and tail of the fish is the north-south line; the point should be marked by moving

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1. शंकायामषडाधिश्यनवत्यंशविभाजिते । तत्रत्यांशेनापच्छायां त्यक्त्वा प्राचीं नयेत्तत: ॥
कन्यावृषभमासौ च श्र (नयोर) पच्छाया न विद्यते । मेषे च मिथुने चैव तुलासिंहचतुष्टये ॥
एवं हि द्वयङ्गुलं न्यस्तं वृश्चिकाषाढमीनयो: (नेषु । चतुरङ्गुलं प्रकर्तव्यं धनु:कुम्भौ म्भयो:)
षडङ्गुलम् ॥
मकरेऽष्टाङ्गुलं प्रोक्ते (क्ता) मव (द्व्यप) च्छायां (या विशेषत:। ऊह्मापोह्मारण्यरक्षादि-
दशाङ्गुलं न्यत्र स्तं) सूरिभि: ॥

the cord up to the circular orb (circumference[1])". The intermediate quarters are stated to be found out thus: 'the angula is marked to the north of the point of the east angula (already) marked and the north-east line is drawn from the point (extending) up to the west[2]'.

The importance of a correct solution of the difficulties can hardly be exaggerated. the issue is clear and the responsibility is great. Seemingly the findings and clear statements of our astronomical and architectural standard authorities (*e. g.* the *Mānasāra*) are at variance with the established facts of modern astronomy. If no proper solution be found, there is a danger of these ancient authorities being held as erroneous and misleading.

Any suggestions which would contribute to a solution of the difficulties will be gratefully acknowledged and will serve a great purpose.

छायायां बिन्दुं वामे (तु) वा दक्षिणे चोक्ताङ्गुलं न्यसेत्। अङ्गुलान्ते तु यच्छुद्धं प्राचीसूत्रं प्रयोजयेत् ॥

1. (Then in two lines it is stated that winter solstice begins in December 21-22 and summer solstice in June 21-22).

छायाया अभिमुखे प्रत्यग् वामे वामं न्यसेद् ते (न्यसदेत:)। पूर्वं च दक्षिणे नीत्वा प्रत्यग्वामाङ्गुलान्यसेत् ॥

अपच्छायां त्यजेच्छिल्पी प्राक् प्रत्यक् सूत्र(त्रं)विन्यसेत्। तत्सूत्रात्पूर्वदिग्देशे नीत्वा चोत्तरतो दिशि॥

एवं मीनाविवृद्धिःस्यात्पुरतोऽअङ्गुल मेवच। तत्सूत्राद्दक्षिणे सौम्यं (म्ये)तस्य द्वारं प्रकल्पयेत् मत्स्यपुच्छानने न्यस्तं सूत्रं स्याद्दक्षिणोत्तरम् ॥ मणुलावधिदेशेतु नीत्वा सूत्रा (त्रम्) ङ्गुलं न्यसेत् ॥

2. शुद्ध प्राची भवत्सम्यगैशान्या प्राच्य चोच्यते।

प्राच्याङ्गुलवृताद्बिन्दोरुत्तरे चाङ्गुलं न्यसेत् ॥

प्रतीचीमात्रताद्बिन्दोराशि प्राची (चा) प्रसूत्रयेत् ॥

THE EARLY MIGRATION OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE TO INDO-CHINA AND THE EAST INDIES.

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1. Introduction.

It is almost a trite observation that India has been from times immemorial carrying on peaceful intercourse, both political and commercial, with the nations of antiquity in the East as well as in the West. There is good reason to believe that the connection with the West had subsisted from the very earliest period of the history of humanity[1]. Evidence is strong of an ancient and flourishing trade between India and the nations in the East, as is testified by the early importation of Chinese silk into India[2]. It has been also a well-nigh established fact that the people of South India had a very large part to play in this maritime trade. Roughly, it may be said that, as North India kept alive the political contact with foreign nations through the ages of the history of our country, the people of the South were mainly responsible for her commercial and industrial prosperity which was fostered by the long and tedious voyages which the enterprising and sea-faring South Indian undertook from very early times. It is now obvious that India both 'gave' and took'. Indian influences flowed into foreign lands as foreign influences freely migrated into India. This resulted in making Hindu culture, as we have it developed in the early centuries of the Christian era, composite and comprehensive, as it led to the foundation of a 'Greater India' beyond the seas.

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1. Perry: *Children of the Sun*, P. 560. The discoveries made at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa prove clearly the existence of commerce between India and the west at least from 3000 B. C.

2. *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea, para 56, P. 222.

2. The Points of Contact.

The Dravidians of South India played the most important part in this pre-historic navigation and colonization of foreign lands. Indian trade with the West was chiefly carried on in places on the west coast of India—Barbaricum, Barygaza and Malabar. Our authorities are agreed that of these centres, the Malabar Coast afforded the most convenient landing-place for ships; and it was the most important and the safest destination for boats that were bound to India. The Dravidians of the west coast were the carriers of the commerce between India and the Western world. The commercial centres on the east coast that served as rendezvous of this foreign commerce were the sea-port towns on the coasts of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, such as Korkai; Kāveripaṭṭaṇam, the Chola capital; the harbour at Mahābalipuram, where to-day stand the *rathas* of the Pāṇḍava brothers, that facing boldly on the sea tell the ever-lasting fame of the architecture of the Pallava race; the seaport towns far to the North, as modern Vizagapatam and Masulipatam and the coastal towns of Orissa and South Bengal.

One of the most remarkable features in the evolution of Indian culture is, as I have shown elsewhere, that it is not merely a composite culture, the result of the blend of the various streams in India[1], but it is capable of assimilating what was considered as remakable in the culture of foreign peoples, and imparting to outsiders what was the kernel of her culture and the glory of her civilzation. In this way was laid the foundation of the greater India in lands over the seas. The influence of her culture spread

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1. See my book '*Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture*,' in Trubner's Oriental Series.

over Serindia and distant Java and Indo-China in the East. I propose in this short paper to present some of the outstanding features of the contribution of South India in the making of this culture of Greater India. The subject is very vast and comprehensive, and one could only chalk out the main lines of research, that might stimulate further and more elaborate study of the subject.

"From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pāli language in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments of the Hindu style and employing Brahmin priests at the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the court and the state[1]". What exactly is the part played by the states in South India in the imparting of this Indian culture to these foreign peoples is the theme of this short article.

3. The work of Agastya.

One of the sages of early India, who took upon themselve the voluntary and irksome duty of "Aryanising" the un-Aryans[2] was the great Agastya, the 'short' *ṛṣi* of magical charm, the *guru* of the Asuras in Indian literature. He is the *muni* of the South, and was mainly responsible, as the tradition and the folklore of this part of India go to show, for the cultural institutions of South India in pre-historic times, based on the Aryan model[3]. He was perhaps the author of a grand scheme of colonization, as the various relics in Indo-China and Java appearing in

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1. Geraini on Ptolemey's Geography. P. 122.
2. See Missionary work in *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture op. cit.*
3. The introduction of Aryan institutions into South India is attributed to the sage Agastya in Tamil works,

connection with his name seem distinctly to prove. Even in the *Akitta Jātaka* of the *Jātaka* tales, this sage is said to have migrated from south India to *Kāra dvīpa*, which I would identify with the *Kālakam* in the *Śangam* literature of the *Paṭṭinappālai*[1]. This island is included in the territory of the king of Zabej, which is perhaps identical with Śrī Bhoja, the same as modern Celebes, the Zabej of Suleiman. This connection of Agastya with the East is commemorated in the figures of a 'deity', which are frequently met with in the East Indies, and which, Sir Walter Elliot says, are peculiar to Javanese Hinduism[2]. The figure that is referred to is represented as an elderly bearded man wearing a richly ornamented costume. This image of *'Bhaṭāra Guru'* or *'Mahāguru'* installed in the shrines, according to Elliot, is due to Chinese influence. 'Though *Bhaṭāra Guru* is an aspect of Śiva, he is a sufficiently distinct personality to have a shrine of his own like Gaṇeśa and Durgā, in temples where the principal image of Śiva is of another kind.' Obviously, this figure is of uncommon occurrence in South Indian temples. The image is not of a God, as there is reference in connection with it distinctly to *'Mahāguru'*............. 'the great teacher'. Mr. Gangoli identifies the images with those of Agastya[3]. Elliot has some difficulty in regard to the identification of this figure, and it seems to me that it will disappear with this conclusion. Why he is called *Bhaṭāra Guru* will also become apparent, if we take in this connection the fact that in tradition Agastya is looked upon as a 'Śaivite' who was carrying on missionary

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1. Mahamahopadhya V. Swaminatha Iyer Ed. P. 294; il 187—191.
2. Hinduism and Buddhism, III P. 179.
3. *Rupam* for 1926, Agastya, the grand coloniser',

work among the non-Aryan peoples. From the inscriptions of Malabar we find the *Bhaṭāra* was a word used in that district to denote the god Śiva.

4. The Evidence of Tradition and Epigraphy.

Indo-Chinese inscriptions, architecture and religious traditions disclose the close connection between South India and the countries in the Fast. Ligor, one of the provinces of Indo-China is supposed to have been founded in the traditions of the country by one Dantakumāra, a fugitive from the Godāvari district, who got ship-wrecked off the coast of the Malay peninsula in his voyage of enterprise.[1] The kingdom of Champā is divided into three provinces each of which was prominent at some period of the hist ory of Indo-China : 1. Amarāvatī (Quang-nam), the very name of which indicates a Dekhanese origin, from the great seat of the Āndhra empire in India. 2. (Bing-Dinh) and 3. Pāṇḍuranga (Panran) which also shows obviously connection with India, identical with the famous Vaiṣṇava shrine in the Bombay Presidency. Kauṭhāra was an important division of the last of these. The word is derived from Sanskrit, kuṭhāra meaning an 'axe', and it will be shown in the sequel that this division was so called because of the intimate connection of Paraśurām a of the Malabar tradition with the foundation of this district. It has been supposed by some 'Greater India' scholars that Champā has to be derived from Champā (Bhagalpur) in west Bengal. But as Elliot indicates,[2] there is evidence to show that the Chams of Champa were colonizers by sea, rather than immigrants into the country by the land-route. Rather, one

1. Gerini, op. cit. p. 107.
2. Hinduism and Buddhism III p. 145 f.

may be disposed to find some relation between 'Champā-pati' for whom a temple was dedicated in the ancient Chola capital, Kāverippaṭṭaṇam and the district of Champā in Indo-China.

The Hindu dynasty of Champā, according to the traditions prevalent in that country, was founded somewhere between 150 and 200 A. D. It was very probably founded by a ŚrīMāra, as the Vo-Canh inscription tells us. This epigraph was found inscribed on a block of granite in the village of Vo-Canh in the province of South Annam. Finot says[1], 'it is the oldest Indo-Chinese record', 'comparable indeed in many respects to the oldest inscription of Rudrādāman at Girnar......or to the contemporary inscriptions of Śātakarṇi Vāsiṣṭhīputra at Kanheri.' This inscription represents a stage 'which cannot possibly date later than the third century A. D., and it seems to have fairly closely followed the developments and even the temporary fashions in writing in Southern India'. The inscription runs as a gift of gold, silver, grains and other property by:

Śrī Mārarājakulavaṃśavibhūṣaṇena |
Śrī Māralokanṛpateḥ kulanandanena ||

The King Śrī Māra of this inscription is said to be the ornament of the clan and family of 'Śrī Māra Rāja'. He was the founder of the Hiudu dynasty of Champā. It is rather interesting to note that Māra was a title assumed generally by the members of the ruling family of the Pāṇḍyas in South India, and it is on the face of it, possible that at least the title of Māra for the King of Champā was borrowed from that of the Pāṇḍyas, who in those times were renowned for their capacity for good Government as

1. In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1925.

well as for their commercial prosperity. In this connection, another small fact seems to lend some weight to our conclusion. Among the traditions of Funan or Cambodia is mentioned an envoy, Su-Wu sent by Fan-Chan one of its kings to the King of India at about the year 240 A. D. The name of the latter appears as Mao-Lun. This word is rendered by Dr. Sylvain Levi as Muruṇḍa.[1] It seems that this Indo-Chinese word approximates in sound more to Māran than Muruṇḍa, as Levi would have us suppose. Especially, as during this time the Pāṇḍyas were having a fairly prosperous period of rule at Madura. It is apparent that the king to whom the embassy went was one of the Pāṇḍya Kings of the early *Sangam* epoch.

As regards the cultural origins of Cambodia, tradition ascribes to it a Malayan as well as an Indian origin. It is likely that influences flowed into this country both from the Southern Malay archipelago as well as from India direct. A comparative study of the habits, institutions and religious and social life of the people of Malay and Indo-China may warrant an assumption that the latter may have borrowed in some important respects from the former. It is believed among the people of Cambodia that the race was descended from *Kambu Svāyambhuva*, (Śiva) and his consort Merā or Pera. The kings of the country suppose that they were descended from a Brahmin Kauṇḍinya apparently from South India. Elliot says, 'it may be affirmed with some certainty that Kauṇḍinya started from Mahābalipuram'[2]. This Brahmin, so the tradition states, was addressed 'by a supernatural voice to go and reign in Funan'. He rejoiced at the vision, set sail

1. Journal Asiatique. Vol.
2. Elliot; Hinduism and Buddhism, III. p. 106.

to Indo-China, landed at the shores of the far-off seas, married a Nāga princess Somā, and was enthusiastically received as their king by the people of Funan. We have the name of Kauṇḍinya given variously as Hun-Hui, according to the annals of the Tsin dynasty, and Huntien in the Chi dynasty annals. It is stated that Kauṇḍinya came from Chi or Chio (?) before 265 A. D., or by another account in 400 A. D. If we take the word to be Huṇṭian it would no doubt be suggestive of 'Pāṇḍyan,, and it is possible that this first king of Camboja was closely related to the Pāṇḍya kingdom, though it cannot be ascertained in what way exactly. Especially, does this seem plausible, as according to the traditions prevalent in Indo-China and the East Indies, Kauṇḍinya is the originator of the civilization of Java, Champā and Camboja.

Coming next to Java, the native tradition in that island is to the effect that Brahmanism was introduced into the land by one Brahmin sage Tritreshtha, and that the colonists, most of them came from Kalinga and from Gujerat. That Gujerat was very intimately related to Java is apparent from an old Gujerati proverb which says, 'those who go to Java do not come back.'[1] Though this may indicate an aversion to Java, the contact of Gujerat and Java is obvious in the adage. The Hindu culture in Java is also attributed to one Kuṇḍagga (Kauṇḍinya). Three Sanskrit inscriptions found at East Borneo at Koete give a genealogical table to the following effect:

Kuṇḍagga
|
Aśva Varman
|
Mūla Varman

1. *Bom. Gaz.* I. pt. 1 for 1896; app. IV.

The last of the line is said in the epigraphs to have made donations to Brahmins for a sacrifice that they had performed. The inscriptions are, for this reason as well as for the sake of convenience known as the *Yūpa* (sacrificial post) inscriptions. Kern considers them to belong to the 5th century A. D. or earlier; while Vogel tells us that they are written in the South Indian Pallava characters.

To revert now to the inscriptions of Camboja. In the words of Elliot, the earliest Cambojan inscriptions date from the beginning of the 7th century A. D., and are written in an alphabet closely resembling that of the inscriptions in the temples of Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadkal in the Bijapur district [1]. They are composed in Sanskrit verse of a somewhat exuberant style, which revels in the commonplaces of Indian poetry. It is likely that colonists from the West, say Gujerat or Bijapur came to Mahābalipuram which was a great harbour, and from there took boats which should have taken them to the East.

The Takopa inscription in Java mentions the construction of a tank near a temple of the place, and this was left in the custody of a Committee known by the names, *Senāmukham*, *Maṇigrāmam* and *Chāpattār*. What these terms mean it is not easy to discover. The first perhaps refers to the commanders of the army, the word being either *Senā-mukha* or *Senā-mukhya*. *Maṇigrāmam* is in Malabar District society and folklore a commercial community of the west coast of India. The word *Chāpattār* is peculiar to Malabar. It is used in Malayālam literature to denote a body of people who have pledged themselves

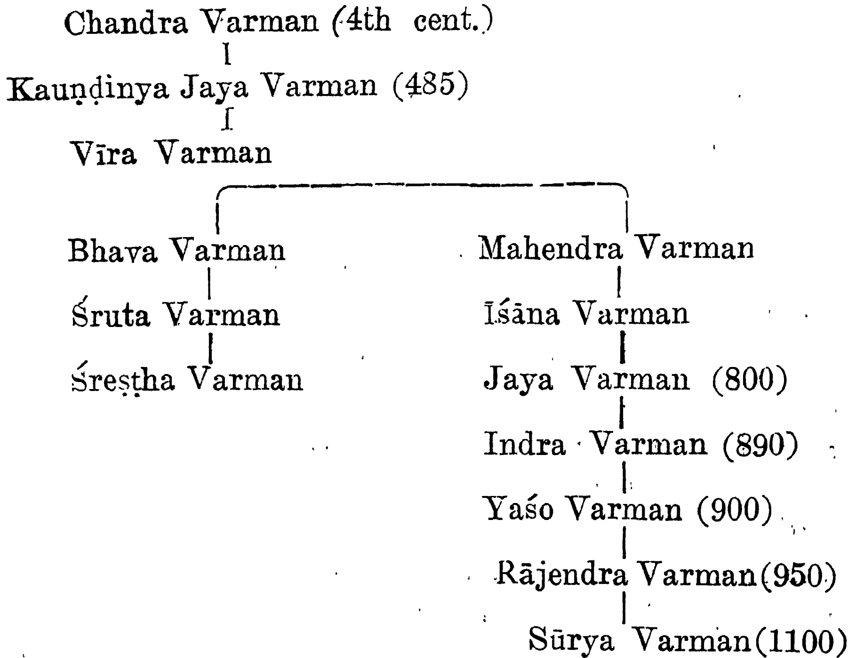
1. Elliot, III p. 106.

to the king's cause; men who would stand or fall with the king. Instances have been found of these *Sāpattārs* ascending the same funeral pyre that burnt the dead body of their ruler or chief. So much was their loyalty and fidelity. They were perhaps, the chosen body-gaurds of the king, *e. g.*, as we have in the case of the 'Slave-king' Altmash—the company of the chosen 40. The term is probably derivable from *Śapatham* (pledge). They are known as *Śāvattār* in Malabar.

5. *Some Minor Influences.*

Among other evidences of South Indian influences in the traditions of Indo-China may be mentioned certain practices prevalent in that country, *e. g.*, inheritance through the female line (compare, the *Marumakkattāyam* law in Malabar) by which rights to the property of the house pass to the nephew (*marumakan*) and not to the son (*makan*). This will be adverted to later. Kauṇḍinya Jaya Varman one of the kings of Funan is said to have sent to China a Buddhist preacher by name Nāgasena, who carried with him as gifts to be made to the king of the latter country, among other articles, an elephant carved in white sandal and two *stūpas* of ivory. Rudra Varman who succeeded Jaya Varman sent to the Chinese emperor an image of Buddha made of sandal-wood about the year 520 A. D. Similarly, it is mentioned that in a temple at Champā an image was found made of the same wood. Sandalwood and ivory are peculiarly South Indan products. Besides, there are place-names in these regions which correspond in sound or meaning to well-known sites in South India. This also seems to indicate the close relationship of the culture of these lands with that in the South India.

The kings of Indo-China from about the 5th century are seen to call themselves with the appellation 'Varman', and this may indicate a borrowing from the Pallavas of South India. Among the kings of Amarāvatī are found the following: Bhadra Varman (c. 400) : Śambhu Varman (590-630); Indra Varman (875-890); Siṃha Varman (1000) and Rudra Varman (1070). The following is a fairly full genealogy of the kings of Funan, all the names ending in *Varman*:



Some of these names look like having been borrowed from Pallava genealogy, and a few of them like the latter in India were great builders, *e. g.*, Indra Varma, Yaśo Varman and Rājendra Varman.

6. *Religious Beliefs and Practices.*

Coming to deal with the religious beliefs and practices we find that the religions of Buddhism and Brahmanism,

the latter in its two forms Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, as well Sāktism and Tāntrism of the Malabar or Nepalese type found favour with the kings and people of Indo-China and the East Indies. The order of the introduction of these religions is not easily fixed. But it would appear that the most favoured in Indo-China was Śaivism; while in the East Indies, in general, it may be said that Vaiṣṇavism was the first form to be adopted, and a little later, perhaps, it is seen to flourish side by side with Śaivism which got superimposed on the sister-faith in many parts of the country.[1]

All over Greater India in the East we find there was religious toleration to the same extent as was in evidence in the lands from where these religions were borrowed. As regards Buddhism, it seems that influences flowed both from China on the one side, and Ceylon on the other. What form of Buddhism found general favour with the people, it is hard to fix ; but the Buddhist beliefs and rites in the islands seem to warrant a conclusion that it was Buddhism of the *Mahāyāna* type that was prevalent in these countries. In some of these lands Buddhism preceded Brahanism ; while in others it was *vice-versa*. Fa-Hian speaks of Brahamanism flourishing in Java of his time.' I'tsing says that Brahmanism was imposed on Buddhism in Cambodia.

The introduction and progress of Buddhism in Java from South India and Ceylon is thus indicated in the Tamil epic *Manimekalai*;[2] The heroine Manimekalai is said to have proceeded to the shrine of Champāpati

1. Ibid, p. 178.
2. *Manimekhalai*, V. S. I ed. Bk XIV.

and later to Java, which had its capital at Nāgapuram. The king of the place was one Punyarāja, son of Bhūmichandra. He claimed descent from Indra and spoke a language closely allied to Tamil. The story of this king is thus given in the Tamil epic: 'Merchants who arrived by sea from Java complained of a famine in that land, because of draught ; and a despised Brahmin youth, Āputra by name, started on a voyage to Chāvakam to relieve the destress of the people there. But a storm drove his ship to the coast of Maṇipallavam (in North Ceylon). Āputra starves himself to death at Maṇipallavam, but is reborn at Chāvakam in the hermitage of one Manmukha. The king of Java, referred to as Bhūmichandra, was childless; he adopted this child, and Āputra in course of time became the king of Chāvakam. From the time of the birth of this prince the rains never failed, harvests had been plentiful and the people had never heard of famine or pestilence. This prince having heard of Manimekalai enquired as to her antecedents, and was told, there was none equal to this maid in all Jambūdvīpa. She was a nun of great piety and virtue that had come from Kāverippattaṇam, and possessed marvellous and miraculous powers'.[1] The king got under her influence a new vision of his previous birth, knew that he was only the adopted son of the late king, and therefore resolved on giving up the throne, to become a recluse and a disciple of the Buddhist nun. He took himself to Maṇipallavam, and learnt the Buddhist doctrines. After having mastered the tenets of the new faith he went back to his own kingdom, which he ruled over in peace there

1. Ibid, bk. XXV.

after. This 'Manimekhalai Tradition' seems to have taken a deep root in Java, and the name of the sea-goddess among the Javanese is Manimekalai, the same as we find among the Tamils of the *Śangam* period. It would look therefore as if it was the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism as it obtained in Ceylon that was first introduced into the East Indies.

As regards the introduction of Buddhism into Indo-China, Tārānātha says that it was introduced there by the disciples of Vasubandhu. This is perhaps borne out by an inscription at Srey Santhor which states that the Śāstra, *Madhyavibhāga* was introduced into the country by one Kīrtipaṇḍita. This *Madhyavibhāga* is apparently the same as the Madhyanta vibhāga, the author of which was the great Buddhist teacher Vasubandhu.

7. *The Gods of Indo-China and East Indies.*

The Gods of both religions,—Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism, were worshipped, and, in general, all the three religions find representation in temples and temple architecture as well as literature and daily religious observances. Among the Gods worshipped in Indo-China Śiva is mentioned as the most powerful. He is spoken as the 'Royal God' here as well as elsewhere, and is given the first place among the Gods worshipped. He appears as the 'supreme deity'. He is known by his various names, Hara Iśvara, Paśupati, Śankara, Śiva etc., and sometimes appears in conjunction with Viṣṇu as Śankaranārāyaṇa and Harihara. He is the most important of the Hindu 'Trinity', but in some cases his place is taken by the Buddha in the pantheon.

In Amarāvatī, one of the Indo-Chinese provinces, is a famous temple dedicated to this God. The origin of this

temple is thus given : ' According to tradition, the *linga* Bhadreśvara had been shaped by Siva himself, and handed over by him to the *ṛṣi* Bhṛgu who gave it over to Uroja, the founder of the royal dynasty of Champā'. It is noticeable in this connection that Bhṛgu and his son Bhārgava (Paraśurāma—the Rāma of the axe) were to some extent instrumental in the expansion of Indian culture in Indo-China and the East Indies.

But the kings of greater India were tolerant. Temples in Indo-China are 'tower-shaped, built of strong bricks, patiently and most artistically carved, and their inner recesses contain wonderful sculptures of gods and goddesses, not the least important among them, being some peculiarly South Indian : Śiva, Viṣṇu, Umā, Lakṣmī, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, and Nandī, Buddha and Lokeśvara,'. Three gods worshipped by the people of Champā are seen to be peculiary South Indian, *viz.*, Skanda or Subrahmaṇya, Śankaranārāyaṇa or Harihara and Śiva in his dancing posture as Naṭarāja. The word *Śāstā* appears as the name of one of the gods of Camobdia. Elliot is apparently uncertain about the derivation of the name, and says, Śāstā is one of the names of Bodhisattva along with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara[1]; it sounds like a title of *Śakya muni.* This identification does not seem to be correct. Śāstā or Dharma-Śāstā is the name under which Harihar or *Ayyappan* appears in Malabar. An inscription of Ang Pou reads thus and is in praise of Śāstā or Harihara :

Jayato jagatāṃ bhūtyai kṛtasandhī Harācyutau,
Pārvatīśrīpatitvena bhinnamūrtidharāvapi.

1. Elliot, III p. 120 f.

Which when translated will be, 'Victory be to Hara and Acyuta united into one for the welfare of the world, though they differ in their external form as the Lords of Pārvatī and Śrī'.

In the temple of Ankor-Wat are seen images dedicated to the gods of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. Along with Śiva images there are also Śakti images. We note however one peculiarity. The Buddha is seen included in a trinity of *Padmodbhava* (born of the lotus-Brahma), *Ambhojanetra* (lotus-eyed-Viṣṇu), and the Buddha. This is found in the place of the old and traditional classification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Buddha is therefore mentioned as identical with Śiva. This change may indicate one of two points. Śiva was not included because he was the 'Royal God', and therefore above all else; and the worship of the Buddha had become so prominent, that he was given the place occupied by Śiva.

One of the ports of Southern Annam, Natrang is towered by a brick shrine dedicated to Bhagavatī, and known under the name of Po-nagar. Very near the temple of this goddess is the Vo-Canh inscription. 'Bhagavatī,' Elliot says,'[1] 'was probably the creation of local fancy'. The Bhagavatī cult is peculiar in India to Malabar, and is said to have been introduced there by Bhārgava Paraśurāmā, who has the 'axe' as his favourite emblem. The district where the temple was situated was also known as Kauṭhāra, derived from *kuṭhāra* which means the axe. This corresponds to the epithet *Paraśurāma kṣetra* given to the Malabar coast where tradition tells us that temples numbering over a hundred were constructed for this

1. Ibid, p. 145.

goddess by this sage. Either Paraśurāma himself may have had a hand in the foundation of this temple of Bhagavatī; or the worship of the goddess in Indo-China was perhaps directly due to the religious influences that had flowed there from the Malabar Coast. Any way, there is little doubt that Paraśurāma was another of the Aryan *ṛṣis* who were responsible for the introduction of Indian cultural influences into Indo-China. This fact is attested by another circumstance, *viz.*, that the law-book that was found mostly in use among the Indo-Chinese was that of Bhārgava.

8. Some Other Peculiar South Indian Religious Features.

One other Dekhan feature that may be mentioned in connection with the gods worshipped in Greater India is, that, as in the case of the temples in West India (and some in South India also), the presiding deity in the temple is given the name of the monarch that was responsible for the construction of the temple to the god[1]. For example, the temple of Paṭṭadkal is that of Vijayeśvara, because it was built by the king Vijayāditya. We have examples of this practice both in Cambodia and Champā, in Indo-China and in Bāli in the island of Java.

To mention another feature. In the central shrine of the monumental temple at Ankor-Wat there is seen a figure of the Buddha, which to Elliot 'seems to be quite out of place'[2]. The temple of Ankor-Wat is a Hindu sanctuary, and apparently, the image of the Buddha was a superimposition by the Hīnayānists on a Hindu image. Some scholars have indeed held that the whole temple was at one time a

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. if.
2. Elliot, III, p. 135.

palace with a central throne on which in later times was seated the image of the Buddha. The Chinese pilgrim Chou Ta-Kuan thinks that it was a tomb of one of the kings. This, like the previous explanation seems fanciful and unnecessary. The point to be considered is, what may have been there in the place of the image of the Buddha wich is now found; was there anything at all? need there be anything? could it have been an empty seat?

The clue to the answer to these questions, I think, will be given by the 'empty throne which is also found in temples at Annam and Bāli. Scholars are agreed that it is only an 'empty throne' that is found in these places, and no doubts seem to be entertained in respect of this matter. Elliot says later,—and he is half-disposed to equate the two—'perhaps an empty throne such as is seen in the temples of Annam and Bāli would have been the best symbol'. He does not, however offer us an explanation of the phenomenon[1]. The solution to these difficulties will be offered by the concept of the 'void', the secret of the etherial nothingness (*rahasya*) which is the main feature of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram in South India. It is a peculiar South Indian philosophical concept, for which there is nothing to correspond in the religious practices of North India or anywhere else. It seems to me that the 'empty throne' is only the secret of the void, found in Chidambaram, to which the inquisitive and pious Hindu is led step by step. It is symbolical of the unfolding of the mystery of mysteries. The mystery of the 'empty throne' cannot be so easily solved by any other explanation or interpretation.

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1. *Ibid*.

9. Priests and Worship in Temples.

Now, let us pass to a consideration of the priesthood in these lands. Who were the custodians of the religious practices, and the worshippers in these temples? Obviously, they must correspond to the religions that were in vogue. One can reasonably expect therefore both Brahmanical and Buddhist priests. According to Elliot's version of the description by the Chinese pilgrim Chou Ta-Kuan, the literati came under three heads; 1. Pan-Chi 2. The Bonzes (Ch'u-Ku) and 3. The Taoists (Pa-ssu-Wei)[1].

To deal first with the Buddhist priests and learned men of the order. They used to shave their heads and wear yellow robes, for these were the emblems of the Buddhist monastic order. They uncovered their right shoulder. The lower part of their body was covered with a skirt of yellow cloth (*kāṣāyam*). They walked bare-footed. Their temples contained inside only one image, exactly like the Buddha Śākya, which they called Po-Lai (Prah). This deity is clothed in red, and is ornamented with vermilion and blue. There are no drums, symbols or flags in these temples. The Bonzes take only one meal a day, but do not avoid fish and meat which are offered even to the image of the Buddha in worship. They abstain from wine. Their texts are all written on strips of palm-leaf. They are men of great wisdom, and are consulted by princes from time to time. The ways and habits of these seem to indicate that Buddhism as we have it in acceptance among them was not only of the Hinduised Mahāyāna type, but had lost much of its ancient simplicity and purity of character.

1. The account is taken from Elliot, p. 120f.

Next, to speak of the Pa-ssu-Wei. They are said to dress like everyone else, except that they wear on their heads a piece of red or white stuff[1]. Their temples are smaller than those of the Buddhists, for this form of Hinduism was less prosperous than Buddhism. Elloit affines it to Taoism, for these worship nothing but a block of stone, somewhat like the stone on the altar of the Sun-god in China. He does not know what gods they adore. They do not partake of the food of other people, or eat in public. They do not take wine. From this description it may be assumed that the Pa-ssu-Wei were the worshippers of the *liṅga*, and were religious men who were apparently adherents to the creed of the *Pāśupatas*.

Elliot says that he does not know whom the Pan-Chi worship, and what exactly the name stands for. They have no schools, and it is difficult to say what books they read. Their mode of dress resembles that of others in general; but they are seen to wear a white thread round their necks, which is their distinctive mark. They are said to attain to very high positions, Elliot surmises that Pan-Chi may stand for '*paṇḍita*'. But, if this identification were accepted, it would make the Pan-Chi a learned class, and not represent any religion, which the term is certainly intended to convey. Taking this suggestion it may at the most be stretched to mean (Brahmins)' '*paṇḍitas*' who worshipped, as the Smārta Brahmins do now both Śiva and Viṣṇu. It seems to me that it is possible that the word may suggest the Vaiṣṇavites who are the only religionists that will remain unrepresented, as Pa-ssu-Wei stands for the Pāśupatas, and Ch' u-Ku the Buddhist priests. In view of this fact and the close relationship in sound of the word

1f *Pujaris* of village gods and goddesses in South India.

Pan-Chi and the *āgama* known in India as the *Pāñcarātra,* one may lead oneself to the conclusion that the term stands for the Vaiṣṇava class of priests.

10. Architecture and Monuments.

It is not possible within the short compass of an article like this to deal in anything like a fair and full manner with the peculiarities of the art and architecture of Indo-China and Java; and therefore with the varied bearings of the temples and monuments of South India on those that are found in these lands. I shall be satisfied to touch only at the fringe of the subject here. We shall take for our examination a few of the outstanding temples.

Let us first take the Ankor-Wat. According to the opinion of accepted authorities on the subject, there are many features of architecture in this temple closely akin to the Dravidian or South Indian. The first is their pyramidal nature. The whole structure of the temple is more or less on the plan of the *gopuras* of South India, and besides, this temple, like many of the kind in Camboja, is built on the top of pyramids, consisting of a number of storeys, one leading up to another by a flight of steps. Elliot is disposed to see in this a contrast to the Dravidian pattern, with its 'mysterious halls', consisting normally of a number of structures on the same level. But those that have visited what are known as the 'hill temples' of South India, for example, the rock-temple at Trichinopoly, dedicated to Mātṛubhūteśvara or the one at Tirupparan-kunram, enshrining the diety, Subrahmaṇya will at once notice that the plans in the two cases are similar. The student of architecture will note in the case of this temple what has been mentioned as a defect of Dravidian archi-

tecture by writers of the type of Fergusson. It is that they contain a 'profusion of external ornament in high relief', which ceases to produce 'any effect proportionate to its elaboration', by its very 'multiplicity'[1]. The finding of this defect, it seems to me, is due to a want of sympathy and of a proper understanding of the symbolism of Indian art. Particularly will it be unmeaning and wanting in importance to observers who consider that 'the reliefs in the great corridors of Ankor are purely decorative,' and that the artist justly felt that so long a stretch of plain stone would be wearisome, and 'as decoration his work is successful.' It will be uncharitable to think, as Elliot does, that the Dravidian craftsman was led by no nobler motive than 'filling up space' in the work of art that he executed. Even if it be mere decorative filling in, the figures of birds and beasts, of plants and flowers are not made without a definite plan that will fall in a line with the national traits and artistic temperament of the people that created the art. It is the lack of understanding of this principle that makes Elliot wearied with the 'attempt to follow the battles of the Rāmāyaṇa or the churning of the sea' which becomes with him a 'tedious task'[2]. The balustrades and corridors of the temples in Cambodia contain pictures as well as sculptures of the scenes from the Epics of India, as do some of the Dravidian Temples. Example, the Cakrapāṇi temple at Kumbakonam or the temple of Mīnakṣī at Madura. Another feature of Ankor-Wat that is similar to that of the South Indian temple is the toleration of religions indicated by the sculptures in it.

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(1) Fregusson: Indian and Eastern Architecture, p.
(2) Elliot, III. p. 132 f.

'The decoration and cult of the Cambojan temples often makes it difficult to say to what dieties they were dedicated.' This feauture may be compared to that in the Dravidian temples, say of the Colas, where Vaiṣṇava symbols and images are met with in Śiva shrines and *vice versa*. This only reflects the spirit of tolerance and ecclecticism of the monarchs that caused their construction.

The monuments of Java and Bāli are perhaps better illustrative of the borrowing made by the East in the department of the architecture of its temples. In Bāli, temples have edifices which have the appearance of the South Indian *gopura*. The temples of the Dieng-Plateau have been considered by some to belong to the Cālukyan style, corresponding to the temples in Paṭṭadkal, Aihole etc., in West India, and the temples in Mysore territory, such as those at Belur and Halebīḍu. The style and plan of their construction would warrant rather their affinity to the Pallava style of temples, not of the rock-cut, but of the structural variety like the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. Especially in view of the fact that some of the temples on this plateaux were dedicated to the Pāṇḍava brothers (Compare the rock-temples in honour of the Pāṇḍavas at Mahābalipuram) on the style and pattern of the Pallavas of South India, it seems more plausible that these temples belong to the Pallava style rather than to the Cālukyan. Besides, the degree of toleration shown in the sculptures of these shrines seem to make them closer allies of South Indian (Cola or Pallava) than of the Dekhan temples. Temples dedicated to the Mahābhārata heroes, for example in the Dieng group contain many figures of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Panataran temple in East Java is a

three storied pyramid, containing reliefs from the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is dedicated to Śiva who is the chief God. It contains however, a good number of Vaiṣṇava sculptures. In the temple of Chandi Djago a Vaiṣṇavite King Viṣṇuvardhana is seen portrayed in the guise of the Buddha. The temple of Singasari which has three storeys is a rectangular building with five towers. It is a mixed temple of Śiva and Buddha deities. Similarly, the Śiva temple at Banon not far from Boro-Budur and the temple group of Prambanam with its eight structures are dedicated to all the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva and Nandī. In the words of Fergusson however[1] 'what these temples tell us is......that Java got her Hinduism from Telingana and the mouths of Krishna'.

Lastly, we come to the Buddhist temple at Boro-Budur. 'The fundamental formative idea of the Boro-Budur monument is that of a 'dagoba' with five procession paths[2].' It is a 'Vihāra' of seven storeys containing a good number of beautiful sculptures illustrative of the *Jātaka* and other tales of Buddhism. The central structures, the 72 dagobas contain in each of them a statue of the Buddha, and the various cells that go to make up the entire edifice have each a Buddha statuette numbering on the whole, 436. In the view of Fergusson, the 'style and character of its sculptures are nearly identical with those of the latest caves at Ajanta, and in the Western ghats, that they look as if they were executed by the same artists, and it is difficult to conceive of any great interval of time elapsing between the execution of the two[3].' Besides, the cells

1. Indian and Eastern Arch., p. 759.
2. Ibid, 643.
3. Ibid, 644.

of the Mahābalipuram example are here repeated on every phase, but essentially as niches.

This temple seems to have been built on the magnificent and sublime plan of the traditional and highly evolved charm of the 'Cakra', which is found in use in both tantric Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in connection with the worship of the Devī and Tārā. The worship of the Goddess through this instrument is most prevalent in Malabar in South India, and in Nepal and Kāśmīr in the North. Even to-day we have the reminiscense of this 'Śakti' worship in the common and well-known Malabar forms of *Īśvarī-sevā* or *Bhagavatī-sevā*, conducted in Hindu households during certain fixed seasons in the year. Śrī-Cakra which is the most common symbol used for the worship of the Devī appears in three developed forms. 1. *Meruprastāra*, 2. *Bhūmiprastāra* 3. *Kailāsaprastāra*. All these are more or less of the same efficacy for the *Upāsaka* (devotee), though there are certain differences in the detail of the figures, as well as in the formation and the location of the letters to be used in the various triangles that are formed in the *cakra*. The Śrī-Cakra and its variants are supposed to be symbolical of the inner and spiritual epitome of man's life.

The plan of the temple at Boro-Budur shows with some modifications the Śrī-Cakra of the *Meruprastāra* variety. It consists of heaps of buildings one adjacent to the other in one complete and unified form. The outer fringe of the temple appears as a circle, and inside this are structures, set one close to another so that whole pile of buildings presents the shape of a pyramid, or *ratha* with a peak or cluster of peaks at the top. Each of the domes

that go to make up the entire edifice presents to the outside view triangular sides. The whole shrine is seen to divide itself up into seven concentric circular groups. A bird's eye view of the temple shows a large number of what in Pallava architecture are known as '*rathas*', one placed on another in graded succession, according to dimensions and height. As the temple seems to have been built on the style of the Pallava architecture, like many others in Java, 'it has not radiating arches, pillars and large halls', which one should find if the temples were built in the usual Dravidian style of Colas.[1] Fergusson apparently misses the peculiarity of the Java monuments, and that is why we find the following remarks of his : 'The character of the sculptures, and the details of the ornamentation in cave 26 at Ajanta, and 17 at Nasik. . . . .and other places in the neighbourhood, are so nearly identical with what is found in the Java monument, that the identity of the workmen and workmanship is unmistakable'.[2] But he says, 'we have no monuments in that part of India to which we can point, that at all resembles Boro-Budur in design'. Therefore he is in some difficulty to explain his position. Hence we find him observe, 'it seems absurd however to suppose that so vast a community confined themselves to caves and caves only'. He seeks explanation by saying, 'they must have had structural buildings of some sort in their towns and elsewhere, but not one fragment of any such exists now'. It seems to me that the difficulty of Fergusson will vanish on the supposition that these monuments in Java were built on the pattern of

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1. Elliot, III. p. 170.
2. Fergusson, p. 660 f.

the Pallavas who have been builders in antiquity of both cave temples and structural temples somewhat based on the 'cave' variety.

11. Arts, Letters and Philosophy.

Now to say a word about the literature and philosophy of these lands. It has already been noted that the literati of Indo-China were classified under the Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite and Buddhist priests. Both Hindu and Buddhist works of religion and philosophy abound in the Malay peninsula. Themes from the Hindu epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* such as the fire-Ordeal of Sītā, the marriage of Arjuna (*Arjuna-vivāha), Bhārata-yuddha* etc. were in favour, besides Nītiśāstras, Dharmaśāstras, Tantra texts, Grammars, Dictionaries, and the Purāṇas, especially the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam. These were composed in the old literary language of the Javanese, which was commonly known as *Basa kavi* (Bhāṣā-kavi) or kavi, the language of poetry. There is abundant evidence of Tantrism in these lands, with its Devī, and the appurtenant mystic symbols, *vajra, ghaṇṭā, mudrā, maṇḍala, yantra* etc., all these being similar to the Tantra practices prevalent in Nepal and Malabar.

All their philosophy is supposed to have its beginning in the principle of *Advaya,* 'the primordial principle from which the world of phenomena is evolved'[1], in the *Kamahāyānikan,* a treatise on Mahāyāna. This is spoken of as the creator of the Buddha as well as the *Advayajñāna* (non-duality), This *Advaya* is obviously derived from the Advaita of Śaṅkara, which philosophy had its origin in Malabar, the birth-place of Śaṅkara.

1. Elliot. p. 172.

While dealing with Śaivism and the Śaiva priests, the Pa—ssu Wei, we had occasion to refer to the influence of the Pāśupatas on the religion of Indo-China. We read in some inscriptions at Sdok Kak Thom that a king Jayavarman of Cambodia summoned from Janapada?[1] a Brahmin Hiraṇyadāmā who was well-versed in *Siddha-vidyā* and elaborated the rules for the worship of the 'Royal God'. *Siddha-vidyā* may literary mean the learning of the sages. But, inasmuch as it dealt with the worship of the 'Royal god', Śiva, it seems to be a branch of Śaiva philosophy. This Hiraṇyadāmā is said to have taught the king's priest four treatises known as *Vrah vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha,* and *Śiraścheda.* These are apparently Saivite Tāntric texts. The king is then said to have ordered that 'only members of Śivakaivalya's family (that was the name given to the Śaiva priest) reckoned on the *mother's line,* men and women, should be *Yājakas* (sacrificers or worshippers) to the exclusion of others.'[2] Besides in an inscription of another king of Camboja we have it that 'the king was an adept in *Śaivottara kalpa*'.[3] All these seem to indicate that the Śaiva philosphy referred to may be the same as what in Tamil land is called *Śaiva Siddhānta.*

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1. Finot in Ind. Hist. Quart, Dec. 1925.
2. Elliot p. 114f.
3. Finot op. cit.

A SILVER COIN OF KING PRASANNAMĀTRA; THE GRANDFATHER OF KING SUDEVA RĀJA OF SARABHPUR.

Lochan Prasad Pandeya Sharma Kavya Vinoda, M. N. P. S., Bālpur, via Raigarh, C. P., B. N. Ry.

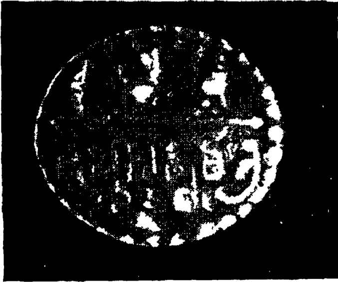
Legend in box-headed characters.

On Wednesday the 28th of September 1927, when the village of Bālpur was throbbing with joy over the advent of a 'Circus party', which was to entertain the eager rural population of the locality with the performances that night my favourite 'old madam' made her appearnce at about 3 P. M. and made me leap with joy by presenting to me a unique coin in the best condition of preservation. The coin as stated by the '*old madam*' a widow of over 60 years, belonging to the caste of gold-dust-washers known as Sonjharās or jharās, was found by her at Sālhepālī-a little village on the right bank of the Māndh (मान्ध) river, a tributary of the Mahānadī, while washing sand and earth for gold-dust. This Sālhepālī the find-spot of this coin is about 10 miles (N. W.) from Bālpur, my birth place, where numerous copper, silver and gold coins have been found, many of which belong to the Buddhist period. It is about 12 miles to the east from the village of Kirāri, where a wooden pillar with inscriptions on it in Brāhmī characters was unearthed in 1921. Sālhepālī is within the jurisdiction of the Rāigarh Feudatory State (Chhattisgarh C. P.) and it lies within 24 miles to S. E. from the *famous Singhanpur cave*; containing the *pre-historic rock paintings.* Opposite to it stands on the left bank of the Māndh river the important *village* of Tārāpur where punch-marked

PLATE No. 1.

A silver coin of Prasannamātra, grandfather of King Sudevarāja of Śarabhpur.

Obverse | *Reverse*





Cakra or discus — Figure of Garuḍa or Lakṣmi — Śankh or Conch

(blank)

Śri Prasannamātra
(in box-headed character)
Gadā or Mace.

Photos 4 times of the original coin.

coins of silver are found by the gold-washers, in a pool called the Masāna Kuṇḍa (a pool of water close to the burning ground). Rectangular copper coins of the type of *Eran coins* with figures of elephants and Svastikas on them are sometimes found in the beds of the Māndh and the Mahānadī rivers near about Sālhepālī. The "Chhattisgarh Historical and Research Society" of Bilaspur C. P. possesses a number of specimens of such coins.

Sālhepāli is about 20 miles to the N. E. from Sārangarh where a set of two copper plates of Sudevarāja was discovered about 50 years ago. These plates are still in possession of the present Ruling Chief of Sārangarh Feudatory State, Chhattisgarh C. P. and bear inscriptions in the box-headed Characters. I had an opportunity of examining these plates in 1924, and of taking impressions, one of which is enclosed with this.

The coin which I am going to describe is perfectly round and bears inscription and carvings on one side only. The other side is blank. The characters are box-headed, and as deciphered by me the legend reads.

श्री प्रसन्न मात्र

Śrī Prasanna mātra.

Its weight is 1½ māśā. In size it is a little bigger than our present day round 2 annas piece and a little smaller than our 4 annas silver bit.

As I had had occasions to make a study of the copper plates of Śarabhapura kings, it struck me at once on examining the coin that it must belong to a king of Śarabhapura.

The coin is of silver but there is a faint polish of gold all over and consequently it has a bit yellowish colour,

The entire coin can be divided into three parts. The upper part has three figures—on one side is a figure of a disc or wheel, on the other is the figure of a conch, while in the middle is the representation of what may be the *bust of a Garuḍa* or of the king or of goddess-Lakṣmī or Gaja Lakṣmī but there is an absence of the figures of elephants or of lotus-flowers which are found on the seals of Śarabhapura Kings, Mahāsudevarāja and Mahājayarājadeva (khariyār and Ārang plates).

The second or the middle part contains the legend "*Śrī Prasanna mātra,*" in one line. Just above the legend is a boldly drawn straight line. The third part contains the top of a mace at the bottom in the middle, straight below the figure of a supposed Garuḍa as will be seen in the photograph of the coin.

I have not yet come across any antiquated coin with figures of a disc and a conch on it. No doubt the seals of Tīvaradeva the supreme lord of Kosala are decorated with these figures. To quote Dr. Hultzsch "the seal of the Balodā (in Phuljhar Zamindārī, fromerly in the Sambalpur District and now in the Raipur District C. P.) plates of Tīvaradeva, bears in relief on a couutersunk surface across the centre a legend in two lines, at the bottom a floral device and at the top a figure of Garuḍa facing the front, *with a cakra on his proper right* and a *Śaṅkha on his proper left* (Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, No. 13)"

The alphabet of the legend is of the same box-headed type as in the legend of our present coin.

The Sarabhapura kings call themselves *Parama Bhāgavata* (परमभागवत) and were apparently worshippers of *God Viṣṇu.* So was the Supreme Lord of Koṣala Mahāśiva

Tīvarrāja whose charters describe him as *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* (परमवैष्णव). The adoption of the emblems is, therefore, quite in consonance with the faith they professed. As neither the texts of the copper plates nor the legends on the seals belonging to Śarabhapura kings, throw any light on the point of introducing their donor as lord or supreme lord of the Kosala country and as the characters of these records are of the same *box-headed type* as of those of Tīvaradeva, I am led to believe that these two dynasties of kings were ruling simultaneously during the period when the box-headed characters were in use in the Kosala (apparently mahā or southern Kosala) country. It is also quite probable that the *Śarabhapura* kings might have been vassals of Tīvararāja whose sons and grandsons were Harṣa Gupta, Bhava Gupta and Śiva Gupta. No coins of any kind belonging to Tīvaradeva or his descendants have yet come to light and hence we are not in a position to say with any amount of certainty that the present coin was in imitation of Tīvaradeva's coins. If the coins of Tīvara-deva contained the figures of a disc, a Garuḍa and a conch in the manner as these appear on his seals, it is quite probable that the Śarabhapura kings would have adopted these emblems of their sovereign lord and used them on their own coins. The seal of the Khariyār plates of king Sudevarāja is thus described:—

Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakṣmī facing full front, on each side of her, an elephant is standing on a water-lily with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded water-lily in the proper left corner a *Śaṅkha*. Below is given the legend in two lines in the box-headed character. The legend reads:—

प्रसन्नार्णवसम्भूतमानमात्रेन्दुजन्मनः ।
श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगति शासनम् ॥

"May this charter of Śrī Sudevarāja born of the moon-Mānamātra, who took his birth from the ocean of Prasanna endure in this world."

It is on the strength and authority of this legend that the following genealogy is made :—

Prasanna (mātra)
|
Mānamātra
|
Mahāsudevarāja

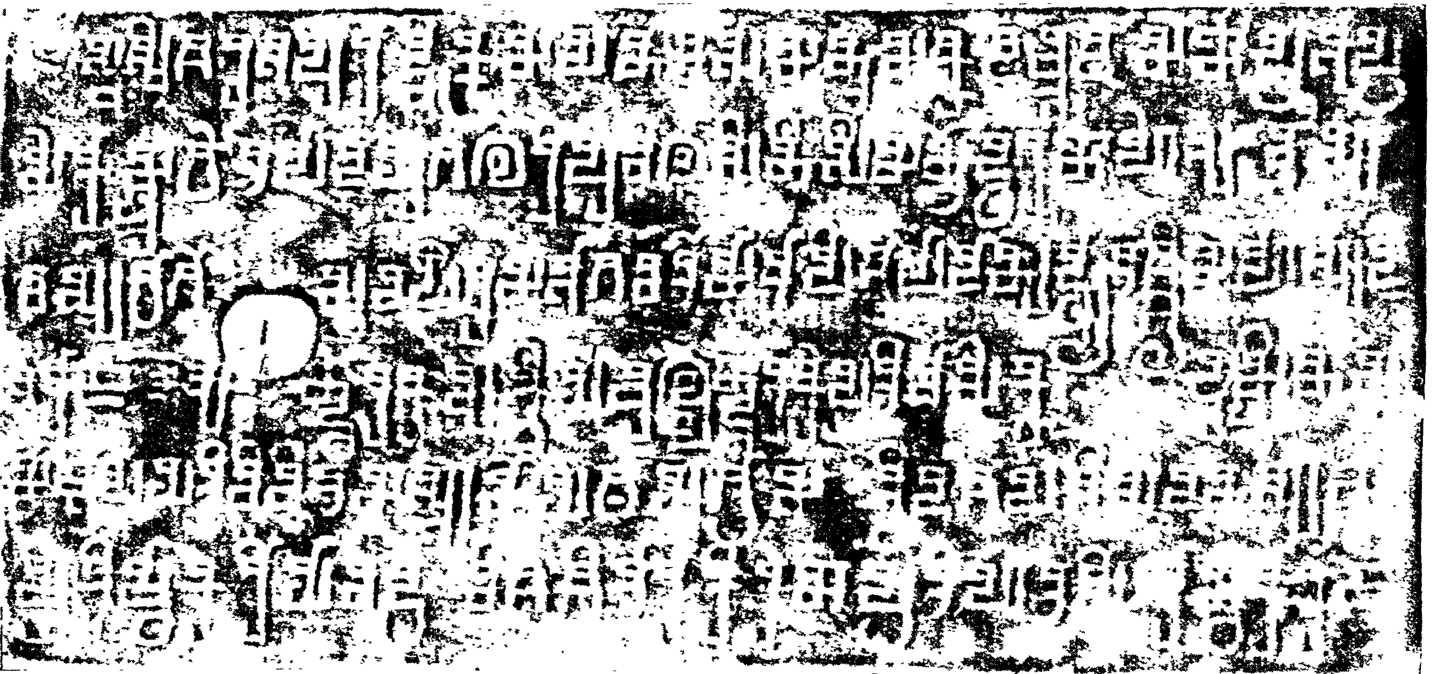
The discovery of our present coin confirms the statement of the seal and proves it with authenticity that *the full name of the grandfather of Mahāsudevāju was Prasannamātra.* In the absence of any specimen of a coin bearing inscription in the box-headed characters either in the British museum, London, or in different museums in India (Indian museum, Calcutta; Central museum, Nagpur, C. P.; Provincial Museum, Lucknow, U. P.; State Museum, Gwalior State; C. I. Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar and Orissa; and H. E. H. Nizam's Museum Hyderabad, Deccan) as I gather from enquiries made from authorities of those institutions, this find has an importance of its own as representing a unique coin hitherto unknown to scholars.

Śarabhapura was the capital of Mahāsudevarāja and Mahājayarājadeva. The charters of these two kings were issued from this town which still lies un-identified. The documents, the Khariyār (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 170) *Raipur** (Gupta-Inscriptions p. 196) and Sārangarh (Ep.

*A sketch replica of the Raipur plates is enclosed, but there is an absence of the figure of *Sankha* or conch which finds a place in the Khariyar seal.



A sketch replica of the seal attached to The Arang Plates of Mahājayarāja.



Sarangarh Plate of Sudevarāja. Transcript (1st plate—inner side).

1st Line. ॐ स्वस्ति शरमपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामन्त मकुट चूड़ामणि प्रभा प्र-
2nd Line. -सेकाम्बु धौत पादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनी सीमन्तोद्धरण हेतुर्व्वसु
3rd Line. वसुधा गोप्रद **परम भागवतो** माता पित्रिपादानुध्यात **श्री महा सुदे-**
4th Line. **व राजः** ॥ तुन्दारक भुक्तीय **चुल्जन्दारक** प्रति वासिकुटुम्बिनस्स
5th Line. माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्रामः त्रिदशपति सदन सुख
6th Line. प्रतिष्ठा करो यावद्रवि शशि ताराकिरण प्रतिहतमहान्धकारं ज(गत्)

Ind, Vol. IX p. 281) copper plates speak of King Mahāsudevarāja, while the fourth the Ārang copper plates (Gupta Inscriptions p. 191) speak of King Mahājayarāja†. All these four charters are dated in the regnal years of the donors. The find-spots of these documents Khariyār (Dist. Raipur C.P.) Raipur (C.P.), Sārangarh C.P. and Ārang (Dist. Raipur C. P.) all lie in the Chhattisgarh Division the old Mahākosala country. Adjoining the Raigarh State in which the village of Sālhepālī is situate, lies the Gangāpur‡ *Feudatory State* where there is a big Zamindārī by the name of *Śarabgarh* with its chief town or headquaters of the same name. Can this tract of *Śarabgarh* claim to be the present representative of the old kingdom of Śarabhapura of historical fame?

Before concluding I would like to acquaint the readers with the views of a famous scholar on the origin and growth of the box-headed type. I refer to Doctor G. Jouveau Dubreuil (Pondicherry) who writes in his " Ancient History of the Deccan " as follows:—

We have said when speaking of the copper plates of the Pallava dynasty, that palaeography was generally a bad auxiliary to the chronology of dynasties. Very often, two documents dated in the same reign differ much from each

†Mahajayarajadeva was the son of Prasannamatra, which fact is known from the legend found inscribed on the seal attached to a set of three copper plate charters recently discovered by me during my visit to Sripur the ancient capital of Mahakosal, in April 1929. The charters belong to king Mahajayarajadeva and like other charters of the same family were issued from Sarabhapur. The legend on the seal reads as follows:—

प्रसन्नतनयस्येदं विक्रमाक्रान्तविद्विषः ।

श्रीमतो जयराजस्य शासनं रिपुशासनम् ॥

A paper rubbing of the legend on the seal is enclosed. Prasnnamatra had at least two sons:—Mahajayaraja and Manamatra.

‡This Gangapur State was in the 16th century A. D. one of the 18 Garjats under the *Chauhan Maharajas* of Sambalpur-cum-Patna Kingdom. Now it is one of the important Feudatory States in Orissa.

other. However there is a special case to which I must draw the reader's attention. We know that in the middle of the 5th century A. D. the Gupta-Vākātakas were very powerful in the Deccan. I call Gupta Vākātakas those kings of the Vākātaka dynasty who were sons, grand-sons and great-grand-sons of queen *Prabhāvatī*, daughter of Deva gupta (Candra Gupta II). We know that this queen was the regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son; and the plates of Professor Patak (Ind. Ant. August, 1912 p. 215) which are dated in the time of this princess, bear on the seal not the genealogy of the Vākātakas but of the Guptas. The descendants of this queen considered themselves to be as much Guptas as Vākātakas. They adopted a very peculiar alphabet which spread as a queer fashion in the 5th century, in the empire of the Guptas at the time of Candra Gupta II. (Buhler " Ind. Ant. paleography " Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII p. 64). *This has been styled the " box headed" alphabet.* I distinguish two sorts of box placed at the head of the letters.

The " true box"; it is thus described by F. *Fleet* " formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them." (Gupta Inscriptions page 19).

The " false box"; is more simple; the sculptor or engraver has simply removed a sufficiently large square surface at the head of each lettter.

As an example of the true box, we may take the Bālāghāt plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 268) of Pṛthvīsena II and all the plates of Pravarasena II (Chammak, Siwani and Dudia).

When examining the Uruvupalli plates (see plates in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 51) which are dated from Palakhada in the 11th year of the reign of the Pallava king Siṃhavarman and which have been engraved by order of Yuvāmahārāja Viṣṇugopa, I made the important remark, which no one has done up to the present, that the alphabet of these documents was "box-headed"; nay more, it is not the "false box", but the "true box", so much so that these plates can be shown as an excellent specimen of the "true box".

Siṃhavarman and *Vṣiṇugopa* have reigned between 475 and 500 A. D. and the Ur-uvupalli plates are probably dated 486 A. D. The plates of Mangalur and Pikira of the son of *Viṣṇugopa* are not box-headed ; we may therefore, say that from 500 A. D. *the box method disappeared.* The same phenomenon is to be seen in the Kadamba documents; the plates of Mṛgeśa and Māndhātṛ are box—headed, but those of Ravivarman are not. There is room to think that Mṛgeśa and Māndhātṛ reigned from 475 to 500 A. D. and were contemporaries of Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopa ; and that Ravivaraman reigned after 500 A. D. when the *box-headed method* had disappeared from the Deccan.

To be brief Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil's researches and investigation reveal the fact that the age of the box-headed alphabet falls between IV and V *centuries* A. D.

The box-headed alphabet has been attributed to the 8th century A. D. by several scholars, which is undoubtedly open to criticism.

The Śirpur (Dist. Raipur C. P.) Lakṣmaṇa Temple stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, the grand nephew of *Mahā Śiva Tīvaradeva,* is not in the box-

headed characters. It is in the Nāgarī* alphabet of *Kuṭila type* attributable to the 8th. century A. D. The inscription is not dated and its age cannot be properly ascertained. The only inscriptional reference with regard to Śarabhapur kings is met with in the Eran (Dist Sagar C. P.) Posthumous stone pillar inscription of *Goparāja* which is dated in the Gupta year 191 (A. D. 510-511). Goparāja is stated in the inscription as the daughter's son of Śarabha king but the name of the Śarabha king is not given. I leave the question of fixing of the age of the box-headed characters to competent scholars.

VARAHAS OF KṚṢṆA DEVA RĀYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar M. A., Special Assistant, Govt: Museum, Madras.

Rev. Heras, S. J. has described a gold varāha of Śrī Pratāpa Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagara in Part I Vol. VII of the journal of Indian History (April 1928). Two incorrect statements have crept in—one regarding the publication of the coin and another about the identity of the figure found on the obverse. This paper is intended to contradict them and to describe the coinage of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

(1) He states that the coin in question has not yet been published, but similar coins have been figured and des-

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*The characters of the Laksman Temple stone inscription of Balarjuna Maha Siva Gupta closely resemble those of *Madhuban* plates of Hars (now in the Lucknow museum) granted in the year 25th of his reign. (Epi. Ind. Vol. VII p. 155)

cribed by several scholars. Their names and references to their works are noted below:—

Author and work	Reference
Wilson—Description of select coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society.	No. 88 89 on page 594 in the journal of Asiatic Researches Vol. 17.
Marsden—Oriental coins, ancient and modern.	Numismatic circular Part II No. 1070-1071.
Prinsep—Indian Antiquities Vol. II	No. 13 in plate XLV
Bidie—Pagoda or varaha coins of South	No. 12 (*a*) (*b*) in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. LI. Part I., 1883.
Elliot—Coins of South India.	Nos. 186 to 188.
Hultzsch—Coins of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.	Page 305, Indian Antiquary of Sept. 1891.

Jackson—The dominions, emblems and coins of the South Indian Dynasties.	Page 352-353 in the British Numismatic Journal 1912.

While seven scholars have taken the trouble to describe similar coins, it is a wonder how it is said that the coin has been unpublished hitherto.

(2) Rev. Heras first of all thought that the figure on the obverse might be a representation of the King Kṛṣṇa Rāya and finally concludes that it could not be as the figure does not agree with the description of Kṛṣṇa Rāya as found in other sources.

He then suggests that the figure might be a sanyāsī and states that King Kṛṣṇa Rāya had him seated on his throne for a while and concludes that this coin might have been issued to commemorate this event. He quotes some story to confirm his statement.

The kings of Vijayanagara never had their figure on their coins. They always had the figure of a deity except in the case of Acyuta Rāya who had the bird gaṇḍabheruṇḍa on the obverse. These deities were either Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite or both according to the religious beliefs of the kings who issued them. This is the case throughout. The figure therefore neither represents Kṛṣṇa Rāya nor any sanyāsī as stated by Rev. Heras.

This point is a matter of contest from the year 1832. Wilson took it as the representation of the Varāhāvatār of Viṣṇu; while Bidie, Marsden and Elliot have taken it to be the representation of the goddess Durgā (the bull headed consort of Śiva). But Dr. Hultzsch and Jackson

considered it as the figure of Viṣṇu himself, perhaps by the presence of the conch and disc and as Śrī Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was known throughout as an orthodox Śrī Vaiṣṇava.

The gold coinage of Kṛṣṇa Rāya consists of a double, single and half varāhas.

(1) The double varāha has on the,

Obverse.	Reverse.
Viṣṇu standing under an arch.	श्रीकृष्णराय

This is figured in No. 112 in Plate III by Elliot in his Coins of South India. Dr. Hultzsch was doubtful on account of the omission of the word प्रताप but this might have been issued during the early reign of the King and the title प्रताप might have been added when he began to conquer vast dominions to his kingdom.

(2) Single Varāha has got on the

Obverse.	Reverse.
(*a*) Śiva and Pārvatī seated	श्रीप्रतापकृष्णराय
(*b*) Durgā (seated figure with right leg folded and placed over the seat and the other folded and kept erect).	
(*c*) Lakṣmī seated with right leg hanging down and left leg folded and kept over the seat.	

(3) Half Varāha same as (*b*) and (*c*) of full varāhas.

The Madras Government Museum has got eleven full varāhas and thirteen half varāhas. Out of these eleven,

one is like 2 (*a*), and one full and half varāha are like 2 (*c*). This may be taken as Lakṣmī but from other features which are explained later, we have to take it as Durgā. The rest including all other half pagodas have all the seated figure 2 (*b*) which exactly resembles the one figured by Rev. Heras in his article.

Rev. Heras has described, " The obverse presents a nude figure of a man squatting on the ground. He wears no head-dress. His face is absolutely worn out. He has one bangle round each arm over the elbow. His right hand seems to be slightly raised up before his chest as if making a gesture, while the left arm rests upon the knee somewhat risen above the ground. Below the plank where this figure is squatting there is a line of drop-like ornamentation, suggesting the decoration of a throne. Something like this is to be seen on top behind the head of the figure. I could not make out the significance of these flourishes".

The following is the actual description of the figure 2 (*b*), as observed from the clear impressions on the coins that are in the Government Museum, Madras. A women-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and placed over the seat and left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported on the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone strung with beads is worn on the waist. A trident-like thing appears over the head and above it there are a series of dots from shoulder to shoulder, which may perhaps be to represent a rosary of Rudrākṣa beads. In some cases these dots extend from the disc on the right

side to the conch on the left. In the case of some coins there are no dots but a wavy line is put up over the head.

While such is the description of the figure, it is not understood how Rev. Heras determined that the figure is nude. Perhaps he has concluded this from the beads on the zone worn round the waist. To all appearances, a feminine figure is sitting on a pedestal and not a male figure on the ground as stated by Rev. Heras. It has got a head-dress as may be seen from the trident-like thing over the head. The right hand is holding a ball-like object and not raised as if making a gesture as stated by Rev. Heras. The pedestal over which the figure is seated is a *bhadrāsana* and not a throne as described by Rev. Heras. There is no *tridaṇḍa* (staff) on the coin to indicate that the figure is of a sanyāsi or ascetic.

The form as observed on these fourteen Coins may be divided into two classes. Firstly, those that have a trident-like thing on the head and a series of dots above and from shoulder to shoulder. Secondly those having a wavy line above the head. The form, dress and ornaments worn indicate that the form is feminine. It can never be said to be masculine. The position of the left leg is peculiar to Śākta deities. The ball-like thing in the right hand may be taken to represent the head of a human being which is usually carried by Durgā. The goddess Cāmuṇḍā found on Coins of Mysore has a ball-like thing in the right hand. The feminine features, the trident-like thing on the head, the conch and disc on either side, the series of dots which may represent rudrākṣa beads, all go to prove that the figure is no other than the goddess Durgā. It is from

this figure that these coins were known by the name of Durgi Pagodas.

It may be asked whether it would be compatible to have Durgā on his coins although Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was a staunch Śrī Vaiṣṇava. There is a historical fact to prove this. A golden image of Durgā was set up and worshipped as the guardian deity of the Fort of Vijayanagara ever since its origin and all prosperity to the Kingdom was believed to be due to this deity. The Kingdom of Vijayanagara was at its zenith during Kṛṣṇa Raya's time and it would be quite consistent to have this figure on his coins to respect the feeling that all prosperity was due to this Durgā. This Durgā image was handed over to Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madurā by King Acyuta Rāya, from which time the kingdom began to decline. This fact is found on page 14 of the Andhra Rajula Charitamu but it is stated that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya gave the image to Viśvanātha Nāyaka of Madurā. From further researches made in this direction it is learnt that it was Acyuta Rāya that gave the image to Viśvanātha Nāyaka and not Kṛṣṇa Rāya as stated in the Andhra Rajula Charitamu. This fact[1] is found in manuscripts Satyabhāmā Santavanamu by Kāmeśvara Kavi and in manuscript No. XXXII E of the Adayar Library, Madras which gives an account of the Nāyaka Kings of Madurā.

Therefore the figure in question is Durgā and not a sanyāsī as suggested by Rev. Heras.

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1. I am indebted to Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri, Telugu Pandit Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, for this information

GLIMPSES OF COCHIN HISTORY FROM LITERARY SOURCES.

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The closing decades of the sixteenth century constitute one of the least known chapters in the history of Cochin during the post-Portuguese period. It appears that there are no records in the State archives to throw light on this period and that is probably the main reason why the State Manual, the most authoritative text book on Cochin History yet written, is silent thereon. The period from 1565 A. D. to 1615 A. D. is so completely blank that even the succession list of Kings of Cochin is so far unknown, the only information available telling us that there were three Kings, the first reigning in 1565 A. D., the second from 1565 to 1601 A. D. and the last from 1601 to 1615 A. D[1]. Of these three Kings, the name of the last mentioned alone is known, namely Vīra Kerala Varmā. While working as the Government Archæologist, Cochin State, the writer had the good luck to discover the name of the second of these Kings; for, one of the inscriptions in the Trichur temple[2] refers to Ravi Varmā as having constructed the Śrīmūlasthānam of the temple in 774 M. E. *i.e.*, about 1600 A. D. And, recently, in the course of the examination of the manuscripts in the local Grantha Library a couple of works have come across, which throw some light on this dark period. If one may come to any general inference on the basis of the descriptions available in these works, one cannot help coming to the conclusion that this was one of the most important periods in the later history of

1. Vide 'A translation of a Granthavari'—Appendix page—1.
2. Vide annual Report on Archæological Researches for 1100 M. E., Vide page 23 C. E. C., Reg. No. 62/100.

Cochin, for it appears that it was at this time that Cochin suppressed her enemies and asserted her supremacy in Kerala. In view of the importance of the period and in view of the paucity of records, a short study of these works, so as to elucidate its history, cannot but be welcome.

The works which throw light upon this period, are four in number; and they are, a commentary on Kāvya-Prakā'a, and three panegyrics on Vīra Kerala Varmā of Cochin. The first of these is unpublished, while the last three have been published under the title, 'Māṭamahīśa Praśasti' by the late lamented Kerala Varmā, C. S. I., Valia Koil Thampuran. These works are practically unknown and a short notice of these will not, therefore, be out of place in this context.

The first of these works, the commentary on Kāvya-Prakāśa is called by the author by the various names of Ravi-Rāja-yaśobhūṣaṇa, Sarvaṭīkā-Vibhanjinī and Prakāśottejinī. A complete copy of the manuscript is not yet available. The local Grantha Library is in possession of the commentary of the first four and the last *ullāsas*, while the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, possesses only the commentary of the tenth *ullāsa*. A description of the same is given in their Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts, Vol. III Part I Sanskrit C, pp 2878-3879 under R. No. 1716, but the description is rather misleading. It runs as follows:—'The author wishes long life to Asi-Mallan, also known by his conduct as Nūtana-Devarāṭ and Līlāhariścandra, and younger brother of King Rāma!' It is unfortunate that the description should have been so hazy, especially because further information could be had from the commentary of the tenth *ullāsa* itself. Further, the author's name is here given as Vedāntācārya, but it

appears to be not complete. Since the opening stanzas of the commentary give full details, it may well be quoted here.

हरिः श्रीगणपतये नमः

मायामोमुह्यमानद्रुहिणहरहरिद्रक्के यत्र धीरा

मोमुह्यन्ते मुकुन्दे प्रणिहितमनसो दुर्वचान्दसिन्धौ ।

वेदान्तासक्तशङ्केरितनरितगुणे सङ्गमास्थानरङ्गे

तुङ्गे तोष्टूय्यमाने महति मम पराभक्तिरत्राविरस्तु ॥१॥

विश्वेन्द्रजालशिखिपिञ्छकटाक्षलोलो

मन्दाकिनीसमकरन्दपदारविन्दः

कान्तः श्रियः कमपिकामपिता करोतु

कल्याणपूरममलो भगवान् मुकुन्दः ॥२॥

रामेणेव गुणाकरेण महता वंशो रघोः श्रीमता

कृष्णेनेव यदोरशेषजगतो राधारताम ता ।

श्रीकोश्रीशितुरन्वयोऽवनितले पुण्येन येनाधुना

धत्ते सर्वकुलोत्तमत्वममलोभातीह सोऽयं रविः ॥३॥

विराट् श्वेतच्छत्रः प्रसृमरयशा लेखरमणी

जनाभीष्टप्रेयोवितरणभुजादण्डमहिमा ।

मिताङ्कूरक्षीरार्पणभरितदानव्यसनितः

स्वरुर्वीरुद्धेनू रविधरणिपालो विजयते ॥४॥

सङ्गीतागमपारगो वितरणीसाहित्यसौहित्यभूः

शूरः सज्जनरक्षणैकनिपुणः श्रीमान् रविक्ष्मापतिः ।

यस्तस्य स्वसुरात्मजोऽखिलसुधीजागद्यमानप्रभा-

शाली यो भुवि वीरकेरलधराजानिः स जेजीयते ॥५॥

नृपः स वीरकेरलोऽरिकेलिपश्यतोहरः

प्रतापशोभमानमानवेन्द्रवृन्दशेखरः ।

कदाचिदागतो मुकुन्दवन्दनाय सङ्गमस्थले

निरङ्कचन्द्रबिम्बसुन्दराननः सुधीः ॥६॥

तुण्डीरक्षितिमण्डलमण्डनकाञ्चीपुरादिहायातम् ।

वेदान्तदेशिकमच्युत दिक्कूलमुद्गजसमङ्गम् ॥७॥

मञ्जुलसङ्गमरङ्गे तङ्गुरुमवलोक्य वीरकेरलराट् ।

स्मितराञ्जितमुखमण्डलि वचनं रचनामनोहरंन्यगादव ॥८॥

विद्वज्जनमुकटमणीरञ्जितचरणाब्जनखरगम्भीर ।
वाग्देवतावतार त्वं शृणु वचनं समस्तलोकहितम् ॥९॥
तौतायिकनैयायिकवैयाकरणादिवादिसिद्धान्तैः ।
दुरधिगमस्य विधेहि व्याख्यां काव्यप्रकाशस्य ॥१०॥
आलङ्कारिकवाचोयुक्तिन्यायानुसारिणीं ललिताम् ।
व्याचिख्यासान्दधतीं टीकामाधेहि पिपठिषां विदुषाम् ॥११॥
इत्थं निदेशतस्तस्य राज्ञो वेदान्तदेशिकः ।
प्रकाशोत्तेजनीं नाम टीकामाधातुमुद्यतः ॥१२॥
वसुन्धराकलिततपोधनधुरन्धरेण सनन्दनाव-
तारेण योऽयमस्तूयत ।—
यच्छास्त्रं येन सम्यक्पठितमुरु दृढं पाठितं वाग्विधेयं
क्लृप्तं तत्रैव तस्य प्रतिभटकरिणो गर्वभङ्गं वितन्वन् ।
नानातन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्चरति बुधजनास्वाद्यगम्भीरसूक्तिः
वेदान्ताचार्यसिंहो विसृमरसुयशःकेसरः केरलोर्व्याम् ॥१३॥
तत्रैव महाकविमन्त्रवादिशिखामणिना वामन-
भूसुरेणापि प्राशंसि—
वेदान्ताचार्यसूर्योदयमनु समभूत् साधुचक्रप्रहर्षो
दुर्लोकोलूकपूगः समजनि विगतालोकहृच्छोकमूकः ।
विद्याध्वन्यध्वनीना भुवि फलितदृशः स्वैरसञ्चारदक्षाः
दिक्षु द्राक्क्षुद्रभासा मतिरय दधुनाप्राच्यसत्तामसत्ता ॥१४॥
स तादृशः—
भारद्वाजान्वयाम्भोनिधिजननजुषः श्रीनिवासाध्वरीन्द्रोः
सञ्जातः सर्वविद्याजलधिकलशजश्रीनृसिंहानुजो यः ।
श्रीचञ्जीराजसिंहासननिलयसुधाचक्रवर्ती बुधोऽसौ
वेदान्ताचार्यनामा रचयति विवृतिं व्यक्तकाव्यप्रकाशाम् ॥१५॥
काव्यप्रकाशालङ्कारमीमांसान्यायमांसले ।
व्याचिख्यासौ जिहीते मे तर्कोपक्रमकर्कशे ॥१६॥
कवितार्किकसिंहस्य
प्रतिवादिभयङ्करस्य सर्वगुरोः ।
करुणावराङ्कुशमुनेः
सरणावतस्य सरणयतु मं ॥१७॥

इत्यादि ।

The quotation makes it clear the circumstances under which the work was produced. Vedānta-deśikā-cāriar, the author of the work, was a piligrim come to Irinjalakuḍa, a small town twelve miles to the south of Trichur to worship Lord Mukunda[1] enshrined there. Here also came Prince Vīra Kerala Varmā of Cochin to worship the Lord, accompanied by his favourite friend, Vāmana, a famous *Māntrika*. On the Prince's meeting the distinguished scholar, he requested him to write a commentary on Kāvya-Prakāśa, thereby suggesting that his favourite field of specialisation was Alaṅkāra, an aspect which is explicitly referred to in one of the panegyrics mentioned above:

विश्वालंकारभूतः स्वयमभिरमसे
नन्वलंकारमार्गे
नीतौ काव्यप्रकाशं पुनरपि भजसे
चारु काव्यप्रकाशम् ।
तेनैवं पौनरुक्त्यं भजसि यदधुना
राजतल्लांकुर त्वं
तन्मन्ये साधु तावत् नृवर यमकता-
मादधाति प्रजानाम् ॥

(Pawgyni A.)

Yielding to the request of the Prince, Deśikācāri wrote his commentary. Regarding the author, I have not been able to get any information other than what is contained in the quotation given above and in the colophon of the first *Ullāsa* which runs as follows:—

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1. This is new information. In popular conception, supported by the temple Grantha Vari, the God enshrined here is Bharata. P. V. Ibid. 2. Pp. 51 and 52. This is an interesting piece of information and may probably explain the name of the Taluk, 'Mukanda puram Taluk; in which the temple is situate.

भरद्वाजकुलजलाधिकलानिधिगोपपुरोपकण्ठहंसगमना
म्बिकानिवासगुरशारग्रामाधिराजकृतगंगास्नानाग्निहोत्रमदि-
नित्यानन्ददानसहोदरीश्रीनिवासध्वरिवरतनयसर्वज्ञ-
नृसिंहदेशिकसहजवाग्देवतामरप्रसादाधिगतचतुर्विधकवि-
त्वषड्भाषासाम्राज्यसिंहासनतर्कविद्याभिनवगौतमप्रभा-
करसरणिप्रभाकरशाब्दिकशिखामणिध्वनिमार्गाध्वनीनदुर्वा-
दिगर्वतुलातातुसर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्रीवेदान्ताचार्यकृतौ
रविराजयशोभूषणे सर्वटीकाविभाञ्जिन्यां काव्यप्रकाशटीका-
यां प्रथमोल्लासः

इति ।

It will be seen from these quotations that our author's full name was Vedānta-Deśikā-Cāriar and not Vedānta-Cāriar as given in the Triennial Catalogue. He was the son of Śrīnivāsādhavarin, Chief of Guruśaragrāma which is near Gopapura and which has enshrined in it Haṃsagamanāmbikā. He had an elder brother by name Sarvajna Nṛsiṃha Deśika.[1] He was a past master in the four śāstras of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsa, Vyākaraṇa, and Alaṅkāra, was a good poet and knew six languages. Such was the distinguished Ācārya and he appears to have been a missionary travelling about for the purpose of popularising the tenets of his faith.

Coming to the panegyrics they all glorify Vīra Kerala Varmā. The first of this which may be styled A is in poetry and runs to twenty verses. It refers to the Prince as the heir-apparent since there are the epithets, '*Bālakṣitivara*' and '*YuvaRāja*' applied to him. It alludes in glowing terms to the Prince's military exploits which were neither few nor insignificant and appears to be a congratu-

1. The colophon does not agree with what is stated in the introduction already quoted. The discrepancy has to be explained.

latory address presented to the heroic Prince towards the close of a series of successful compaigns. The two prose panegyrics refer to the Prince after he had become the crowned King. Of these one is twice as big as the other and these may respectively be styled as B and C. These two appear to be the works of two different hands, if, indeed, any inference may be made from the style of composition and of these B is superior to C both in literary merit and historical value. A and B, however, appear to be the work of the same author, and the authorship of B is traditionally ascribed to the premier poet grammarian of Kerala, Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri who flourished in the latter half of the 16th and the early years of the 17th century. The literary merits of these small 'Khaṇḍa Kāvyas' are not against such an ascription and the historical glimpses that the works yield especially, the list of Cochin Kings, Rāma Varmā, Ravi Varmā and Vīra Kerala Varmā, which has never since repeated itself in this order, do not only not negative such a view, but support the same.

According to the view here set forth then, the hero of these panegyrics is none other than king Vira Kerala Varmā who graced the Cochin *masnad* in the opening years of the 17th century. It has already been said that the Kerala Varmā, at whose request the commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa was written by vedāntadeśikācārya, may well be identified with the hero of the panegyrics. Coming to the dates of the works, it may reasonably be supposed that the commentary, Ravi-Rājayaśobhuṣaṇa must be the earliest of the four works here mentioned Then must have followed the poem and afterwards the two prose panegyrics. Since Vīrakerala Varmā became king in 1601 A. D., it may also be mentioned that the first two of these

must have been produced in the very closing years of the 16th century, while the last two, in the very opening years of the 17th century.

We shall now proceed to notice the historical information that may be obtained from these works; and shall begin with the chronology of the kings. Ravi Varmā, the hero panegyrized in the commentary, is said to be the brother of Rāma Varmā and Vīra Kerala Varmā is said to be his nephew. We may therefore be not wrong if we represent the succession list as follows :—

Rāma Varmā (1565—1565 A. D.[1])
|
(Brother) Ravi Varmā (1565—1601 A. D.)
|
(Nephew) Vīra Kerala Varmā (1601—1615 A. D.)

The relation between the kings and the traditional convention, obtaining even now, of naming the Princes of the family would tend to show that Ravi Varmā should have had an elder brother named Kerala Varmā and that Vīra Kerala Varmā must have had an elder brother Ramā Varmā. Hence the genealogy of the Princes may be reconstructed as follows:—

Rāma Varmā (1565—1565) | Kerala Varmā (Deceased) | Ravi Varmā (1565—1601) | Sister

Sister's children: Rāma Varmā (Deceased) | Vīra Kerala Varmā (1601—1615

The order of succession of these Princes and their genealogy here reconstructed are so far unknown. Coming

1. For these dates see the published. 'State Grantha Vari-' Appendix p. 1.

to this kingdom it may safely be presumed that the last half of the century was a period of stress and strain, for the description of Ravi Varmā and Vīra Kerala Varmā gives greater prominence to their military exploits and achievements. This view gains support from the few known facts. Thus the appendix given in the published State Grantha-Vari, shows that the two immediate predecessors of our hero, King Ravi Varmā, were killed, Rāma Varmā in a battle with the Zamorin and his predecessor by Christains at Puthiyakāvu a suburb of Trippunittura. The feudal chief and the vassals of the kingdom appear to have been up in arms against their sovereign overlord, the King of Cochin and they had the full support and active sympathy of the Zamorin of Calicut, the traditional enemy of Cochin; and hence probably it is that King Ravi Varmā had often to lead a soldier life until the burden was shared by his able nephew and successor, Vīra Kerala Varmā. Thanks to the success that uniformly attended the arms of the great uncle and his no less worthy nephew, peace and order were restored and the refractory chiefs and the enemies of the kingdom were all completely suppressed and forced to acknowledge the supermacy of the king of Cochin, and king Vīra Kerala is represented as having twelve feudatory chiefs under him. Consequently trade and commerce flourished as never before and Cochin rose to the zenith of her splendour and prosperity. The most important event as far as the Royal Family is concerned is the complete merging of the Māṭattil Tavali in the reigning house. Ravi-Rāja-Yaśobhuṣaṇām invariably refers to the king as Kocci Kṣitipati, except in one particular instance towards the very close of the work, where Māṭakṣitipati is used, whereas the three panegyrics uni-

formly refer to Vīra Kerala Varmā as Māṭakṣitipati. This appears rather significant, and one is naturally tempted to infer that the merging of the Māṭattil Tavali might have taken place towards the very close of the reign of Ravi Varmā. Another important general factor that deserves mention here is that the King of Cochin is described as the full and complete overlord of the town of Cochin including its fortifications. This is an important piece of information, especially because it is generally held that the Kings of Cochin had no sovereign power over European Cochin. And lastly the King of Cochin is also described as possessing some kind of all Kerala supremacy. This is a significant fact and adds one more argument in support of the writer's theory that the *King of Cochin* was the *Emperor of Kerala*. Other than these the works do not yield any information of a general character.

KING RAVI VARMĀ. (1565—1601 A. D.)

Possessed of a dignified and striking personality, true Brahmacarya shows resplendent in his face. He was endowed by nature with sound common sense and sparkling intelligence in an uncommon degree and surrounded himself with wise ministers; and no wonder his reign was characterised by wise statemenship of a very high order. Far greater was he as a warrior and general and the poet is never tired of singing the glorious military exploits of this warrior King. It was during his time that the enemies of the Kingdom were completely subjugated and the supremacy of the Kingdom established an honour which was shared equally by his valiant nephew, Vīra Kerala Varmā. An expert sowrdsman, he was popularly known as 'Asi-Mallan' and was acclaimed the best soldier of the day and many were the successful campaigns conducted under his

own active lead. In spite of the warrior life into which he was forced even from his early days, he is never discribed as wantonly cruel, but as always tempering justice with mercy and intensively cultivating the gentle and humane virtues of benevolence and charity. And last but not least in the midst of the heavy and onerous life filled with manifold activities he found time also to indulge in the finer arts of peace. He is represented as a great scholar in the various *śāstras* and an adept in Saṅgīta and Sāhitya; and no wonder his court was the centre of learning and culture which found in him a very beneficient and liberal patron. A humane man, a brave warrior, a successful general, a wise statesman, a great scholar and a munificent patron of letters such was the just and noble and virtuous King Ravi Varmā, one of the most illustrious sovereigns that ever graced the ancient throne of Perumpatappu Svarupam.

A very pious devotee of Śiva, he is described as being exceedingly religious, and the guiding principle of his actions was honour and virtue and righteousness. The natural leanings of the King towards spiritual life described in the works may also be traced in the Trichur inscription to which reference has already been made. The only information that the State Granthavari gives about this King is that he went to Benares and died there, or on the way. One may infer that the King might have accompanied Vedāntadeśikācārīar on this pilgrimage. All the verses dealing with the King are given in the Appendix.

VĪRA KERALA VARMĀ. 1601—1615.

It will be seen from what has already been said that Prince Vīra Kerala Varmā was born with no silver spoon in the mouth. The Kingdom was passing through stress

and strain and was in painful throes on account of enemies both within and without. Naturally enough this Prince had early enough to share with his predecessor the shouldering of the serious responsibility of rescuing the kingdom from its enemies and of maintaining its supremacy. And nobly was the work done, for when he became King, there was peace and order restored and the turbulent chiefs were all suppressed. As a matter of fact King Vīra Kerala Varmā is described as an Emperor having a dozen chiefs owing allegiance to him. The few peeps we get of him show that he was a brilliant warrior and a successful general; as great as, if not greater than, his glorious uncle. He appears to have conducted a series of successful campaigns and the major scene of his labours was Tiruvancikulam and its suburbs, where he appears to have (built) a fort. Thanks to his work the paramount supremacy of Cochin was once and for all established. He was the first to organise and maintain a Standing Army in the Kingdom ready for every emergency, and this constituted of cavalry and infantry and not a few elephants trained for military purposes. He was also the first, it appears, to maintain a trained navy. Besides, he organised and placed on an efficient working a system of secret service of spies. Intelligent and strong, wise and polite, he made the strength of his arms felt everywhere and was acclaimed Emperor by all. Thanks to his wise and statesmanly regime peace and security reigned in the Kingdom and this in its turn brought unparalleled prosperity.

If my interpretation of a verse is justifiable, I incline to find in this King a progressive reformer, for he appears to have been the first to throw off the shackles of caste in Government affairs. Real merit, and not caste superiority,

counted in the eyes of this King and he appears to have been the first to throw open the ranks of service to all those who are intrinsically fit. This, if it be so, is a noteworthy change in a progressive direction and in no small measure adds lustre to the King.

It deserves also to be pointed out that in the midst of the storm in which his early life was spent he found time and opportunity to cultivate the gentler arts of peace. He is represented as a great scholar, in the traditional methods of learning and culture and was besides well versed in music and painting. Though his favourite subject was Alaṅkāra, yet he appears to have extended a very liberal patronage to all alike and naturally his court became the rendezvous of all types of scholars and poets and artists.

Great was he as a parton of letters as a warrior and as a statesman, but greater he figures as a man and King. He was graced with all the qualities that make a man loved. He was honest, sincere and straightforward almost to a fault. Modesty sat upon him with becoming grace and so also were his sweet and pleasing words. Always courteous and well-mannered, he was never imperious or haughty. Honour and virtue he counted as the greatest and the most valuable of his treasures and the foundations of his Government were based upon Pālanam, Poṣaṇam, and Lālanam of the subjects committed to his care; and guided by his learned courtiers and wise ministers he seems never to have erred in the path of kingly duty or virtue. He had a commanding personality and the most noteworthy things in the Royal garb were the golden crown set with numerous precious stones, the lustrous ear-rings, the jewelled necklace, the golden waist belt and last, but not least, the flashing sword not unworthy of the warrior

king. Such was King Vīra Kerala and it may be no empty panegyric when the poet styles him 'Emperor.'

If thus great was the king, greater appears to be Capital, such is the impression that the description of the city of Cochin leaves upon us. Naturally well protected by the ocean on the west and by the impassable expanse of waters on every other side, the city was made practically impregnable by a strongly built fort filled with every weapon of offence and defence and manned by a host of valiant soldiers. The fort had four faces and each face was well protected by a number of cannon placed in position on the walls. The waterways around were also secure because armed boats patrolled them. Now and then there used to be held military and naval tournaments which were occasions for merry-making and rejoicing in the city. Besides the grand and majestic fort there were in the city many splendid structures, stately palaces, tall mansions and well laid out bazars. It was also well provided with lungs in the shape of gardens and parks, tanks and recreation grounds, which were at all times full of stately men and women. It was thus a city as grand and beautiful as it was impregnable.

The broad streets and the spacious business centres were full of all castes and creeds and nationalities with Asiatics and Europeans, and all in their peculiar national costumes, thus affording a good opportunity for the study of the manners and custumes of various people. Among them special mention deserves to be made of Śakas, Kṣapaṇakas, and Pārasīkas. The heterogenous nature of the population that thronged the city was natural, because Cochin was then the greatest emporium of trade

in the whole east. It was the hey-day of her commercial prosperity and she was carrying on a large trade, both coastal and ocean-borne. Big ocean-going vessels of different kinds and tonnage rode at anchor in her spacious harbour. Ships came here from different countries laden with different cargoes such as gold and silver, pearls and precious stones, silk and cotton goods, weapons of offence and defence. The margin of her waters was crowded with small craft, loading and unloading cargoes and carrying businessmen to and fro. Always full to overflowing with buyers and sellers here were available all kinds of goods.

Such was brief the city of Cochin and it is not far distinct from the glorious Cochin of the Portuguese.

This takes us to the end of the present study. Enough I believe, has been said to show that the period traversed is not the least important in the history of Cochin; it is probably one of the most brilliant. Consequently the value of the four works here referred to cannot be overestimated as source books for the study of Cochin history.

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ।

यः सन्तापहरो यथा जलधरः तुल्यः सुरक्ष्मारुहा
यो दाता सदिवाऽसदप्यथ जगद्यन्मायया द्योतते ।
चक्रं बिभ्रदुरुप्रभं रविसमं यो यत्र पीयूषवत्
चेतः स्निह्यति नो विभुः स भगवान् श्रीसङ्गमेशोऽवतात् ।१।

दैवतेषु विनतानुकम्पिनः
सङ्गमेश इव सङ्गमेश्वरः ।
कोच्चिराजकुलजेषु सज्जन–
प्रेमभू रविरिव प्रभू रविः ।२।

कर्णसमो रविराजः रविराजसमो वदान्यराट् कर्णः ।
रामसदृग्रविराजो रविराजसदृग्गुणाकरो रामः ।३।

कोच्चिक्षोणिपते रवीन्द्र तव दोर्लूनारिनारीजन–
म्लानीभूतमुखाब्जकालिमभरं चन्द्रे मणीदर्पणे ।
अन्यस्त्रीसुषमासहिष्णु धवलीभूतप्रपञ्चातुल–
त्वत्कीतरमाकराञ्चलधृते मन्येऽङ्कमन्तर्गतम् ।४।

शरच्चन्द्रश्रेणी किमु कुमुदपाली किमथवा
सुधाम्भोधेर्वीचीलहरिपरिपाटी ननु विभो ।
वियद्गङ्गास्रोतः किमुत रविभूपालकमणे
यशो वैशद्यन्ते दिशि दिशि विधत्ते विशयिताम् ।५।

विधत्ते सम्मोदं विमलतर यो वैरिनिकरं
तमस्तोमं दूरे विदधदभिरामो जनदृशाम् ।
रविक्षोणीजानिः स किल हरिणाङ्को नवयशः–
समृद्ध्या कौमुद्या भुवनमखिलं कैरवकुलम् ।६।

क्षीराम्भोनिधिरेष नो रविनृपः चन्द्रोऽथनेदं मुखं
दिव्यद्रू न भुजाविमावपि सुधा नेयं वचोवैखरी ।
रत्नौघो न गुणा इमेऽपि लहरी नेयं यशोमण्डली
घोरं हालहलं न खड्गलतिकाप्यौर्वो न दोर्विक्रमः ।७।

मानापनोदकलां विमतस्थितानां
कुर्वन् रविक्षितिपतेः करवालखण्डः ।
विस्मेरयत्यविकलं समितिस्थले ते
तत्तादृशं बत गिरीश मयि प्रकाशम् ।८।

रविक्ष्मापालकृपाणवल्ली

रक्षा परेषां क्षतमाचरन्ती ।
रयेण कण्ठग्रहणं विधत्ते
नवीननानासुरतावहेयम् ।९।

यो वीरभद्रललितानि रणान्तराले
धत्ते रविक्षितिपतिः विधृतासिलेखः ।
चन्द्रश्रियं वहति यो नगरे विदग्ध—
गोष्ठीषु वाक्पतिविलासमसौ बिभर्ति ।१०।

यस्ते रविक्षितिपते गणनां गुणानां
वाञ्छत्ययं जलधिमिच्छति वारिकुम्भैः ।
संख्यातुमम्बरमरालिभिरुज्जिहीते
मातुं पदैरवदिधारयिषत्यपि क्ष्माम् ।११।

प्रज्ञा कापि विभुत्वमन्यमपरो गम्भीरिमान्या दया
माहात्म्यन्त्वयथावदाकृतिरपि स्मेरानना काचन ।
दानं तादृशमन्यदेकरसता विद्वज्जनेऽन्यादृशी ।
यस्य श्रीरविभूमिपः सहि कथं सामान्यधातुर्विधिः ।१२।

आभाति मौक्तिकगणेन पयोम्बुराशि-
राकाशमुल्लसति तारकमण्डलेन ।
पुष्पोच्चयेन खलु राजति पारिजातो
राजा चकास्ति रविरेष गुणोदयेन ।१३।

सङ्गमक्षेत्रनिलयाः मङ्गलाः पुण्यशालिनः ।
प्रसन्नं वरदं कान्तं ये पश्यन्ति सदा हरिम् ।१४।

रविक्ष्मापाल सराजकेऽपि
त्वमेव भूमीवलये यशस्वी ।
सतारजालेऽपि नभोऽन्तराले
प्रकाशमाली खलु चन्द्र एव ।१५।

रविक्षितिधुरन्धरप्रवरवैरिवीरोत्करः
करालगिरिकन्दरोदरदरीविचारीचरत् ।
प्रमुह्यति मुहुः स्खलत्युरु बिभेति बंभ्रम्यते
प्ररोदिति पलायते चलाति सीदाति स्विद्यति ।१६।

कीर्तिः श्रीरविराज शारदघनश्रेणीतृणीकारिणी
मध्याह्नप्रभमानचण्डकिरणाज्योतिर्भुजाविक्रमः ।

प्रत्यर्थिप्रकरोऽपि ते बहुमुखावेगामहंपूर्विका-
माल‌म्ब्याहह लघयान्ति हरितां पारायरण्यान्यपि ।१७।

सुमेरुपरितुङ्गतामुपगतः स कल्याणभूः
समस्तसुमनस्तते:समवलंबनात्मा परम् ।
रविः कलितशेखरो जयति किन्तु गाम्भीर्यवान्
अयं प्रकृतिकोमलो वहति हस्तनम्रो जने ।१८।

रविक्षोणीपाल त्वदमलयशोडम्बरभरैः
सिते कण्ठे काले वहति परशङ्कां भगवती ।
सती सर्वो लोकोऽप्यहह निजभूतेऽपि नहि तं
ममेतीह भ्रान्तीरनुभवति किंब्रूमह इमे ।१९।

अचन्दनविलेपनान्यघनसारधूलीभिरा —
ण्यपेतशरदम्बुदान्यपगतेन्दुकान्तीनि वा ।
अगाङ्गजलमज्जनान्यहरहो न धौतानि ते
वहन्ति यशसा जगन्त्यमलतां रविक्ष्मापते ।२०।

कल्याणशील रविराजशिखामणे ते
कीर्तिप्रतापयुगले शशिभानुबुद्ध्या ।
नन्दन्ति तत्रभवतो मुखपङ्कजानि
खेदं वहन्ति रिपुवामदृगम्बुजानि ।२१।

औदार्यशौर्यनिजधैर्यभरैः सुरद्रु—
राधेयवैरिगिरिजागुरुशैलराजान् ।
लोकोत्तरोन्नतरनिष्प्रतिमैं रविक्ष्मा—
जानेऽभितो हरसि गर्वयशोऽतिरेकान् ।२२।

सुजनेषु निबद्धमानगाढ—
प्रणयं मानसमेकदापि तस्य ।
रविभूमिभुजो न याति भेदं
महतां हि प्रकृतिस्थिरत्वमेव ।२३।

लक्ष्मीवन्धुवराज मङ्गलगुणश्रेणिपयोधे बुधे
प्रौढप्रेमभरं ददासि न गलच्चित्तोऽसि मन्दोदये ।
पालीभा रविमण्डलान्तरभिदामातन्तनीषे द्विषां
कर्णं धिक्कुरुषे करेण रविरप्याश्चर्यमुर्वीतले ।२४।

प्रातर्विचिन्तयाति कार्यधुराममात्या-
नाहूय पृच्छति हिताहितमत्र सूक्ष्मम् ।
दण्डं प्रयोजयति दण्ड्यजने गभीरो

गूढाशयो रविनृपो विजरीहरीति ।२५।

औदार्येण न गर्वमावह रविक्षोणीन्द्र वश्याधिकं
तद्वैरिन् व्रज मात्त तादृशयशोदुष्कम्बलं दुर्लभम् ।
कीर्तिक्षौमपटंमहार्हममलं तुभ्यं स्पृशन् तन्तुला
कोटिन्याजिवधूजनं रयगतौ धीरातुरत्यागिने ।२६।

रविराजाविरोधिजनस्य कुधी—
रनयेन विना प्रयते न भुवि ।
न विना स तया हतजीवितम—
प्युभयेन विना कविनेत्युदितम् ।२७।

एकत्वं भवते रविक्षितिपते गत्वा रणप्राङ्गणे
वीराणामरिभूभृतोऽहहह यद् गृह्णन्त्यमी पञ्चताम् ।
प्राज्ञास्ते खलु मानुषं वपुरिदं त्यक्त्वा परं गृह्णते
यद्रम्भाकुचमण्डल परिरंभ प्रियम्भावुकम् ॥२८॥

प्रत्यक्षयामो वयमादिजन्म
कृतोरुविद्याभ्यसनं भवन्तम् ।
आलोकयामो रविराज भावि—
साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपरिशोभमानम् ॥२९॥

यो मृत्युञ्जयपादपङ्कजयुगं ध्यायत्ययं मृत्युजित्
वीरो दृप्तमहीभृतां प्रशमयन्नुद्दण्डदोर्विक्रमम् ।
भ्रातॄणां प्रथमः सुधीपरिषदामापूरयन्मानसं
गंभीरो रविभूमिपो विजयते त्रैलोक्यसारो भुवि ॥३०॥

सारङ्गा विविदन्ति गारुडमणीनारूढनासाङ्कुरा
शङ्का यत्र तरङ्गिणीशलहरीनीतानि यस्यां जनः ।
रत्नानि प्रतिपादयन्ति बहुशो याचावरेभ्योऽन्वहम् ।
सा कोच्चीनगरी विभाति रविराजेन्द्रेणेव सौरी पुरी ॥३१॥

तां भूषयन्ति रविराजकुलं विशुद्धं
प्रौढा दया वितरणं बुधपक्षपातः ।
मेधा नयप्रवणता सुकृतानुरक्तिः
भक्तिर्हरौ रसिकता सुयशःप्रतापः ॥३२॥

वसुन्धरां पाति रविक्षितीशे
वासं वितेने मनुजान् विहाय ।

कर्णोत्पलं वरवर्णिनीनां
कर्णान्तदीर्घेषु दृगञ्चलेषु ॥३३।

कुक्षौ कौन्तेयकस्य प्रतिफलितरुषक्रोधवक्त्रप्रवस्ते
सन्त्रासंत्यक्तशस्त्रप्रतिधरणिपते रञ्जलिं माटराजः।
मन्ये मन्ये जयश्रीकरधृतकमलं यद्विनिद्रं विधातुं
सूर्योऽन्तर्बिम्बदम्भाद्विशति मुकुलितं ज्योत्स्नयैवाट्टहासै ॥३४॥

रविक्ष्माजानिमणौ विवेकैः
विभाति विद्वज्जनरञ्जनेन ।
परं विवेकेन गुणाम्बुराशौ
चकास्ति विद्वज्जन रञ्जनान्ते ॥३५॥

सारो भूचक्रवाले सकलहितकरः केरलो नाम देशः
तत्राप्यादेशभूता बलरिपुनगरस्येव कोच्चीपुरीयम् ।
तस्यां राजन्यवंश्यो रघुयदुकुलयोः साधु सब्रह्मचारी
तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यैवर्यो जयति रविनृपस्तत्र सत्पक्षपातः ॥३६॥

कुर्वाणे करवालकृष्णभुजगे वैरिक्ष्मापालक-
श्रेणीप्राणसमीरपारणभरं घोरे रणाभ्यन्तरे ।
स्थूलत्वं यशसो मरालपटलीरक्तैरविक्ष्मापते
क्षुत्तृष्णाविरहं सहन्ति गमिता गीर्वाणतां गर्विता ॥३७॥

कालीते करवालवह्निरसृजत्तेजोऽरुणं दारुणं
प्रासूत प्रथितं तुषारधवलं तत्ते यशोमण्डलम् ।
म्लानिः काममपि दुर्वचामजनयत्त्वानतेषु द्विषां
नानावर्णपरम्परां वितनुते चित्रं रविक्ष्मापते ।३८।

यन्मन्त्रो मनसि प्रतिक्षितिपतिश्रेणीरणीयस्युरु-
क्रोधावेशविघूर्णितासिलतिकाघेटोऽरुणान्तेक्षणः
तत्तादृक् प्रथमानविक्रमयशः पूज्यो रविक्ष्मापते
सातत्येन तदस्य तुल्यरहितं वैपुल्यमाचक्ष्महे ।३९।

रविक्षितिपुरन्दर त्वदरयो रयेण त्वया
रणे दलितविग्रहाः स्मृतदुरन्तवैरान्तराः
त्वयि प्रतिकृतौर्विधावकुशलास्तवोग्रौजसो
भुजिष्यमभिराजकं भिदुरयन्ति भानुं रुषा ।४०।

देवब्राह्मणशर्मकर्मणि भुजप्रौढप्रतापाद्यं
गम्भीरं रविराजधीरतिलकं विश्वंभराधूर्वहम् ।
धर्मैकाध्वनि जागरूकहृदयं स्मेराननाम्भोरुहं

त्वां दृष्ट्वा नलरामधर्मजमुखान्प्राज्ञः स्मरन्ति प्रजाः ।४१।

त्वत्कीर्त्यङ्कुरमाननान्तिकचरं दन्तावलास्योऽपरो
जातोऽयं रद इत्युदारमृशति श्रीमन् रविक्ष्मापते ।
क्रीडाधामनि चन्द्रिकेति यतते रोद्धुं नवोढाङ्गना
मल्लीसूनपरंपरेति मधुपश्रेणी समालम्बते ।४२।

किञ्चित्ते वचनीयमस्ति कुरु तच्चित्ते रविक्ष्मापते
कोपं मा वह मेदुरेण दयया वीरेण मेधाविना ।
दानोपात्तयशोभरेण भवता धिग् बोधिसत्त्वं जना
राधेयादिमहीश्वरं जलधरं तुल्यानिहाचक्षते ।४३।

त्वत्कीर्तिरेव दशदिक्ष्वपि नागलोके
नाके विरञ्चिभवने हरसन्निधाने ।
वैकुण्ठसीमनि रविक्षितिपालमौले
भाति प्रतापजलधे किमुत क्षमायाम् ॥४४॥

हे शंभो वद सुन्दरि क्षितिभृता राजन्यकन्ये भवत्-
कण्ठस्थायि कलङ्कमुक्तिहमरुक्षात्तिकिनन्तावकी(?) ।
को न श्यामलतां जगाल महता हन्त क्षमापालक-
श्रेणीमौलिरविक्षितीशयशसा तै वमेते उभे ॥४५॥

जगद्यशस्विभिर्वीरैरिदं यै रमलीकृतम् ।
तैरेव हन्त मलिनं कुरुते रविभूपतिः ॥४६॥

कैलासाचलमञ्जुकुञ्जविहरद्विद्याधरीकिन्नरी-
गन्धर्वीजनगीयमानमनिभं पूर्वं रविक्ष्मापते ।
धैर्यं सङ्गररङ्गसीमनि हि क्षोणीभृदाकर्ण्यते
नीहारद्रवकैतवेन नितरां मन्ये भिया स्विद्यति ॥४७॥

EARLY HISTORY OF NORTH-EAST DECCAN FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES.

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(From 3rd century A. D. to 9th century A. D.)

1. Deccan defined. Deccan is defined as the *dakṣiṇa* or the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* country which extends from the river Narmadā to Setu. We learn from the Purāṇas that even the extremely southern kingdoms such as Pāṇḍya, Cola, and Kerala were included in it. But, in the restricted sense, it means that part of Cis-Vindhyan India which excludes the land lying to the south of the river Pennar. In this sense, the Deccan had the following Georgraphical limits:--

In the North, the rivers Narmadā and the Māhānadi

In the East, the Bay of Bengal.

In the South, the Nīlgirīs, and river South Pennar, and in the West, the Arabian Sea.

2. Northeast Deccan defined. It is the country lying between the rivers Mahānadī and Kṛṣṇā and between the Bay of Bengal and the Eastern Ghats. A line drawn from Orugallu in the Nizam's dominions, across the west Border of Bastar and Berar to Sonepur would represent roughly this western limit. It includes the ancient states of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, Kaliṅga and Veṅgi. And so, we will have to notice the history of the dynasties that ruled over the countries with the help of inscriptions discovered so far. To my knowledge the history of this part of the country has not been dealt at all in any of the books published.

3. Its Physical features and effects on political history. The sea to the east protected the country from foreign invasions in early times. At the same time it made the people familiar to it and encouraged the spirit of adventure and enterprise. From a comparison and careful study of the inscriptions and the civilisation of the islands of the eastern archipelago, we learn that it is the people of this part of the Deccan that emigrated, colonised, and spread their own customs and manners. Further, the spread of trade and commerce to the countries to the east was encouraged and we learn that both in ancient times as in mediævel times Kaliṅga and Andhra countries supplied cotton fabrics; precious stones, sugar, rice, and other articles. The people of Sumatra and Java are known as Kaliṅga meaning thereby that the Kaliṅgas colonised them. Kaliṅga and Andhra countries traded also with South India and Ceylon, and Kaliṅgam in Tamil means a cloth.

The existence of the Eastern Ghats and the great forest (Mahākāntāra) in the west prevented the inroads of foreign rulers. The mountains fostered the spirit of boldness and courage just as the sea to the east encouraged the spirit of adventure and enterprise. The forests supplied wild elephants as well as wild tribes for the armies of the Kaliṅgas and the Andhras. The existence of numerous rivers and fresh water lakes supplied facilities for cultivation and led to the growth of population. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa and Hiuen Tsang in his Travels described the fertility of the country, the features of the peoples and the power of the ruling kings.

4. Its peoples and their characteristic features. From the Kaliṅga edicts of Aśoka, we learn that the Puṇḍras, Pulindas, Śabaras, Kaliṅgas and the Andhras all lived in

this part of the Deccan. Till the time of the great Aryan sage Agastya, the Vindhyas formed the southern wing of the Aryan expansion but he became the pioneer for spreading Aryan colonies and civilisation into the Deccan, probably in the seventh century B. C. He first spread the Aryan civilisation along the southern back of the Vindhyas to the east and thence to the south to the banks of the Godāvarī. He established Aryan colonies or Āśramas, introduced Aryan rites and ritual as well as the mode of worship and encouraged intercourse between the Aryan colonists and the Dravidian tribes of the Deccan. The Dravidian tribes named above who formed a majority and who had a language and a religious cult of their own asserted themselves and submerged the Aryan civilisation in their own. Of the above-mentioned tribes, the first three were least influenced, while the last two were so greatly influenced by Aryan ways that it is now doubted whether they can be called Aryan; but we may call them mixed Aryans. Their language and religion present close affinities to those of the Aryan. At the same time, we see much that is common with the Dravidian language and religion of South India. Though the Kaliṅgas and the Andhras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as two distinct and powerful tribes who occupy from the time of the Bhārata war and even before, distinct geographical regions of North Eastern Deccan, their language and religious customs and manners have been practically one and the same. Prākṛt, Paiśacī and Asaṃskṛta languages were cultivated in early times as evidenced by their discovery in the cave inscriptions. Animism, Buddhism, and Jainism were accepted as the religions by the masses, though the priests or Brahmins followed Brahminical Hinduisn and used Saṃskṛt Language.

The Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Khoṇḍs and other forest tribes who have clung to their own all these centuries in this region have got peculiar habits, religious beliefs and languages of their own which are spoken dialects without written script. These peoples have not yet advanced towards civilisation from their aboriginal condition. They offer excellent opportunities for anthropological research. The Udhras or Uchas, The Bhumias or the Bhuyas, the Porbos, the Khoṇḍs, the Koyas, the Goṇḍs, the Khasias, the Chenchus, the Panus, the Śabaras, and other tribes seem to be the aboriginal tribes of the Northeast Deccan. Human sacrifices were performed till recent times but now animal sacrifices are freely resorted to, in times of disease or calamity, with a view to propitiate their several Gods and Goddesses. It was because these primitive people led the life of wreckless blood-shedding that Aśoka in his Kaliṅga edicts specially exhorted his Dharmamahāmātras to persuade them—his neighbours on the borderland—to give up such habits, to join the Saṅgha and to lead a pure life. The spread of Buddhism and Jainism into Kaliṅga and Andhra countries in the early centuries of the Christian era which is proved by the existence of numerous cave-inscriptions, monasteries, stūpas, Buddhist and Jain statues etc.; bettered the condition of the masses but with the decay of those religions, due to the rise of Hindu Brahminic dynasties who favoured Śaivism in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. came the old order.

The tribe of Nāgas needs special mention, for their civilisation forms the bedrock on which the later civilisations (the Andhras in the Deccan and the Pallavas in South India) were built. The Nāgas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a tribe that was driven out of Khāṇḍava-

vanam by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Probably this enmity between the Nāgas and the Aryan Pāṇḍavas was due to racial and religious differences. But later on, The Aryan Arjuna married Nāga princess showing an attempt at the fusion of races. It would appear that as the Aryans migrated from the Punjab into the Gangetic valley, the Nāgas who were already there were driven into the Deccan. The Chutus and Nāgas who are mentioned in several inscriptions in Mysore and Aparānta might have settled in Chota Nagpur en route to Deccan. The quarrel between the Aryans and the Nāgas was long and bitter. Arjuna's grandson Parīkṣhit was killed by the Nāga king Takṣaka and so, Parīkṣit's son Janamejaya tried to perform Sarpayāga and destroyed the whole Nāga clan with the exception of the king. The Śaiṣunāga dynasty which ruled over Magadha in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., as the name indicates was a Nāga dynasty. Śaiṣunāga and his descendants were not followers of Aryan faith but they patronised Buddhism and this fact is proved by Buddhist records. They worshipped trees, and serpents. They were very powerful and warlike. It would appear that these Nāgas spread from the city of Takṣaka or Taxilla in the Punjab to the Gangetic plain at the onset of the first Aryan invasion and from the Gangetic valley into the Deccan at the time of the second Aryan invasion. They seem to have spread into South India and Ceylon also. The Buddhist Jātakas and Mahāvaṃśa tell us about the way in which these Nāgas were converted into Buddhism. Tamil poems relate as to how the Colas and the Pallavas were related to the Nāgas. Buddhist Jātakas or birth stories are full of Nāga stories, their conversion

into Buddhism, the powerful way in which they spread Buddhism by building Stūpas etc. The Amarāvatī Stūpa supplies us with sculptures in which the Nāgas figure promimently. Some of the Nāga kings could be seen with seven-hooded cobras covering their heads and their queens with two-headed cobras. I have seen several of these Nāga sculptures as well as stone inscriptions containing Nāga images in Mysore. The Nāgas spread over the Deccan and South India in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. after their political power declined in Magadha. But even in the Deccan they did not long remain supreme, for, in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. the Andirae, according to the Greek envoy Megasthenes became a powerful race, possessing numerous villages, 30 towns defended by walls and towers, and supplying their king with 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants. The Andirae who succeeded to the political power of the Nāgas ruled over the whole of Deccan (226 B. C. to 226 A. D?). But during this period, the Nāgas were not extinct but were appointed to high command as evidenced by the presence of their inscriptions in Mysore. An inscription of the last Andhra king Pulomavi states that a certain Skanda Nāga was his Mahārathī or commander who became supreme. Similarly, the Nāgas of Padmāvatī are said to have risen to power in the third and the fourth centuries A. D. and had marriage alliances with Vākātakas. Dr. Dubreuil states in his ancient history of Deccan that the Chotus and Nāgas took the place of Sātavāhanas and the Pallavas succeeded the Chotus of the Nāgas race. The Velurpalayam plates give us the origin of the Pallavas. The 1st Pallava king acquired all emblems of royal power

by marrying the daughter of the Lord of Serpents—Nāgarāja or king Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi.

After the fall of the Andhra Empire, Mysore and Aparānta passed into the hands of the Mahārathīs and the Chotus who bore the title of Śātakarṇi and whose inscriptions are found at Kanheri and Banavasi. They were the feudatories of the Andhras (Andhrabhṛtyas). From the Mayakadoni inscription we learn that in the 8th year of Pulomavi (the last Andhra king) Skanda Nāga was the Mahāsenāpati of south Deccan. His daughter was married by a Pallava king (Bappa) who had a son by her called Śiva Skanda Pallava, who succeeded to the country south of the Krishna about 250 A. D.

B. 1. Causes of the fall of the Andhra Empire unknown. Later dynasties:

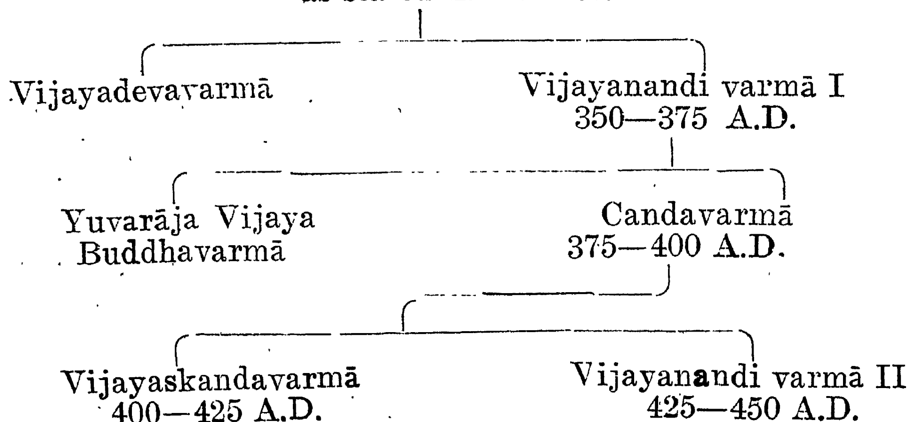
The Chut Nāgas in the S. W., the Pallavas to the south of the river Krishna; and the Ikkaku, Bṛhatpalāyana and Sālaṅkāyana dynasties to *the North of the river Krishna.*

In editing the Pedavegi copper-plates of Nandi Varmā II in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society vol. I Part II page 98, I stated that from the grant of Nandi Varmā, it could be seen that Veṅgi and Gudrahara Viṣayas were comprised in Veṅgi-Rājya. In other words, the modern Districts of west Godāvarī and Krishna lying to the north of the River Krishna were comprised in the Sālaṅkāyana Kingdom. These very tracts and a part of Kaliṅga formed part of ancient Andhra empire.

After the fall of the Andhra Empire about 226 A.D., various dynasties succeeded to political power and ruled

over different parts of the empire. The southwest and the western parts of the Andhra Empire passed into the hands of the Chutu-Nāgas, and Mahārathīs respectively; the country to the south of river Krishna was occupied by the Pallavas and this is proved by their copper-plate grants discovered in that region. The discovery of Prākṛt inscriptions on Stūpas and stones of a dynasty known as Ikṣvākus at Jaggayyapeta, Gummadidurru and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, proves that they ruled over that region (Southwest part of the Krishna District.) One of the kings, Sree Veera Purisa Data calls himself an Andhra-bhṛtya. These kings were Buddhists and this is proved by the existence of Buddhist Stūpas and other structures built by them. Similarly, from the Kondamudi copper-plates, we learn that a certain Jayavarmā of the Bṛhatpalāyana Vaṃśa reigned at Kodura (Near Masulipatam). This place was mentioned by Ptolemy in his Geography as the centre of trade and commerce and as the place from which people went to colonise the islands and the lands in the far east. The grants of both these dynasties which are in prākṛt language are rightly assigned by scholars to the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The Bṛhatpalāyanas from their capital at Koddura, ruled over the region on the northern banks of Krishna and near its mouth. The Prākṛt inscriptions of one more dynasty *viz.*, the Sālaṅkāyana, are found in the region about Kollair lake and Ellore. These also must be as signed to the middle of the 3rd centnry A.D. It would appear from the Sālaṅkāyana grants that the region over which the Bṛhatpalāyanas once ruled passed under their control. The Sālaṅkāyanas ruled over the whole of Veṅgi which was situated between the rivers Goddāvarī and Krishna.

So far, about 8 copper-plate grants of these kings have been discovered from which the following genealogy and chronology has been fixed by me:—



Allowing a period of 25 years to each of the kings that reigned, we get 450 A.D. as the final limit of Nandivarmā's rule. It was about this time that the Salankayanas were overthrown by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

C. History of Viṣṇu Kuṇḍins reconstructed and described.—

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins seem to have conquered Vengī in the middle of 5th century A.D. with the help of their relatives, the Vākātakas. Dr. Dubreuil in his History of Deccan describes them thus: "The Vākātakas were the neighbours of the Kadambas and their kingdom extended up to Kurnool on the banks of the river Krishna. We know that the famous temple of Śrīśailam or Śrīparvata is in the Kurnool district and the story as related in the Sthalamāhātmya of the place says that the princess Candravatī, a daughter of the Gupta King Candragupta, con-

ceived a passion for the God of Śrīśaila hill and began offering every day a garland of jasmine flowers to him. This information is very precious as throwing light on the origin of the dynasty of Viṣṇukuṇḍins. In fact, we shall see that the dynasty had for its tutelary Diety, the God of Śrīparvata and the first king of this dynasty Mādhavavarmā married a Viṣṇukuṇḍin. (*It should be Vākātaka* princess). I think there can be no doubt that this princess was the daughter or the grand daughter of queen Prabhāvatī or Caṇdrāvatī who was daughter of the Gupta Emperor, (and) wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Pravarasena II and a votary of God of Srīparvata. It is probably during the reign of Pravarasena II that the Vākātakas who reigned almost over the whole of modern state of Hyderabad, succeeded in founding the dynasty of Viṣṇukuṇḍins by placing on the throne of Veṅgi, Mādhavavarmā I who was the husband of a Vākātaka princess and an adorer of the God of Śrīparvata."

I agree with the above statement regarding the origin of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, but I cannot accept the learned Doctor's genealogy *owing to the discovery of Ipur plates (Two sets).* In editing the Cheedivalasa plates of the Eastern Gaṅgā king of Kaliṅga, Mahārāja Srīdevendravarmā, of 397 Gāṅgeya era, I had occassion to write the following:—

Synchronisms help us in fixing dates. Pṛthvīmūla's Godāvarī plates tell us that Adhirājendra of the N. E. region defeated the Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the S. W. region. This Indrabhaṭṭāraka is identified with the younger brother of Jayasiṃha (933—666 A. D.) by Drs. Fleet and Burgess. If this is correct, then Adhirājendra of 87th and 91st years of the Gāṅgeya era would be contemporary of the

Eastern Cālukya Indrabhaṭṭāraka of 667 A. D. Several Eastern Cālukyan grants mention that he succeeded Jayasiṃha and ruled for a week only. Adhirājendra would thus live in or about 667 A. D. It must follow on this hypothesis, that the Devendravarmā who made the Cheedivalasa grant would live in the latter half of the 10th century A. D., a position which is inconsistent with the accepted chronology of the later Gaṅgas as given in their grants. Hence, we will have to look for Indrabhaṭṭāraka in a different dynasty *viz.*, Viṣṇukuṇḍin which ruled over South Kalinga and Veṅgi in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D..

From the Ipur plates (two sets), Rāmatīrtham plates, and Chikkulla plates, we get the following genealogy of of Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings :—

Mādhava I (Founder-probably ruled about 400 A. D.)
|
Devavarmā
|
Mādhavavarmā II (Donor of the Ipur plates, Ist set)
|
Govindavarmā
|
Mādhavavarmā III (Donor of the Ipur plates, 2nd set 37th year)
|
Vikramendravarmā I (Born to a Vākātaka queen)
|
Indrabhaṭṭāraka, or Indravarmā
| (Donor of the Rāmatīrtham plates 27th year
| Probably ruled from 525 A. D. to 555 A. D.
Vikramendravarmā II (Donor of Chikkulla plates) 10 year.

The Indrabhaṭṭāraka or Indravarmā of Rāmatīrtham plates gave a gift of Peruvataka Village, in Pazhaki viṣaya which is also mentioned in the Chipurupalli or

Cherupuru copper plate grant of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty (615 A. D.). It is situated in the Vizag Dt. Thus Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka may be said to have been defeated by Adhirājendravarmā of Kaliṅga. Pṛthvīmūla, son of Prabhākara in his Godāvarī plates mentions that an alliance was formed by Adhirājendra against Indrabhaṭṭāraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of S. W. Region) was struck down by Indra Adhirāja who was mounted on his own elephant, Supratīka (of the N. E. Region). The Rāmatīrtham plates tell us that Indrabhāṭṭaraka won several victories against the Caturdantis (Airāvatas or elephants of the eastern region). Evidently the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Gaṅgas were fighting for the control over South Kaliṅga.

Before the Eastern Cālukyans established their power over Veṅgi and Kaliṅga in the beginning of the 7th century A. D., the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ruled over Veṅgi and south Kaliṅga—North Kaliṅga being under the rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas. These Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings ruled for a little over two centuries. These grants are written in southern alphabet, closely resembling those of the Pallavas, Sālaṅkāyanas and the Early Gaṅgas. The language of all their plates is Saṃskṛta, with Prākṛta and a little Telugu mixture. The scribes of the grants seem to be Telugu scholars. From the Rāmatīrtham plates, we learn that their rule extended first over South Kaliṅga (modern Vizag) and then spread southwards over Veṅgi, as proved by the grant made in the Chikkulla plates, from their capital Lenduluru near Ellore. They were the worshippers of Śrīparvateśvara, performers of Horse sacrifices and relations of the Vākātakas, who were related to the Guptas. They seem to be a Northern people who gradually spread to the south along

the east coast and ruled over South Kaliṅga and Veṅgi in the 5th and 6th centuries, until their dynasty was overthrown by Puli Kesin II and later by the Eastern Cālukyan Emperor Viṣṇuvardhana I, who established his strong rule over both Veṅgi and South Kaliṅga and ruled between 615 and 633 A. D.

The archaic script of the early grants which resembles that of the Pallava and Sālaṅkāyana grants, the use of Prākṛta words and other internal evidences enable us to conclude that the earlier grants (Ipur plates, 1st set) belong to 450 A. D., or thereabout. While editing the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarmā II in the Society's journal (Vol. I Pt 21. pp 92-102) I stated on page 95, that Vikramendravarmā or his father Mādhavavarmā defeated the Sālaṅkāyanas and overthrew their dynasty. It is probable that Mādhavavarmā who married a Vākātaka princess and obtained the support of the Vākātakas overthrew the Sālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi and set up Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule over that region also, about 475 A. D. His claim to the performance of horse sacrifices can thus be understood. It is equally probable that this southern advance was found necessary owing to the increased power of the Eastern Gaṅgas in the north. It is significant that they changed their capital from Puranisangam—probably Vizag Dt., to Lenduluru, modern Dendulur near Ellore.

Now, taking 400 A. D., as the closing date of the founder Mādhavavarmā I, granting an average of 25 years as the period of rule for every succeeding king, we get 525 A. D., as the date for the accession of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the donor of the Rāmatīrtham plates. It must be during this king's reign, as noted already, that the Eastern Gaṅga king, Adhirājendra or Indravarmā Rājsiṃha of Kaliṅga-

nagara of the 87th and 91st year of Gāṅgeya Era, found a powerful alliance of the neighbouring princes and defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka and wrested South Kaliṅga from out of his hands.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins who were thus left to rule over Veṅgi continued to do so in the 6th century A. D. till overthrown by the Cālukyan Emperor Pulikesin II about 609 A. D. He appointed his younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana I to rule over Veṅgi as its Viceroy. In 615 A. D., this prince established an independent line known as Eastern Cālukyans and ruled for 18 years över Veṅgi and south Kaliṅga which later place is mentioned in one of his grants. It would appear that South Kaliṅga which was conquered by the Eastren Gaṅgas from out of the hands of Viṣṇukuṇḍins passed into the hands of the Eastern Cālukyans in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. The Eastern Cālukyans established their power over the whole of Eastern Dekkan from Nellore in the south, up to Ganjam in the north. The inscriptions of several kings of this line dating from the beginning of the 7th century to the middle of the 13th century are found all over south Kaliṅga (modern Vizag District) and the places Yelamanchi—Kaliṅga, Madhyama Kaliṅga, Devarāṣṭra are all mentioned in their grants as belonging to them. The Eastren Gaṅgas should therefore be considered to have ruled over Kaliṅga proper *i. e.*, modern Ganjam district and most of their C. P. inscriptions which are discovered so far, are found in that district, excepting a few discovered in Vizag.

D.-1. Samudragupta's Invasion and After.

Before we take up the detailed study of these Eastern Gaṅgas, we must note that a line of kings called " Kaliṅga

kings" (because their dynastic name is nowhere mentioned in their records) ruled over Kaliṅga with their early capital at Piṣṭapura and later capitals at Sarepalli and Siṃhapura in Ganjam district. The names of these kings are not mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription, nor the name Kaliṅga. It would appear that the country of Kaliṅga during the middle of the 4th century A. D. was divided into half a dozen small territorial units or more, which were ruled by different kings: It is these kings that are mentioned in the pillar inscription, which mentions the following conquests:—

Kausalaka Mahendra; Mahākāntāraka Vyāghrarāja; Kairalaka Mantarāja; Paiṣṭhapuraka Mahendra; Giri Kauthuraka Svāmidatta; Eraṇḍapallaka Damana; Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa; Avamuktaka Nīlarāja; Vaṅgeyaka Hastivarmā; Palakkaka Ugrasena;

Daivarāṣṭraka Kubera; Kausthalapuraka Dhanañjaya; — prabhtisarvadakṣiṇāpatharājagrahaṇamokṣānugrahajanitapratāponmiśramahābhāgyasya.

From the above account, we learn that four or five divisions of Kaliṅga Deśa were ruled over by independent princes about 340 A. D. We also learn that south Kosala or Berar and Mahākāntāra or the great Forest region corresponding to the Agency division of Madras, which are included in N. E. Dekkan were ruled by independent princes. None of these countries seem to have formed part of the Gupta Empire. But later on they formed the bone of contention between the Vākātakas and the Eastern Gaṅgas as pointed out by Dubrieul.

2. History of Kaliṅga Kings—Not Gaṅgas.

It would appear from Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription that Svāmidatta was the king of Piṣ-

ṭapura—and Mahendragiri Kottura in Kaliṅga during the middle of the fourth century A. D. From the Ragolu plates (*vide* Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII) of Śaktivarmā we learn that that king also had his capital at Piṣṭapura and ruled over Kaliṅga Viṣaya and granted the village of Rakaluva (modern Ragole four miles from modern Chicacole) in it in his 13th regnal year to the Brahmin Kumārasvāmī. The grant was written by his minister Arjunadatta. The alphabet of the grant is that of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Sālaṅkāyana grants and the Brihatproshta grant of Umāvarmā who granted a village to the Brahmin scholar Haridatta in his 30th regnal year. The alphabet and the Phraseology of all these grants closely resembles those of the Komarti plates of Mahārāja Candravarmā who granted the village of Kohittura (Probably Mahendragiri Kottur of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.) From his capital Siṃhapura in the sixth year of his reign and also those of Nandaprabhañjanavarmā who granted from his capital Sarepalli the village of Dayavata for the benefit of the Brahmin Hariścandra Svāmī. The text of these grants closely resemble the Sālankāyana and the Sālankāyana and the Pallava grants of fourth and fifth century A. D. On Paleographic grounds the grants may be referred to the middle of the fifth centry A. D. It is probable that these Varmā kings of Kaliṅga were related to the Sālaṅkāyanas and the Pallavas and that they ruled over Kaliṅga from their capital at Piṣṭapura and that owing to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin conquest of Veṅgi they were obliged to found new Capitals in Kaliṅga itself. From the epithet Sakalakaliṅgādhipati and Mahārāja, we learn that they set up an independent rule over Kaliṅga. From the similarity of the titles used by all

these kings, we have to learn that they all belong to the same dynasty, the name of which is not given. So, we can call them "Kaliṅga kings" and fix the following genealogy and chronology, obtained by the internal evidences supplied by their grants:—

Svāmidatta 340 A. D., Capital Piṣṭapura.
mentioned in Samudragupta's Pillar Inscription.

Śaktivarmā 375 A. D. Do.

Umāvarmā 400 A. D. Capital Siṃhapura

Caṇḍavarmā 425 A. D. Do.

Nandaprabhañjanavarmā 450 A. D. Capital Sarepalli. The exact relationship between these kings is not known from their records. But scholars like Dr. fleet opined that they might be closely related to Sālaṅkāyans owing to similarity of titles, names etc. etc. I stated while editing Sālaṅkāyana Nandivarmā's plates that Sālaṅkāyanas and Pallavas might he closely related. It is probable that after the fall of Andhra Empire, the Country to the South of the river Krishna as well as to the north passed into Pallava hands or closely allied tribes.

3. Coming now to the *History of Kaliṅga under Early Eastern Gangas,* I have to State that so far it has been neglected. Of the three kingdoms of N. E. Dekkan, Viz., 1 Mahākosala or Dakṣiṇa kosala (Modern Berar) 2. Mahākāntāra (Bastar and Agency Division of Madras). 3. Kaliṅga. (East Coast plain extending from the river Mahānadī to the Godāvarī), this last country played a very important part and though books on the history of the Dekkan written by some scholars do not give any account of the Gaṅgavaṃśa rule over Kaliṅga, we can now, thanks to the discovery of their records, give some account.

So far, 20 copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings have been published. From a critical examination of the same we get the following list (arranged in order of time noted in the records) of early Ganga kings who ruled over Kaliṅga.

1. Hasti-varmā of the Urlam plates, who granted the village of Urumalla in the 80th year of the Gāṅgeya era.

2. Indravarmā (Rājasiṃha) of the Acyutapuram plates and the Takkali plates both dated in the 87th year and of the Parlakimidi plates dated in the 91st year of the Gāṅgeya era.

3. Indravarmā of the Kaliṅga plates (two sets found in Chicacole) dated in the 128th and 136th year respectivly.

4. Dānārṇava's son, Indravarmā of the Purli plates and the Tekkali plates dated in the years 137 and 154 respectivly.

5. Guṇāraṇava's son, Devendravarmā of the Chicacole and Siddhantam plates dated in the 183 and 195 years respectively.

6. Devendravarmā's son, Anantavarmā, who in the 204th year of the Gāṅgaya era gave Thalathere to a Vedic scholar at the instance of his brother Jayavarmā.

7. Anantavarmā's son Srī Mānandā Varmā of the Santo Bomvali plates date 221.

8. Anantavarmā's son, Devendravarmā of the Kaliṅga plates and the Vizag plates dated in the 251st and 254th years respectively.

9. Rājendravarmā's son, Anantavarmā of the Alāmanda plates dated in the 304th year of the Gāṅgeya era.

10. Rājendravarmā's son, Devendravarmā of the Takkali plates dated in the 308th year and of the Bangalore

Museum plates dated probably 700 A. D." (Vide Ep. Carnataka, Bangalore volume.)

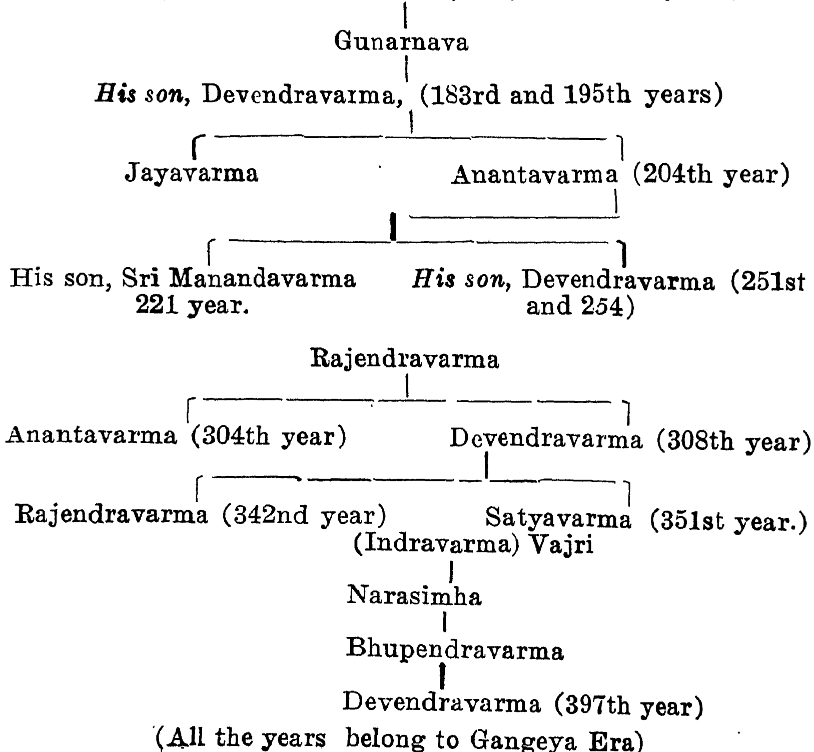
11. Devendravarmā's son, Rājendravarmā of 342nd year of the Gāṅgeya era. (vide J. B. O. R. S., vol. 12 page 101)

12. Devendravarmā's son, Satyavarmā of the Chicacole plates dated in the 352nd year of Gāṅgeya era.

13. Bhūpendravarmā's son, Devendravarma of Cheedivalasa plate dated in 397th year of Gāṅgeya era.

From the above list, the following genealogy may be arranged:—

Hastivarmā (80th year),
Indravarmā (87th and 91st years)
Dānārṇava.
His son, Indravarma (128, 136, 137, and 154th years).



(All the years belong to Gangeya Era)

E. GAṄGA CHRONOLOGY.

The chronology of the early Gaṅgas presents insurmountable difficulty. Scholars have suggested already several dates for the beginning of the Gāṅgeya Era. An unknown writer who edited Hastivarmā's Urlam plates in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika dated May 1920, stated that Hastivarmā of the Urlam plates must be the same as the Hastivarmā of Vengi, who was defeated by Samudragupta. He also stated that Hastivarmā of the Urlam plates lived in 340. A. D. Further, since Hastivarmā of Urlam plates has mentioned 80th year of the Gāṅgeya era, he wrote, that date would synchronise with Samudragupta's invasion about 350 A.D. Finally, he concluded by writing that about 270 A.D. (350—80), the Gāṅgeya era was started. But, the writer's arguments are open to serious objection because, the Allahbad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta expressly states that it was Hastivarmā of Veṅgi and not Hastivarmā of Kaliṅganagara that was defeated by him. It must also be remembered that the Hastivarmā of Veṅgi was a Sālaṅkāyana, while the Hastivarmā of the Urlam plates was a Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka. Hence, Hastivarmā of the Urlam plates cannot be the same as Hastivarmā of Veṅgi and so he cannot be held to be a contemporary of Samudragupta. Thus, the writer's agument that the 80th year of the Gāṅgeya era would equivalent to 270 A.D. falls to the ground.

In an article, on the chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa research society (Vol. IX) dated 1923 by my friend Mr. G. Ramdas B.A., the theories put forward by Dr. Fleet to settle the epoch of the Gāṅgeya era, (Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI) were closely examined. In editing the

Parlakimidi plates of Mahārāja Indravarmā, Dr. Fleet stated that *the Epoch of the Gangeya era still remained to be determined.* However, while previously publishing the Chicacole grants, Dr. Fleet stated that the clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarmā's grant of the 128th year. Also, he stated that the Indravarmā of the grant of 128th year might possibly be identical with the Adhirājendra who overthrew Indrabhaṭṭāraka, a younger brother of the Eastern Cālukyan king Jayasiṃha I (A.D., 633—666) Mr. Ramadas availed himself of the clues supplied by Dr. Fleet, but after a detailed astronomical calculation, stated that the years suggested by Dr. Fleet to determine the beginning of the Kaliṅga Gaṅga Era would not stand the test and that Indravarmā of 128th year could not be indentified with Adhirāja Indra mentioned in the Godāvarī Grant of Rājā Pṛthvīmūla.

Mr. Ramdas stated that, from the use of the phrase "Vijayarājasaṁvatsara" found in all the Gaṅga grants, the Vijayam or the victory alluded to, signified the independence of Kaliṅga, from out of the hands of the Piṣṭapura kings, who formerly ruled over Kaliṅga but who were defeated by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. He has instituted a comparison between the characters of the plates of Early Gaṅgas and those of the plates of Guptas and opined that the initial year of the Kaliṅga era should be placed between the years 330 and 400 A.D. Further, he has stated thus:—"Since the exploits of Samudragupta belonged to this period and since he defeated Svāmidatta, Kaliṅga might have passed under his control and then he must have shown mercy by placing one of his followers on the throne of the conquered

country, namely, Kaliṅga." This follower according to him was a Gaṅga prince who out of gratitude must have founded the Gaṅga era. Further he added "Taking the 351st year of Gāṅgeya Era o be the last year of Satyavarmā's reign, Kāmārṇava I (founder of later Gāṅgeyas) seems to have ascended the throne 351 years after the founding of the era..............It is seen that Kāmārṇava I came to throne in Śaka 651. So, the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the Era is Śaka 300 or A.D. 378." This falls within Śaka 251—301, the dates of Samudragupta's accession and death respectively.

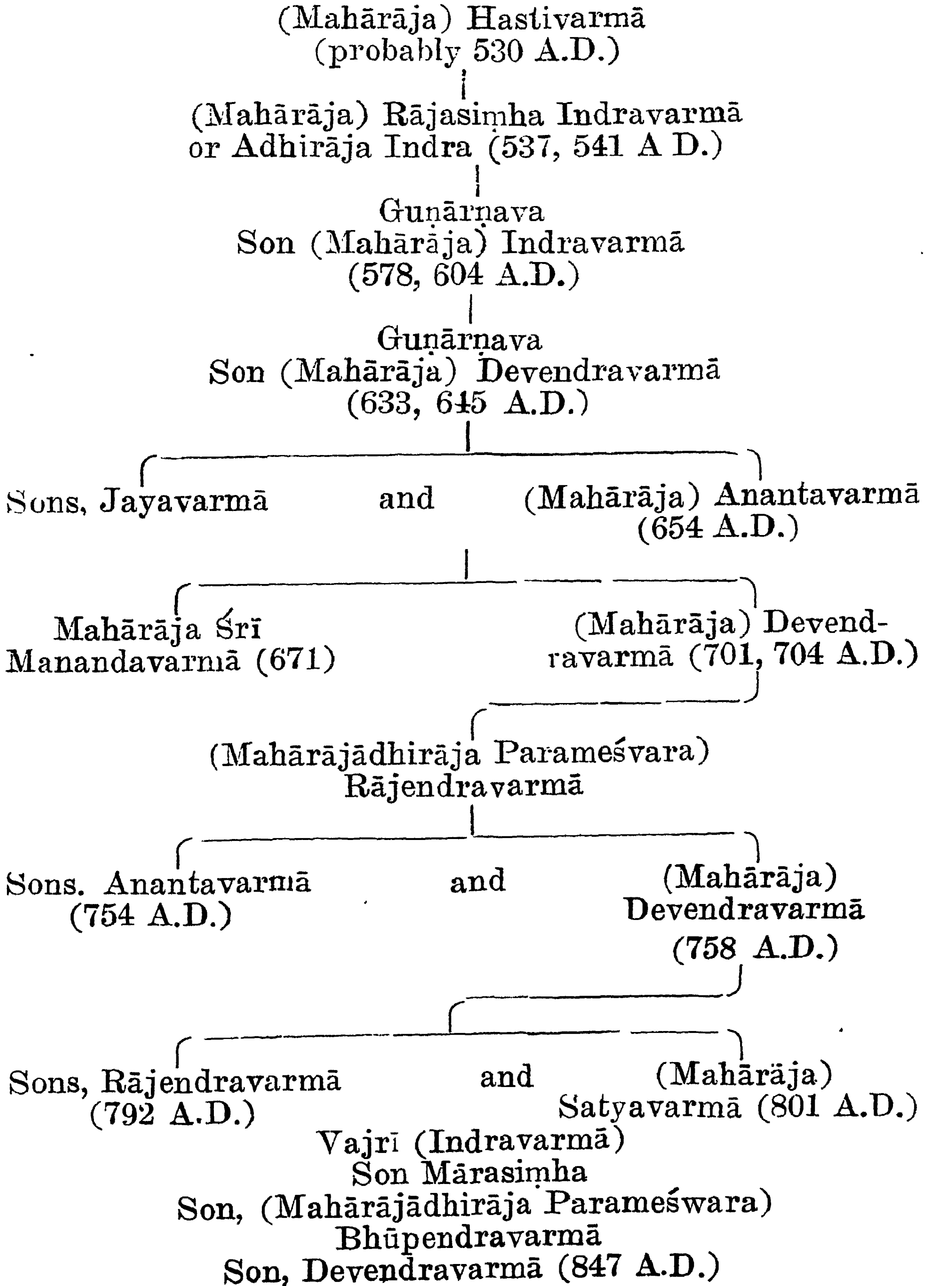
Finally by a series of astronomical calculations, based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in Gaṅga grants he came to the conclusion that the Śaka year 271 or A.D. 349 would be the the year when the Gāṅgeya era was initiated.

The above conclusions of my friend do not bear the test of time, owing to the discovery of the Cheedivalasa grant of Devendravarmā which is dated in the 397th year of the Gāṅgeya era. If, according to my friend, the Gāṅgeya era was founded in Śaka 271, Devendravarmā of the present grant would have ruled in the Śaka year 668 or A. D, 746 *i.e.*, 17 years after Kāmārṇava's accession to the throne of later Gaṅga dynasty according to my friend's calculation and 23 years according to other calculation.

In other words, the donor of the Cheedivalasa grant and Kāmārṇava the first, the founder of the later Gaṅga line would not only be contemporaries, but would also rule from the same place viz. Kaliṅganagara. This would be hard to accept. Under the circumstances, it must be said that the era could not be founded in 271 Śaka as stated by my friend. From a study of the Palæographv, the alphabet

of the grants of the early Gaṅga kings cannot be held to belong to such an early date, as is suggested by the chronology of my friend. Also, the internal evidence of the several grants preculdes us from accepting the arguments of Mr. Ramdas that the Eastern Gaṅgas were placed on the throne by the Gupta Emperor, Samudra Gupta. Not only do they fail to tell us the same but they also proclaim that the Early Gaṅga kings established their power over Kaliṅga by their own prowess. Further, it must be noted that Gupta era was not at all recognised but on the other hand the "Augmenting Victorious Gāṅgeya era" was started just like the "Augmenting Victorious Gupta era." If the Gaṅgas had been placed on the Kaliṅga throne by Samudra Gupta, they would have adopted the Gupta era dating from 319—320 A.D, (not 349 A. D. as Mr. Ramdas thinks) and they would not have ventured to start an independent era of their own. As was pointed out in my article on Gāṅgeya Era contributed to J. A. H. R. Vol. 2. Part 2 the Eastern Gaṅga kings started their era only after the decline and fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the fifth century about 450 A.D. or 460 A.D.

16. From the above account, we get the genealogy and chronology of the Eastern Gaṅgas as follows:—



Social and Religious conditions:—

The early Kaliṅga kings who ruled in the 4th and 5th century A.D. called themselves in their records Parama Bhāgavatas, Mātāpitṛpādānudhyātas, Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipatis, Māhārājas etc.

The order was always addressed to the Kuṭumbins (cultivators) of villages granted, whose consent or advice in the matter was found necessary. Though the Dynastic name or Gotra of the Donor is not given, the country, name and Gotra of the Donee were always mentioned.

These grants were made from the royal residence, a walled town or even village. The early grants consisted of houses or fields or small hamlets and these were made for merit, learning or valuable services rendered to kings in the occasion of solar or lunar eclipse or on the occasion of Makara Saṅkrānti or other festive occasions such as marriage, conquest, recovery from ill-health etc.

The script of the records and the titles borne by them closely resemble those of the Sālaṅkayan and Pallavan. Though they call themselves 'Paramabhāgavatas' they seem to be Śivabhāgavatas. The term 'Sakalakaliṅga' may devolve after all a part of Ganjam Dt. Parlakimidi and Chicacole Talakimidi and Chicacole Talugs. The title Mahārāja may denote a subordinate position because titles like Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka alone show paramount position.

This *Kaliṅga line* of kings came to be succeeded by the *Gaṅga vaṃśa* or *gaṅga kula* line of kings in the later half of 5th Century. A.D. after the fall of Gupta-vākātakas They are to be called *Early gaṅgas* whose records are found from the time of Vajrahasta dated Śaka 960. They

are also to be called *Eastren Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga Nagara as* opposed to *Western Gaṅgas of Talkad.*

According to Prof. Hiralal, the Śailodbhava or Śailavaṃśa was changed into Gaṅgavaṃśa and the dynasty had its origin in the region of Mahānadī, though the W. Gaṅga Inscriptions are found from 3rd C. A. D. and E. Gaṅga Inscriptions from 5th C. A. D. the earliest which give a detailed account of their origin belong to latter times—11th C. A. D. Hariścandra had son Bharata whose wife bathed in R. Ganges at the time of conception and got a son called Gaṅgā Datta who founded the Ganga line. One of his Successsors, Viṣṇnugupta had two sons, Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta between whom he divided the kingdom. *The former got Kaliṅga* and the latter got the ancestral country with elephant as crest. A successor of the latter, Padmanābha had to fight against the ruler of Ujjain. So he sent his two sons Dadiga and Mahādeva with some brahmins to the help of a Jain Guru Siṃhanandī at Gangavadi. The Eastern Gaṅgas (latter line) have also similar stories to tell as about their origin. They also trace their name to Gaṅgā or Ganges. The Greek Geographer Ptolemy and Latin writers like Virgil and Curtins refer to 'Gangaridae.' Phiny writes of Gangaridae Calingae or Ganges of Kaliṅga. It would appear that the tribe of Gaṅgas originally dwelt in the Ganges Basin from whence they moved down to south or Dakṣiṇa along the east coast plain, just as the other northern tribes moved into dekkan along the western route. The invasion of the Hūṇas and the defeat of the Guptas caused a revolution in the north and so by the year 500 A.D , a No. of nothern dynasties moved into the south and formed kingdoms. This fact explains their inclination to follow the northern customs political and social.

The early Eastern Gaṅga kings had their capital at Vijaya-Kaliṅga Nagara from which they issued many of their grants. They were even all worshippers of Gokarṇasvamī of Mt. Mahādevagiri. They call themselves conquerors of Sakala Kaliṅga. They were the establishers of the spotless family of Gaṅga. They were Mātāpitṛpādānu-dhyātas, Paramamāheśvaras and Mahārājas. Though most of the grants were made from the capital, a few were made from Dantapusa and other places. Again, though most of the grants were made to brahmins a few were made to vaiśyas and rājaputras also. Gotra and Śākhā as well as the country of the Donees are all given. The grants were made to brahmins to provide worship and offerings to god parameśvara, or to obtain increased merit for the king and his parents. They were also made on the occasion of eclipse, marriage, conquest, etc. The writers and executors of these grants were sometimes Madanāṅkura Pallava, Pallava Candra or similar people or Dharma *Khedi,* Ugra Khedi or other Khedi Kadambas who seem to be related to the kings. The king's order was addressed to the cultivators (Kuṭumbins) and village heads (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Pramukhas) of the place granted.

The villages granted were made perpetually free from all taxes obstacles, and entry of soldiers. Water and other facilities were also given.

In all the early Eastern Gaṅga grants, Brahmins are known by their *gotras* and their *Śākhās* or branches of Vedic ritual or Sūtra. They are also called Vaṅga Brahmins or Kāmarūpa Brahmins probably, after the name of the country to which they belonged. In other words, Gotra and Śākhā seem to be the only distinguishing features then among the Brahmins. The same may be said of the Kṣa-triyas with the exception that they do not mention their

Gotras in their inscriptions. While the early Cālukyan, and Pallava kings of the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. mention their Gotra in their grants, the later dynasties like Rāṣṭrakūtas, Pratihāras and Eastern Gaṅgas nowhere mention their Gotra. As rightly pointed out by Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his book on Mediaeval Hindu India, the Kula came to be known as Gotra as for instance, Pratihāra Gotra and Guhila Gotra. Similarly, the Gāṅgeya Kulānvayas and the Gaṅgamālākulatilakas may be said to belong to the Gāṅgeya Gotra. Mr. Vaidya, it is due to the fact that Vedic ritual and Vedic sacrifices were not in vogue with the Kṣatriyas and the worship of Puranic deities especially of Śiva became supreme. The former required the recital of Gotra and Pravara, while the latter did not. Naturally Gotra and and Pravara lost importance with the Kṣatriyas who never lost respect for Vedas and Vedic ritual not involving killing of animals and hence have preserved the memory of Gotras and Pravara. Some of the Kings were learned men who knew Vedas and Śāstras and who performed sacrifices. Devendravarmā of Cheedivalasa plates gave gifts of land to Brahmin scholars for the reason " Mayā ijyādhyayana-kriyārabhyate". They were all "paramamāheśvaras". They erected Śiva temples and worshipped liṅgas. Almost all dynasties during this period followed Śaivite worship though Viṣṇu cult and Jain worship were tolerated. This Śiva worship is stated to be more congenial to valour and spirit of independence. Both the Eastern Gaṅga kings and Eastern Cālukyan kings refer in their grants to their worshipping Śaivite Gods and Goddesses situated on mountain tops and winning victories as the result of such worship. The whole of Veṅgi and Kaliṅga countries are studded with Īśvara liṅgas. The

account of Hiuen Tsang shows that in Kongoto or Konyodha Kaliṅga and Veṅgi countries Bhuddism was declining and Brahminic Hinduism as evidenced by the presence of Deva temples was rising into prominence.

The qualities of the king have thus been described in their records. They were noted for Naya, Vinaya, Dayā, Dākṣiṇya, Śaurya, Audārya, Satya, Tyāgādiguṇa, Mātāpitṛpādānudhyāta, etc. They were Gokarṇasvāmipadabhaktas and paramamāheśvaras. Later kings had the titles Mahārājādhirājaparameśvara showing that they obtained paramount power over the whole of kaliṅga. These kings like the kings of other dynasties of the time were Brahminical Kṣatriyas who followed the lead of the Brahmanic priests and who built Śaivite temples and encouraged Sanskrit learning. In fact, the Aryan civilization of the north was freely introduced and developed in the Dekkan. These kings were accustomed to be absolute rulers though they had to follow the advice of the Purohitas, Ministers and other officers. Their rule may therefore be described as benevolent despotism. The rules of Mānavadharmaśāstra and the principles of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra operated freely.

The king was at the head of the administration. All land belonged to him. He therefore received taxes. In addition to taxes, customs dues, court fees, dues from forests and mines, gifts and benevolences were received. The village formed the lowest unit of administration. The village heads known as Rāṣṭrakūṭa Pramūkhas were consulted in all matters of local administration. They were responsible for the collection of kings dues and for the preservation of peace and order. The villages were self sufficing units which enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

E. F.—History of Kosala and Veṅgi.

According to Hiuen Tsang, north-east Dekkan comprised the following kingdoms in the first half of the 7th century A. D. :—

1. Udra or Ucha or Orissa. It was 1,400 miles in circuit and had its capital probably at Jajpur 5 miles in extent. The soil was rich and fertile and produced all kinds of grain and strange flowers and fruits. The people were uncivilized, of yellow black colour and spoke a language different from that of Central India. They were fond of learning. Their country was a strong seat of Buddhism, for, there were hundreds of Saṅghārāmas with ten thousand monks and only about fifty Deva temples. A Saṅghārāma called Puṣpagiri situated on a great mount which had a Stūpa close by was visited by Buddhists. This country had to the south-east a great sea port called Charitra and merchants from China, Japan, East Indies obtained precious stones, elephants, cotton fabrics etc., and exported them from this port.

South west of Orissa was Koniyodhya; the people were brave and impulsive but black. They were polite and honest and used the same written characters as in Mid-India but their pronunciation was different. Buddhism was not followed. Hinduism was rising. The nation was powerful. It had cities protected by walls and an army brave and enterprizing. They ruled neighbouring provinces by force As their country bordered on the sea, the people were seafaring and trade increased. Cowrie shells and pearls were used in commercial transactions. This country may be identified with the northern part of Ganjam and the southern part of Puri *i. e.*, the region round the Chilka lake. In latter times it was ruled over by Bhanja kings.

To the south-west of this and beyond a vast jungle, lay Kaliṅga. It was one thousand miles in circuit and its capital was 5 miles round. The soil was fertile but the jungles were full of wild elephants. The people were rough and uncivilized but brave and honest. At one time, Kaliṅga was very populous (during the time of Aśoka and Kharavela ?) but later on, it declined owing to the frequent invasions of neighbouring kings.

To the north-west of Kaliṅga lay Kosala (Modern Berar). It was one thousand miles round and its capital was 8 miles in circuit. The population was very dense. Towns were protected by walls. People were tall, black, impetuous, brave and honest. Both Buddhism and Hinduism were prevalent. There was a great and celebrated rock-cut five-storeyed Buddhist monastery with Vihāras enclosed.

Then the pilgrim visited Āndhra or Veṅgi country which was then ruled over by Jayasiṃha I of Eastern Cālukyan line. The country was six hundred miles in circuit and had 20 Saṅghārāmas and 30 Deva temples. South of this country lay Dhanakaṭaka or "great Āndhra" which was probably ruled over by the Pallava kings.

An account of South Kosala and Veṅgi from inscriptions.

This country formed part of the Āndhra Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The 23rd Āndhra king Goutamīputra Śātakarṇi is said, according to Nasik cave inscription to have conquered South Kosala or Berar along with the other countries of the Dekkan excluding the three southern-most Tamil kingdoms. Till the fall of the Āndhra Empire in 226 A. D. it formed a part of it and then it became separate under a new line of kings, prob-

ably Pallava in origin. Samudragupta in his Pillar in scription states that he conquered Mahendra of Kosala and then Vyaghrarāja of Mahākāntāra and finally entered Kaliṅga. It is doubtful whether this country formed a part of the early Gaṅga rule because none of the inscriptions of this line are discovered there. We next hear of its conquest by Pulakeśin II the western Cālukyan Emperor who after conquering it defeated the ruler of Kaliṅga at Piṣtapura and made Kaliṅga and Veṅgi into a separate Viceroyalty under his younger brother. About the middle of the 7th century A. D., the Chinese Bhuddist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited it and left a very instructive account of it which is given already. The Eastern Cālukyan king Vijayāditya II who ruled for 44 years in the first half of the 9th century A.D. and who ruled over both Veṅgi and Kaliṅga as attested by the discovery of his inscriptions in both the countries defeated a certain Nāgarāja of South Kosala. His step-brother is said to belong to Haihaya dynasty, his mother being the daughter of the Kalacuri king of Tripura. Vijayāditya IV claims to have conquered the region of Trikaliṅga along with its forests. The Eastern Cālukyans defeated the Kaliṅgas and obtained the elephants from the Kousalas. From the above account it is clear that the Eastern Calukyans tried to conquer Kosala but in vain. The Vākāṭakas claim to have defeated the Kousalas. Narendrasena in an inscription claims to have conquered Kosala, Makala, and Mālava in 467 A. D. Another king of the Vākāṭakas Harisena (50) to 530 A. D.) claims to have made conquests in all directions and conquered Mālava, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra. In 510, Bhānugupta of Mālava is said to have allied himself with the king of Śarabhapura which is identified as Kosala by Dubrueil, but was defeated by Harisena. "It is probable that the Vākāṭaka

dynasty was replaced in the middle of the 6th century A. D. by that of Kalacuris who held the possession of all the country between Nasik and Ujjain''. Dubrueil states that Raipur on river Mahānadī was ruled over by kings of Śarabhapura, and that it was situated between Kaliṅga and Vākāṭaka kingdoms Its kings were the vassals of Vākāṭakas and the letters of their inscriptions are 'boxheaded like those of Guptas and Vākāṭakas'. The two most powerful kings that ruled over South Kosala in the latter half of the 5th century A. D. were Sudeva and Jaya. What is known as Amarakanṭak region was included in Kosala. It would appear that the Kalacuris of Chéda conquered Kosala at the close of 8th century and fought for extension of power in the 9th century with their neighbours the Eastern Gaṅgas and Eastern Calukyans.

Conclusion :—The History of this part of India is still shrouded in obscurity from which a few inscriptions reveal a very interesting picture. It is clear that N. E. Dekkan in the first millennium A. D. was subject to the same position to which N. W. Dekkan was. The fall of the Andhra Empire due probably to Pallava invasion resulted in the establishment of several Brahmanical dynasties. A Hindu Brahmanical Revival followed by the extensive use of Sanskrit, performance of Horse sacrifices, study of Vedas, gifts to Brahmans and Temples, took place after the Buddhist age. The Aryan culture and civilisation of Northern India freely flowed into the Dekkan through the channels of the Vākāṭaka, E. Gaṅga and E. Cālukyan rulers. The administration of justice according to Mānava Dharma Śāstra and Cāṇakya's Arthra Śāstra and reconstruction of Varṇāśrama and religious ideals which were modified by Buddhist tenets and spread of Aryan civilisation freely into the Dravidian South were no mean achievements of this period.

ASSAMESE HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

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The talented compiler of the Gupta inscriptions deplored, in the following words, the absence of ancient historical compilations in India,—"Rich as have been their bequests to us in other lines, the Hindus have not transmitted to us any historical works which can be accepted as reliable for any early times.....It is, indeed, very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense, in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines."[1] This statement would have been qualified to a great extent if it had been known that the Assamese people have preserved regular chronicles of their country from very early times. This claim is substantiated by what Sir George Abraham Grierson said several years ago in the *Linguistic Survey of India*,—"The Assamese are justly proud of their national literature. In no department have they been more successful than in a branch of study in which India, as a rule, is curiously deficient. The historical works, or Buranjis, as they are styled by the Assamese, are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification to an Assamese gentleman."

Anandarām Dhekiāl Phukan, the first Assamese to receive the light of western culture, and who rose to the rank of a District Magistrate at the age of twenty-seven, wrote

(1). Dr. J. F. Fleet's *Indian Epigraphy*, reprinted from *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, pp. 3 and 5.

so early as 1855,—"In no department of literature do the Assamese appear to have been more successful than in History. Remnants of historical works that treat of the times of Bhagadatta, a contemporary of Rajah Yúdhiṣṭhir, are still in existence. The chain of historical events, however, since the last 600 years, has been carefully preserved, and their authenticity can be relied upon. It would be difficult to name all the historical works, or as they are styled by the Assamese, *Buranjis*. They are numerous and voluminous. According to the custom of the country, a knowledge of the Buranjis was an indispensable qualification in an Assamese gentleman, and every family of distinction, and specially the Government and public officers, kept the most minute records of historical events, prepared by the learned Paṇdits of the country."[1]

Of these Buranjis, many have been recovered while many more are still in possession of ancient families They are written in fast-coloured ink on polished strips of the bark of *Saci* tree, *Aquilaria Agallocha.* We may classify these chronicles under three main heads, confining our remarks to those which we have ourselves seen and gone through.

1. Desultory chronicles of the Hindu kings of Kāmarūpa, from Bhagadatta to the consquest of Assam by the Āhoms, a Shan tribe, in 1228 A. D.

2. Chronicles of the Āhom kings of Assam, from 1228 to the termination of their rule in 1826 continued up to 1838 A. D.

3. Chronicles of countries other than Assam.

Beside the above three classes there are numerous

(1) A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language. 1855, pp. 45—46.

varieties of chronicles supplementing and amplifying the information found in the former, and they are dynastic archives and chronicles, family histories or Vaṃśāvalīs, chronicles of the religious institutions or Satra Buranjis, and metrical chronicles dealing with the lives of religious pontiffs and founders of the numerous religious creeds and monasteries of Assam.

1. **Chronicles of Early Kāmarūpa Rulers.**—History and tradition are interwoven in the texture of these chronicles, and none of them gives an exhaustive survey of all the rulers, though attempts are made to indicate the chronology by the mention of succeeding dynasties with the names of their prominent representatives. One feels that the crude chroniclers have committed 'the fault of treating contemporaneous dynasties as successive'. Some names occurring here are to be found in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa kings, published from time to time in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the *Epigraphica Indica*[1].

According to these chronicles, the earliest king of Assam or Kāmarūpa was Mahiraṅga-dānava, son of Brahmā, who had his capital at Moiroka near Gauhāti. He was succeeded by Hatakāsur, Śambarāsur and Ratnāsur. The last king was killed by Viṣṇu, who installed Narakāsur on the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa. After the death of Naraka in the hands of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the great Bhagadatta of Kurukṣetra fame sat on the throne of Kāmarūpa. Discrepancies are noticeable in the enumeration of the successors of Bhagadatta, and we come across the following names, Bhagadatta's son Dharmapāla, his son Kāmapāla,

1. The copper-Plate grants of the following kings of Kamarupa were published in the J. A. S. B. for 1840, 1894, 1897 and 1898 respectively, Vanamaladeva, Balavarman, Indrapala, Ratnapala ; those of Vaidyadeva and Bhaskaravarman in Ep. Ind. for 1914. See S. K. Bhuyan's *Copper-plate and Stone Inscriptions of Old Assam*,

his son Pṛthvīpāla, and numerous other kings of the Bhagadatta line, extending over nineteen generations, each ruler reigning for a period of 105 to 125 years. Then came a king of another dynasty, named Mādhava, whose son Lakṣmīpāla invaded Gauḍa, and died after a reign of 74 years. Lakṣmīpāla's son Subāhu, Suvānga in some chronicles, detained the horse let loose by Rājā Vikramāditya in connection with his Aśvamedha sacrifice. Vikramāditya invaded Prāgjyotiṣapura, and rescued his horse after vanquising Subāhu, who then retired to the Himalayas with his wife and children. He was succeeded by his minister Sumati, though he had a son, Subala, who joined his father in his penances. There were 21 kings of the dynasty of Mādhava[1]. Then a Kṣatriya, named Jitāri, who belonged to the Draviḍa country occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa, and assumed the name Dharmapāla, who brought to Assam several families of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas from Gauḍa and Kanauj. Dharmapāla's son Śatānīka, also known as Ratnapāla or Raktasiṃha invaded the Gauḍa kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Somapāla. The Kṣatriya dynasty founded by Jitāri ruled for 8, according to some manuscripts 17, generations, the last being Rāmacandra or Pratāpasiṃha, whose son through Candraprabhā, named Śaśāṅka or Arimatta, became ruler of all the four *pīṭhas* of Kāmarūpa, Ratna, Kāma, Svarṇa and Saumāra. Arimatta constructed a huge rampart, which is known as Vaidyargarh up to this day ; he was defeated by the invader Phinguā, of the royal family of Kamatā, who had learnt the vulnerable point in

1. Gunabhiram Barua memtions 17 Kings of the Dynasty. they were Buddhists. Subahu is said to have ruled for 105 years. Acc. to Gunabhiram Lakshmipala was the Penultimate sovereign of the Dynasty.

the war-methods of Ārimatta from the latter's wife Raktamālā. Phinguā murdered Raktamālā, but he himself was killed by Ārimatta's son Raktasiṃha or Gajāṅka, who then ascended the throne of his father. Gajāṅka was succeeded by his son Sukarāṅka, and the latter by Mṛgāṅka. Ārimatta's descendants ruled for four generations, for the period of 240 years, from *śaka* 1160 to 1400. Mṛgāṅka was childless, and he died of consumption as a punishment for carrying on secret liaison with a Brāhmaṇa woman. With Mṛgāṅka, the long line of Hindu rulers of Assam came to an end. Kāmarūpa then became divided into numerous principalities, governed by the Bārabhuyāns and others who were gradually subdued by the Āhoms. The kingdom was invaded by Hussain Shāh, Pādshāh of Gaur. Kuch Behar then rose into prominence under Viśvasiṃha in the first half of the sixteenth century[1].

The above synopsis, which has been based on manuscript chronicles without any attempt to divest the narrative of its native crudeness, will convince the reader that a systematic attempt was made in old Assam to record at least the traditions, which have been regarded as a subsidiary source of history, specially when they receive corroboration from other authoritative records, such as inscriptions. The original narrative of the Buranjis might have been drawn from written records which have now been lost, and which may eventually come to light when a more systematic, vigorous and organised attempt is made to

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1. This account of the early Kamarupa rulers is based on two India Office manuscripts, transcripts of which are in the library of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati. I have also consulted Haliram Dhekial Phukan's (father of Anundoram quoted *ante*) History of Assam in Bengali, published in 1829. Phukan appears to have drawn his materials from ms. Chronicles of the class described *Vide* Review of Haliram Phukan's History in the Journal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat by S. K. Bhuyan, 1333 B. E., No. 1.

recover and examine all the manuscripts lying in the archives of Assamese families. Epigraphic records, hitherto discovered, tend more to corroborate in substance than to contradict the account given above, making ample allowance for the absence of the critical spirit which is absolutely a modern product. At least, it has not been proved that any of the facts is unreliable except from the chronological point of view.

Inscriptional evidence helps us to trace the following rulers of Kāmarūpa : Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta interval[1], Puṣyavarman, Samudravarman, Balavarman I, Kalyāṇavarman, Gaṇapativarman, Mahendravarman, Nārāyaṇavarman, Mahābhūtivarman, Candramukhavarman, Sthitavarman, Susthitavarman *alias* Mṛgāṅka, Suprasthitavarman, Bhāskaravarman, interval, Sālastambha, Vigrahastambha, Pālakastambha,. Vijayastambha, inteval (?), Śrī-Harṣa, interval, Pralambha, Harjjara, Vanamāla, Jayamāla, Balavarman II, interval, Tyāgasiṃha, Brahmapāla, Ratnapāla, interval,. Tiṣyadeva, Vaidyadeva. The non-recurrence of most of these names in the chronicles may be due to the following reasons ; first, the epigraphic texts were composed by learned scholars under the strict supervision of ministers to be finally approved by the monarch, and in consultation with authentic dynastic records, where laudatory exaggerations may creep in, as in the case of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman[2] but never an inaccuracy with regard to the names of persons or places: as a reward for his labour the composer's name occasionally goes down to posterity, being engraved in the concluding part of

1. Acc. to Yuan-Chwang the dynasty of Bhagadatta had been ruling for 3,000 years when he Visited Kamarupa ; so the interval between Vajradatta and Pushyavarman may be roughly computed at 2700 years.
2.. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 318.

the inscription, as the one of Mahādandāyaka Hariṣeṇa of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta. The kings are mentioned in their honorific appellations, rather than in their popular titles, except on very rare occasions, where the popular name had some widespread significance as in the case of Bhāskaravarman's father Susthitavarman, whose alternative name Mṛgāṅka also figures in the Nidhanapur copperplate, a title which Haṃsavega could not forbear to mention before Emperor Harṣavardhana[1]. The chronicles of the early period which approximate the free-lance journalism of the present day rather than authoritative official documents, and which were mainly written for popular instruction, generally inserted the names by which the monarchs were known widely among their subjects. Arimatta, who like king Arthur, is the central figure of an extensive cycle of legends is never known as Śaśāṅka, which name occurs curiously only in one chronicle. So we believe some of the chronicle kings of Kāmarūpa may be identical with the sovereigns of the epigraphic relics. Secondly, the inscriptions hitherto discovered, do not help us to trace the missing links ; and intervals of hundreds of years, as in the case of Vajradatta and Puṣyavarman, remain still unbridged. The chronicle kings might have reigned in these intervals.

Now let us turn to the epigraphic corroborations of the chronicle account. In all the inscriptions and Hindu classics, Bhagadatta is regarded as the founder of the dynasty of kings, known after his name, and known also as the Bhauma dunasty[2]. The chronicles give Dharmapāla

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1. Bana's *Harsha-charita*. tr. Cowell and Thomas, p. 217.
2. *Bhauma* is applied to a ruler of Naraka's race in Ratnapala's grant, while *Kaumra* is used as the name of the dynasty to which Vajradatta belonged in Indrapala's grant. *Vide* J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 124; 1898, p. 108.

as the name of Bhagadatta's successor, against Vajradatta in the inscriptions. Dharmapāla is a generic title, being assumed also by the first Dravidian king of Kāmarūpa, Jitāri. Vajradatta might have been known also as Dharmapāla, which has been used by our traditionalist chronicler, leaving the more accurate dynastic name Vajradatta to the official composer.

Another king of Kāmarūpa, Subāhu, is said to have intercepted the sacrificial horse of Vikramāditya evidently a powerful ruler of Northern India. As this tradition has a more general interest we will scrutinise it somewhat minutely. The generic character of the name *Vikramāditya* has now been established beyond question[1]. But who was this particular Vikramāditya who vanquished the Kāmarūpa king, Subāhu, the last king of the Post-Bhagadatta dynasty? There are four recorded conflicts between Kāmarūpa and rulers of Northern India.

(*a*) Kāmarūpa was one of the kingdoms whose rulers *Pratyanta nṛpatis*, gratified the imperious commands and obeyed the orders of the Indian Napoleon, Samudragupta as we learn from the Allahabad inscription[2], which however does not give any *accaunt* of the conquest or subjugation of Kāmarūpa. It is a well known fact that the Imperial Guptas favoured the recrudescence of Hinduism, and that Samudragupta who has been styled in a coin *Aśvamedha Parākrama*, restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice, was supposed to be in abeyance since the time of Puṣyamitra. The conqueror performed the ceremony with great suplendour, where millions of gold and silver coins were distributed among Brāhmaṇas. An inscribed stone figure

1. Vide Indian Antiquary, 1901; J.R.A.S., 1905.
2. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 1.

of a sacrificial horse is now in the Lucknow Museum, though the inscription which was visible before is now almost effaced[1]. Samudragupta's son Candragupta II is regarded as one of the Indian Vikramādityas, during whose reign Kālidāsa is supposed to have flourished. The poet's description of Raghu's *digvijaya* over the Kāmarūpa king[2], who was vanquished in his own territory by the imperial invader, might be an echo of the actual defeat of the ruler of Assam in the hands of the father of the poet's patron. Our chronicler's transferring of the title Vikramāditya from son to father is the most rational historical mistake, in the multiplicity of the title; and besides, who knows that the Indian Napolean himself was not a Vikramāditya?

(*b*) According to the Mandasor stone inscription, Yaśodharman extended his territories up to the Lauhitya. The achievements of this ruler as recorded in the inscription have been held as an instance of panegyrical grandiloquence; and his name is not mentioned in any other contemporary document, except a few inscriptions, which would be impossible if he had been a Vikramāditya.

(*c*) The Aphsad inscription refers to the victory of Mahāsenagupta, one of the later Gupta rulers over Susthitavarman, the fame of which heroic deed was heard on the banks of the Lauhitya during the reign of Mahāsenagupta's grandson Ādityasena, some seventy or eighty years after. Discarding the theory of Susthitavarman being a Maukhari king, and taking him as the Kāmarūpa ruler, being father of Bhāskaravarman[3], we have no additional date to connect

1. Early History of India, p. 288
2. Raghuvamsa, Canto 4, vv. 81-85.
3. The name Susthitavarman does not occur in any Maukhari coin or record, while it is mentioned as that of Bhaskaravarman's father in (1) *Harshacharita*, (2) the Nidhanpur copper-plate, (3) and on the Nalanda seal.

the Mahāsenagupta-Susthitavarman contest with our chronicler's Vikramāditya-Subāhu campaign.

(b) According to the account of the chronicle, the last king of Naraka's line was ousted by Mādhava, who had 20 successors, the last being Subāhu who was defeated by a Vikramāditya. The copper-plate of Ratnapāla, J. A. S. B., 1898, p. 114, states that Naraka's dynasty was overthrown by Sālastambha, a great king of the Mlecchas. Sālastambha had 20 successors, the last being Tyāgasiṃha. The grant of Vanamāladeva, J. A. S. B., 1840, says that Pralambha, father of Harjjaravarman[1], destroyed his enemies and took action against those who were enemies to his ancestors, from Sālastambha to *Śrī-Harṣa*. In the inscription of Jayadeva Paracakrakāma, the Licchavi king of Nepal, Harṣadeva is mentioned as father of Rājyamatī, born of the royal family of Bhagadatta, a tribute which has not been paid to her father Harṣadeva, probably because Rājyamatī's relationship with the Bhagadatta family was derived from the female line[2]. One thing is clear from this inference that, Rajyamatī's mother etc. being of the family of Bhagadatta, Harṣadeva must be of a non-Bhagadatta family, a conclusion which agrees with the evidence of the chronicle account, and Vanamāla's grant read with that of Ratnapāla, and Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar surmises that Harṣadeva of the Nepal inscription is the same as Śrī-Harṣa of Vanamāla's grant. The learned historian points to the possibility of Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa, and lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala, being the Gauḍa ruler who was defeated by Yaśo-

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1. In the rock inscription at Tezpur, of the reign of Harjjaravarman, where the Gupta era 510 has been used, corresponding to 828-29 A. D.

2. The inscription was deciphered by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol-IX. The date of the insep. corresponds to A. D. 758-9.

varman of Kanauj, as described in the Prākṛta poem *Gauḍavaho, i.e.* Gauḍavadha or slaying of the Bengal ruler[1]. Yaśovarman was a veritable Vikramāditya, being patron of Bhavabhūti, and Vākpatirāja the author of *Gauḍavaho*. May we not take the Vikramāditya-Subāhu conflict to be identical with Yaśovarman-Harṣadeva war ?

The chronicles have preserved a large mass of fact lore which is still to be found in oral traditions among unsophisticated people, some being associated with many ancient sites and ruins of the Assam Valley. We hesitate to dismiss the account as untrustworthy, in the paucity of data with which they can be verified, and which may be forthcoming when long-continued investigations will place at our disposal a larger volume of facts. There are instances where tradition has preceded history. I will cite only one. A historical ballad culled by me from a villager, dealing with the life of Badancandra Barphukan, the Ahom Viceroy of Gauhati, who brought over the Burmese to Assam in 1817, gives a picture of an Assamese princess, Rangili by name, the queen of King Bodowapaya of Ava[2]. According to the ballad, Rangili was responsible for securing for Badanacandra the good graces of the Burmese monarch, who lent the supplicant a strong Burmese detachment with which he returned to Assam. The episode was never before known, not being mentioned in any history published up to that date. Subsequent investigations

1. *Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India*, J. I. History, Dec. 1926, p 327. The two questions, 1st. whether Susthitavarman of the Aphsad inscription was a Kamarupa king, and 2nd. Harsadeva's non-Bhagadatta origin, have been discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's "Copper-plate and Stone Inscriptions of Old Assam."

2 *Barphukanar Git*, ed. by S. R. Bhuyan; review in the J. R. A. S. for 1925, pp. 763—768.

proved that Rangili's intercession was a historical fact, which received further corroboration from the Diary of Capt. Hiram Cox, the British Resident at Ava.[1]

With regard to these chronicles, the duty of the future investigator will be to extricate the historical substance from the large mass of narratives of a traditional character. Whatever might be their value, they at least help us to sketch the outline of the ancient history of Kāmarūpa, provisionally, and not entirely in an unconnected form.

2. **Chronicles of the Āhom Rulers, A.D. 1228—1838.**— Our claim that Assam is an exception to the complaint made by western scholars regarding the paucity of historical literature among the Hindus, is based upon chronicles dealing with the events of the Āhom period. The Āhoms were a member of the great Shan race, to which the peoples of Burma and Siam also belong. The Siamese and the Burmans have maintained voluminous chronicles of their countries, known as *P'ongsawadans* and *Azawins* respectively, which betray their historical instincts, though not critical according to our modern conception. The introduction of historiography into Assam by the Āhoms was one of the greatest cultural contributions which they made to the land of adoption. At the same time, there is room for doubt that the contact of Assam with Kashmir, the only other Hindu country which can boast of any historical literature through King Meghavāhana, the Consort of the Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā,[2] and through the invasion of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, might also be responsible for the historical predilections of the

1. *Rangili*, by Srijut Bendhar Sarma, pub. in *Banhi*, Vol. XV., p. 492
2. *Rajatarangini*, tr. A. Stein, Book II, vv. 147—150; III, vv. 9-10.

Assamese people. The question has not yet been finally mooted.

Whatever may be the contributory factors, Assam possesses a voluminous mass of chronicles. They are known as *Buranjis* which is an Āhom word, literally meaning 'a store that teaches the ignorant.' They were compiled under the supervision of Government officials, and the chroniclers were given free access to all the necessary state papers, including despatches from local administrators and commanders engaged in civil and belligerent operations, diplomatic letters, court minutes recorded day to day, as well as proceedings of important judicial trials. Attached to the secretariat there was an army of scribes under an officer called Likhakar Baruā or superintendent of the department of writers. Buranjis were also compiled by the nobles under their immediate supervision or by themselves. They were periodically brought up-to-date. Copies of the chronicles were taken by persons who wanted to preserve in their archives a representative collection of *puthis* or manuscripts. The result was that every family of distinction managed to have a Buranji in its possession.[1]

A knowledge of history was an indespensable factor in the cultural equipment of an Assamese gentleman. It was a part of the training imparted to the children of of princes and nobles. A few pages of a Buranji were recited in royal marriages. It was even believed that the future could be ascertained by consulting hand-written chronicles. All this tended to convert the secular Buranjis

1. The subject of Assamese historiography has been discussed in S. K. Bhuyan's *Ahomar Din*. pp. 89—92; Review of Dr. Wade's *History of Assam*, pub. in Cotton College Magazine for January 1925; and in the Introduction to *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*.

into religious scriptures. In A.D. 1803, an Āhom officer named Śrīnātha Duara Barbaruā had a history compiled of the kings of Tungkhungiyā Dynasty, who reigned from 1682 to the termination of Āhom rule. The preamble to this chronicle testifies to the esoteric veneration with which Buranjis were looked upon in old Assam:

"Salutation to Śrīkṛṣṇa! Salutation to Gaṇeśa! Salutation to Pārvatī! This is the Buranji compiled in *Śaka* 1725 under the orders of the Duarā Barbaruā. Keep it secretly. Do not give it to your son if you have no confidence in him. Paṇḍitas have prohibited the betrayal of princes: and if trust is violated it amounts to an insult shown to one's mother. So keep it in confidence; more specially it is an unfathomable *Śāstra*; who ever finds its bottom? Even great sages become victims of mistakes; so Paṇḍitas should not at random find fault with this book, for if one is bent upon detecting blemishss he will find many. This is the chronicle of the Swargadoes or Kings of the Tungkhungiyā Dynasty. This history was written on Thursday, the twenty-second of Phālguna, on the *Pañcamī Tithi*"[1].

The chronicles are mutually corroborative and supplementary. Inaccuracies and mis-statements are rare except those arising from scribal ignorance or idiosyncrasy. The portions relating to the conflicts with the Muhammadans are materially corroborated by corresponding Persian chronicles[2]. Facts are mentioned accurately to the hour and the minute. We cite two instances from

1. This chronicle is being translated into English by S. K. Bhuyan for the Assam Government.

2. Some instances of confirmation of Assamese accounts by Persian chronicles were pointed out in S.K. Bhuyan's 'Mrs. Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam' in the Journal of Indian History for December 1926.

a manuscript chronicle, part of which was published in the first Assamese magazine, *Arunodoi*, in 1852:

(*i*) "On Saturday, the 13th of *Śrāvaṇa*, in the year 1565 *Śaka*, on the sixth *daṇda* at night, the queen said to the brother of the king. 'It is your son who killed my son. I will slay him in turn, so bring him out.'

(*ii*). "Not being able to disregard the request of the Dāṅgarias (*i. e.*, the three cabinet ministers) of the Baruās and of other officers, the Kuonriā prince ascended the throne on the morning of Saturday, the 13th of *Bhādra, Śaka* 1560."

In the process of conserving the deeds of the people with a remarkable stress on realism, the Buranjis have become endowed with human interest, instead of being dry-as-dust chronicles of court events. We shall quote an example from a voluminous chronicle of the reign of Lakṣmī Siṃha, 1769-1780. A worldly-minded Vaiṣṇava Āhom noble, being importuned to accept initiatory *mantras* from a Śākta Gosāin or religious head replied as follows :—

"I am the son of an Āhom. What mantras have we got ? We are all entangled in the bait of worldliness. If we take mantras and sit down for a moment to utter them, the children will cry, the women folk of the house will break the silence of the atmosphere by their gossips, our retainers and tenants will produce a vociferous howl, commands will come from the king to proceed to his presence at once. So, how shall one bring his mantras to perfection ? So we the sons of the Āhoms have all agreed to cherish the religion as propounded in the Bhāgavata. So, why should we be offered the mantras ?"

Patriotic utterances are not rare in these chronicles. The Moamarās, a Vaiṣṇava sect, were once insulted by a Śākta sovereign, Queen Phūlesvarī, consort regnant of Śiva Siṃha, 1714-44[1]. They marshalled their forces and raised the standard of revolt, and thereby produced a civil war in the country which had a very disastrous consequence. The Āhom king Lakṣmī Siṃha fled from the capital and took shelter in an old fortress with his ministers and dependants. The nobles offered him two alternatives, one to surrender to the rebels and the other to proceed to Lower Assam with a view to collect an army to oust the mutineers. The Chief Executive Officer, Kīrticandra Barbaruā, championed the second proposal, and said :—

"The duty of a Kṣattriya is to fight as long as there is life in his body. If victorious he enjoys the powers and blessings of sovereignty; if dead he goes to heaven. If he desists from fighting he earns disgrace for after-life; while in this world he has to lead a life of subservience to others. As he has perpetually to carry out the commands of others, he becomes subjected to fright, humiliation and pain. He has to live in eternal solicitation of death. This is certainly a dire distress. When a king becomes subjected to a monarch of another country, diplomatic measures should be adopted so that the conqueror may return to his own kingdom. On his retirement the subdued prince should remain in preparedness with his army; and when opportunities present themselves for action, he should act promptly and reinstate himself in his lost suzerain power.......... The wicked have never consistently maintained their vows of friendship with the pious. The wicked have no forgiveness and

1. *See an Assamese Nur Jahan* by S. K. Bhuyan, reviewed in J. R. A. S., for July, 1927.

piety. So none of the king's adherents will be spared by the rebels. If nothing untoward happens to His Majesty, he will at least have some mental anxiety and displeasure; his nobles and followers also will share the same; it will then be impossible for the king to collect adherents like ourselves. A person acquires a petty job by parting with large sums of money and other articles; still he is reluctant to give it up. If any body asserts that the Moamarās will retire to the forest after attaining the position of a *Rāja-cakravartī,* Your Majesty should by no means believe in such words."

The warning of the Barbaruā was ignored, with the result that the rebels seized the persons of the king and his nobles, and ran the Government in their name for some time. Kīrticandra was pressed to death under two wooden cylinders; and the country became plunged in anarchy and confusion.

Let us quote a patriotic speech uttered under more favourable circumstances. The western limit of ancient Kāmarūpa extended up to the river Karatoyā. In course of time Kāmarūpa became much reduced in size. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Āhoms chased the invader Turbak as far as the Karatoyā. But for diplomatic reasons the boundaries were pushed further east, and rested on the river Mānāhā, opposite Goālpārā. The greatest of the Āhom rulers, Rudra Siṃha, 1696-1714, cherished the ambition of restoring the limits of the once extensive kingdom of Kāmarūpa, and made colossal preparations for the same enterprise. We shall quote an extract from the proceedings of the war-council, convened specially to discuss the scheme, as we have got it recorded in a manuscript chronicle.

"Barpātra Gohāin's speech. The territories bordering on the Karatoyā are ours. The enemies have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet (Nāwarrā) and naval soldiers, and abundance of war materials If the king orders the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.

"The Burāgohāin then added, the king's proposal is reasonable, and what the Barpātra Gohāin says is equally reasonable. The ancestors of our king, had, by virtue of their prowess and courage crossed the boundries of Rangāmāti, and washed their swords at the Karatoyā-Gaṅgā. They found it inconvenient to fix the boundries of Assam at the Karatoyā, so they made the river Manās the western limits of Assam, and established a garrison at Gauhāti. In the reign of Jayadhvaja Siṃha, there was an abundance of provisions and men, and still he earned the name of the *Deserting King*[1]. Arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent; the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation, they alone can infuse into the immobile war-provision a dynamic force.'"[2]

The Āhom conception of sovereignty is nowhere better illustrated than in the speech made by Sonāi Burāgohain, the prime minister, at the coronation of Pramatta Siṃha, 1744-51.

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1. Jayadwaja Singha was the king of Assam during whose reign the country was overrun by the Moguls under Mir Jumla. The king left the capital and took shelter in the hills of Namrup.

2. This extract was printed in S. K. Bhuyan's *Mir Jumla and Ram Singha in Assam*, pub. in Journal of Indian History, December 1926 pp. 372-3. Rangamati was the Mogul garrison in the present District of Goalpara, being constructed during the reign of Akbar by Ise-Khan Masnad-i-Ali, the Bhuyan chieftain of Khizrpur. *Bengal Past and Present, No. 57.*

"The Barphukan led the new king by the hand to the throne, and said, 'The king's brother has now become the king. All people assembled here, including the Baruās and the Phukans should now bow down before the newly anointed king.' Then the assembly knelt before the king and paid their homage to him.

"The Buragohāin then turned to the king and said, 'The Almighty God has conferred upon you the exalted office of a king. The preservation of the pious, the punishment of the wicked, and vigilant investigation into the happiness and misery of your subjects, have now become your sole duty. Just as one sheltered by a huge tree becomes free from heat and ruin, so during the kingship of your elder brother Your Majesty was not affected by the piety or sin of your subjects. From to-day God will hold you responsible for the virtue and wickedness of the creatures under your sway. Your Majesty will have to discriminate between actions which are good and those which produce evil."

The chronicles contain many accounts which are valuable to historians of Assam-Muhammadan conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of them are interspersed with copies of diplomatic letters that were interchanged between the Āhom and Mogul courts. Mir Jumla wrote to Aurangzeb :

From Dacca. "Assam has occupied Kāmrūp, and is contemplating to invade us. My scheme of subduing the country of the Maghs cannot be completed within a short time. So in the meantime I propose to invade Kuch Behar and Assam. I am awaiting the orders of the Emperor." Aurangzeb replied as follows:—"I want you to invade Kuch

Behar and Assam and to consolidate our supremacy there.[1] "

The above extracts translated literally from manuscript chronicles will convey some idea of the nature of their contents. They are written in Assamese prose of a very racy character, though Buranjis written in the now practically obsolete Āhom language are also met now and then. The Vaiṣṇava literature of Assam is artistic in its style and subject-matter, and does not throw much light on the actual life of the people except in an indirect manner. The Buranjis have enshrined the sorrows and sufferings of the people, which, when widely read will be a revelation and an educator of the first magnitude. There are amorous intrigues and courtly romances, idylls of pastoral life, outbursts of partriotism and valour, critical analysis of complex political situations and epical descriptions of war and triumph. We only wish that our fellow-workers in and outside Assam had known more of these Buranjis, of which, not only the Assamese, but all men of Hindusthan will feel immensely proud.

I will now reproduce an extract illustrating the diplomatic negotiations between the Mogul general Rāma Siṃha and the Āhom commander Lācit Barphukan. According to the Treaty concluded between Allah Yar Khan and Momāi Tāmuli Barbaruā during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, Gauhāti had belonged to the Moguls. But after the departure of Mir Jumla, Gauhāti was wrested back by the Āhoms. Rāma Siṃha sent a message to Lācit to the following effect :

"The Phukan should remember the old treaty and give

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1. This is corroborated by *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, tr. Mr. A. Salam for the A. S. B., pp. 224-5.

us back the fort of Gauhāti. Then only the cows and Brāhmanas will be saved. I am the son of Rājā Mākunda (Māna Siṃha), and the Phukan is an exalted personage being the son of the Barbaruā. If he has no war-provisions let him write to me, and I will furnish him with the necessary materials. Anyhow our brother Phukan should give us a fight at least for an hour."

"Having received the above message Lācit Phukan sent the following reply through the Mogul messenger Piroz Khan :

"Well, Piroz Khan, tell my friend the Rājā of Amber, that though he cites the authority of the Treaty between Allah Yar Khan and my father the Barbaruā yet Gauhāti and Kāmarūpa do not belong to the Moguls. We have taken possession of the place by turning out the Kuches. It was through mere chance that it fell into the hands of the Moguls for a few seasons. Now God has given it back to us. When he pleases to give it to our brother-sovereign (Bhāī-Rājā) he will then get Gauhāti, otherwise not. To his request for a fight for one hour, I would like to say that we are prepared to fight as long as there is life in our body. He has besides expressed his willingness to give us war-materials; he has come over long distances undergoing fatigue in his journey, the provisions may be inadequate for his own purposes! Our Heavenly King has nothing unavailable for him. If the Rājput Rājā has fallen short of articles, let him ask me and I will try to oblige him."

The engagements which ensued between the Moguls and the Āhoms did not prove advantageous to the invaders. The battle of Sarāighāt witnessed the crushing defeat of the Mogul forces. Lācit Phukan, though in high fever personally conducted the operations and Rāma Siṃha could

not but give vent to his admiration for the manner in which the war was conducted[1].

We made a list recently of the Buranjis, which I have seen, and of which reliable men have said or written that they have seen ; the number came up to one hundred and fifty. Besides, there are many more in the archives of ancient families. Many Buranjis have been lost owing to the irreparable agency of fire and water. Kīrticandra, the Chief Executive Officer of Rājeśvar Siṃha[2], 1751-69, destroyed a large number which were suspected as having reference to his obscure descent. The civil war of the Moamarās as well as the depredations of the Burmese devastated the country, and people left their homes, and took shelter in forests or remote unaffected areas. This dislocation of people was responsible for the loss of many manuscripts and relics including chronicles. The numerous Buranjis which have survived these disasters only point to the very extensive scale in which they were used in the country.

3. Chronicles of Countries outside Assam. - The historical instinct of the Assamese people led them to take interest in the events of countries other than their own. So we have in Assam many chronicles throwing light on the history of neighbouing and remote countries. A chronicle of Burdwan was recovered some years ago and exhibited in a literary conference, but it has been lost somewhat mysteriously.

By far the most noteworthy chronicles of this class are the Assamese histories of the Delhi Sultanate, dealing with the reigns of the greater Timurids and their predeces-

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1. Vide Journal of Indian History 126. pp. 1971-4.
2. This subject has been dealt with elaborately in S. K. Bhuyan's *History of Rajeswar Singha*, Banhi, Vols. 15 & 16.

sors. They are commonly known as *Pādshāh-Buranjis*, and of them I have seen two and heard of two others. One of them is a manuscript in the India Office Library of which a transcript was prepared by Mr. B. Śarma some years ago for the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhāti; and the other was found by me in 1925 in the godown of the Gauhāti branch of the American Baptlist Mission, along with other chronicles of the Āhom reign[1].

For historians of Muhammadan India the Pādshāh-Buranjis present an unexplored field of materials. They were complied in the seventeenth century when Assam was invaded by the Moguls more frequently than before, their primary object being to acquaint the Assamese with the history and manners of the invaders, and intimate knowledge of which was an essential factor in encountering the enemy with success. The authors took as their materials the reports of reliable witnesses as well as written records. There is only one date mentioned, and the chronology is maintained by reference to the reigns of successive sovereigns which have no fear of being confused or misunderstood. One of the reporters whose testimony is embodied by the chronicler was Muhammad Ali of the territory of Siliman Pādshāh of Farrangā-Bundar[2]. He was a great scholar, being highly proficient in Arabic and Persian *loghāls* or vocabularies. He was tutor to the children of Nawab Mansur Khan, who was Fauzadār of Gauhāti from 1678-1682. Another reporter was Paramānada Bairāgi of Gokulpur in Bṛndābana, who exercised almost a super-

1. For a very detailed examination of the *Padshah-Buranjis*, see S. K. Bhuyan's *New Lights on Mogul India from Assamese Sources*.

2. The chronicler gives a detailed account of Secundrabad, and its conquests by Siliman Padshah of Farranga-Bundar, who can be identified with Manucci's Siliman Khan, Governor of Porto Novo. *Vide* Irvine's edition of *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, P. 370.

natural influence upon the Assamese king Udayāditya, 1670-73, during whose reign the Rājput general Rāma Siṃha invaded Assam. The author refers to some chronicles of the reign of Shah Jahan in his chapter devoted to that Emperor.

The language of the book is Assamese, but unlike other Buranjis there is a large admixture of words of Arabic and Persian origin, which have been all used in their appropriate context, such as, *zabah, gor, Khudā, nikāh. tamām, vilāyat, harāmzāda, harāmkhor, takht, fātiha, doa-sapasi, tākīd, muzrā, beghal, dākhil, pādshāh-hazrat, behayā, amal, inām, loghāt, zahar, waqaya-navīs, khān-khāna, sipāh-sālar, amīr-ul-omrāo, manasabdār, darbār, wazīr, qazī, dewān, hazūr-navīs, panchazārī, dewānkhās, āmkhās, farmān, sirpāo,* etc.

The chroncile betrays a wonderful knowledge on the part of the author, of the traditions and customs of the Muhammadan world, which tempts us to think that he was either a Muhammadan scholar, or a Hindu ambassador who visited Mogul courts in connection with the numerous embassies and diplomatic missions.

The *P. B.* deals with the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy in India after the defeat of the Pithor Rājā. The conqueror introduces reforms into the system of administration, though he leaves social problems alone. The army is properly organised on the mansabdārī system. During the reign of his successors Timurlane invaded the country, he having risen to power through the mediation of a faqīr. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of Timur's life as a shepherd in Central Asia. Not much is written about Babar. Humayun's throne is usurped by Sher Khan, afterwards Sher Shah. The Emperor

flees to Persia, where the Sultan of that country accepts the fugitive into his confidence after a series of trials which are fully described. The magnanimous Sher Shah retains the Ex-Emperor's wife, Hamida Banu Begum or Miriam-Makkani, and Prince Akbar in their accustomed splendour. Humayun fails to regain his throne even with the help of Persian soldiers. Sher Shah invites Humayun to re-occupy his lost throne at Delhi, while he himself retires to Agra. The details of Akbar's reign are omitted. Jahangir conquers Secundrabad after long efforts. Its forts are impregnable, being surrounded by a moat as wide as a river where monstrous crocodiles and sea-horses were let loose which devoured the imperial soldiers. Shah Jahan interviews Prithivi Shah of Kandour, whose country was one of the most prosperous kingdoms of India. The Emperor makes a peaceful distribution of power among his four sons, but they subvert the arrangement in no time. Mumtaz Mahal, afraid of the inevitable sight of a fratricidal conflict among her spirited sons dies by self-immolation. Aurangzeb slays Dara and Murad and ascends the throne. His chief helper in his ambitious design was Mir Jumla who had given the prince 18 crores of rupees. Mir Jumla, son of Mirza Hazaru, exasperates his master, the Sultan of Golconda. The Nawab flees from the Deccan and joins Aurangzeb. On the latter's accession to the throne of Delhi, the Nawab is deputed with the Emperor's son to pursue Sultan Shuja. The prince accompanying Mir Jumla deserts his rank, and joins Shuja whose daughter he marries. Mir Jumla then marches against Kuch Behar and Assam without express orders from the Emperor, as he thinks that the Arrakan campaign would not be undertaken immediately, and his army would be better employed

in the meantime in an expedition against Assam whose ruler had encroached upon Mogul territory and re-occupied Gauhati. The Emperor ratifies the procedure adopted by the Nawab. The general compels the Assam Rājā to enter into a treaty favourable to the invaders, and returns with large treasures and a princess for his imperial master, but he dies on his way. His son Masudami Khan (Mohd. Amin Khan) appears before the Emperor who expresses sincere regret at the death of such a great Nawab. The account of Mir Jumla is vivified by human touches. As commanded by Aurangzeb he interviews the Emperor's maternal uncle, Shaist Khan, Governer of Bengal. In the interview Mir Jumla is discourteously treated by Shaist Khan, being given presents worthy of a panch-hazari Nawab. Mir Jumla came home broken-hearted and said to his confidants. "The reputation which I have acquired during these seventy years of my life has all been smashed in the hands of Shaist Khan." Later on when Mir Jumla was taken to task for the desertion of the prince to the camp of Shuja, the Nawab replied to the Emperor, "I would like to inform His Imperial Majesty, that if I, Mir Jumla, only shake the sleeves of my cloak, dozens of such Padshah Jadas will come out instantly." Some emphasis has been given to Mir Jumla by the chronicler because he was the most outstanding figure in the Assam-Mogul relations of those days.

A chapter is devoted to the Nawabs of Dacca,—Man Singh, Mushaf Khan, Burhan Khan Koka, Islam Khan, Ajam Khan, Sultan Shuja, Shaista Khan, Fede Khan Koka, and then Prince Azamtara, the son of the Emperor. The last neglects the duties of government, spending most of his time in sports. He loses the jewel of his head which

is most ominous. The Sultan attempts to gag the Waqaya-navis but fails. The prince deputes Mansur Khan to occupy Gauhati from its trecherous viceroy Lāluk Barphukan.

The careers of the three Rajas of Amber are described in full, Man Singh or Māndhātā, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Ram Singh. Man Singh fights most of the battles of Akbar and Jahangir which were directed against refractory Hindu rulers. He sees through the motive which goads his imperial masters to keep him always engaged in war. Jai Singh subjugates Eastern India after a long struggle. The Raja of Kuch Behar agrees to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees to the Emperor during the Naoroza celebrations, which afford an opportunity to the chronicler to paint the gaiety and splendour of the occasion. Jai Singh's ulimatums to refractory princes were worded as follows.—

"Have you heard of the prowess of the Emperor Shah Jahan? Have you also heard the rattling of my invincible sword as well as that of Māndhātā? If you have, then come promptly and seek our friendship; or otherwise be prepared for war."

After a protracted campaign where Muhammadan generals could not achieve much success, the Rajput prince was deputed against Śivājī. The Marhatta hero attended the Mogul court, and gave the following reply to Aurangzeb's proposal for submission: "I cannot deviate from my determination to shake off your vassalage, nor can I accept your proposal even on pain of death." Ram Singh, the host of the Marhatta chief came to the latter's rescue. A son was born to Ram Singh; on that occasion he used to send out presents in big boxes of copper and brass. He

released Śivājī, put him in a box and sent him back to his kingdom. Ram Singh did the same with the Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur, for whom the former was a surety. The Emperor said to himself, "Ram Singh's actions have become intolerable. But I cannot take any drastic measure against him remembering what his forefathers have done for our Empire. There is also the fear that if Ram Singh is punished, he may organise a Rajput clique which will be disastrous to us." The Emperor deputed Ram Singh to Assam to die in the midst of its poisonous waters, noxious airs and forest-covered hills. The Rajput prince is received very cordially at Dacca by Shaist Khan, an intimate friend of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

Besides the narrative details we have specification of distances from Delhi and Agra to important places in Mogul India; the names of the Rajput Marhatta chiefs who formed a confederacy under Jai Singh II or Sewai Jai Singh of Amber, including Mulahar Rao Holkar, with their quota of soldiers, camels, horses and elephants; and the letters that passed between Jahangir and the rebellious Prince Khurram, between Shah Jahan and the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur, including the famous letter on the receipt of which the Bijapur Captains cried words of defiance ending in the despatch of a haughty reply to the Emperor[1].

Writing on Muhammadan history in a remote corner of India, our chronicler has committed mistakes here and there of a minor character, though they were due to confusion of the most rational nature. Jalal Hussain is mentioned as the ruler of India during whose time Timur invaded India. We all know it was Muhammad Tughlak. This mistake is due to the confusion with Jalaluddin

1. *Aurangzeb*, by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 256.

Muhammad, the Keiani prince of Siestan whose army was routed by Timur, during which engagement the conqueror received a wound in his feet which was permanently crippled, for which he was called Timur-Langa or Timur the Lame[1]. Humayun is described as having lost his throne, being ousted by Sher Khan, a slave of a Nawab. Before occupying the throne Sher Khan had to fight several battles with the Emperor but he could not succeed, till an old woman taught him the proper method of attack from the analogy of a dish which must be eaten from the sides and not from the middle. We read in Manucci,—"The old woman laughed heartily, and at the same time taught him (Timur *incognito*) a good lesson, saying, 'You are like Taimur-i-lang, who did not know how to take this country, for he came right into the middle of it, and had to go out again defeated. If he had begun by attacking the confines, he could in no time have made himself master of the whole.'"[2]

I feel very strongly that if workers in the field of Muhammadan history had access to the virgin materials embodied in the Assamese *Padshah-Buranjis,* they would value them as they do in the case of the chronicles compiled by Muhammadan writers themselves. They were written from a detached quarter with the help of materials which may be now lost. Besides, the testimony of reporters like Muhammaad Ali and Gakulpuri would have been recorded in the pages of historians like Minhaj-i-Siraj Jurjani, Muhammad Qasim, Hindu Shah Ferishtah and Muhammad Amin bin Abu'l Hasan Qazwini where frequent references are made to the report of reliable witnesses.

But Assam suffers by being curiously reticent about

(1) Sykie's *Persia,* Vol. II.
(2) Irvine's ed. of Manucci's *Storia do mogor,* Vol. I. P. 100.

her past achievements. She is not vocal, and there is not that atmosphere here which leads to cultural intercourse with other countries. The antiquity of Assamese prose literature was unheard of even in Bengal till 1919 when Sir P. C. Ray, after returning from a tour in Assam introduced the fact to his countrymen. Who ever heard of the martyred Princes Jaymati before it was broadcasted throughout the length and breadth of India from the pavilion at Pāṇḍavanagar in December 1926 ? Kāmarūpa played an important part in the history of Northern India. The Emperor Harṣavardhana was proud of the friendship of Kumāra Bhāskaravarman. According to Yuan-Chwang the Kumāra king was himself a man of learning. The colleges of Kāmarūpa attracted students from all quarters. A special school of *Smṛtis* had devolped here fostered by the penetrating genius of Kāmarūpa Brahmans. The *Tantras* are said to have originated here as a reconciliation between the masculine demands of the proletariate tribes and the gentle concessions of their Brahmanical neighbours. Assam was one of the few provinces in India which could successfully stem the tide of the Mogul invasion. All this is not a mere matter of chance. There was as its rock-foundation, a culture which permeated the life of the people, and produced not a mere handful of great men but which raised the average man to a superior level endowed with a consciousness of patriotism which would never desert them even under the severest temptations. But the glories of Kāmarūpa remain buried because no vigorous investigations have been launched to discover the treasures and reveal them to the rest of India which will be proud of the same. Is it not lamentable that no University has yet been established in

Assam which will be a centre of culture and light, throwing light not only on the problems of the present world, but dispelling much of the darkness that surrounds the past history of the province ?

The fact that the Hindus of Kāmarūpa possess a systematic record of events, which is historical in the true sense of the word will be the greatest interest to Indian scholars. It may not be comparative and critical, but it states the bare truth without any embellishment or attempt to hide it. Foul deeds as well as good are recorded in all their particulars. Neither the king nor his nobles are spared in the Buranjis if they ever perpetrated a wicked deed. A family history written under its auspices is likely to be marked by undue colouring, but contemporary chronicles written in impartial and neutral quarters will help us to test the veracity of the former. In other places specially in the Mahārāṣṭra, systematic attempts have been made to publish the Buranjis, but hitherto only one Buranji has come out in black and white through the efforts of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti, Gauhāti.

AKBAR'S ILLITERACY. WAS HE UTTERLY UNLETTERED?

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"Was Akbar utterly unlettered?" is a question which has been answered variously by historians and *savants*. They have discussed the problem from various angles of view and have arrived at widely divergent conclusions. The accepted theory, however, has been that Akbar was utterly unlettered, that is, he never knew how to read or write. Noer,[1] Beveridge,[2] Smith,[3] Āzād[4] and a host of other scholars hold the above view and there is no gainsaying the fact that with the materials then available they were not unjustified in arriving at the above conclusion. But, so far as I am aware, it was Dr. Narendranath Law who for the first time made a serious attempt in his admirable "*Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (By Muhammadans)*[5]; to prove that Akbar was not utterly unlettered. But strangely enough he relied mainly on a passage in the spurious Memoirs of Jahāngīr,[6] to which fact Mr. Beveridge, with his usual accuracy, drew the attention of Dr. Law in the *Foreword*[7] which he wrote on the latter's book. But Dr. Law in reply to the criticism offered by Mr. Beveridge appended an *Addendum*[8] in which he scrutinised the statements of the Catholic missionaries and that of Jahāngīr—on which Mr. Beveridge had relied mainly—and, on the authority of a passage in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* endeavoured to attribute to Akbar "a knowledge of

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(1) *Akbar*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 243.
(2) *Akbar Nama* (English Translation). vol. i, p. 518.
(3) *Akbar-the Great Mogul* (*Oxford, 1919*). *p. 22.*
(4)
(5) Longman's Green & Co., 1816.
(6) *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri* (translated by Major Price), 1892, pp. 44, 45
(7) P. XIX.
(8) Pp. 207—212.

the numeral figures and their daily transcription with his own hand and pen on the pages of the books[1]". But surprisingly enough Dr. Law again made a serious mistake in relying on a wrong translation of the passage in the *A'in*, which runs as follows[2]:—

"وهر کتابی را از آغاز تا با نجام شنوند و هر روز که بدانجا رسند بشمارهٔ آن هندسه بقلم گوهر بار خود نقش کنند و بعدد اوراق آن خوانندهٔ را نقد از سرخ و سفید بخشش شود"

"Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, *His Majesty makes with his pen a sign, according to the number of pages*; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out to them[3]."

Dr. Law translated (بشمارهٔ آن هندسه بقلم گوهر بار خود نقش کنند) as "His Majesty writes down the numerals with his own pen" while having regard to the construction of the passage it should have been translated as "His Majesty makes with his pen a sign according to the number of pages."

The above is, if I am not wrong, a fairly accurate statement of the state of our knowledge on the subject, but fortunately I have recently come in possession of certain materials which will, I hope, mark a distinct advance in our knowledge on the subject, and will prove further that Akbar was not utterly unlettered, but that ***he could read and write.***

But before entering into the subject proper, I would like to place before the readers in as few words as possible

(1) P. 210
(2) *Bib. Indica* edition, p. 115.
(3) *A'in-i-Akbari.* (translated by Blochmann, 1873), p. 103.

the argument advanced by those who are of opinion that Akbar was utterly unlettered. They contend that:—

(*i*) Had Akbar been literate, Abul Fazl who takes a particular delight in magnifying the virtues and attainments of Akbar, must have mentioned this fact *definitely*.

(*ii*) That the silence of other historians is significant.

(*iii*) That the evidence of the Catholic Missionaries who came in personal contact with Akbar is conclusive, as, for instance, Father A. Monserrate says "*He (Akbar) can neither read nor write,* but he is very curious, and has always men of letters about him[1]," while Father Jerome X'avier observes, "The King (Akbar) is gifted with a wonderful memory, so that, although ***he can neither read nor write,*** he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him[2]".

(*iv*) That the evidence of Jahangir gives a final blow to the theory that Akbar was literate, for he writes in his *Memoirs*[3]:—

"My father always associated with learned men of every creed and religion, especially with the Pandits and the learned men of India, in his conversations with him, *that no one knew him to be illiterate,* and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that his

(1) Father A. Monserrate's *Account of Akbar* (26th November 1582), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. IXXV, 1912, p. 194. (For further reference see *Promotion of Learning in India,* p. 207.)

(2) Father Jerome X'avier, by H. Beveridge, J. A. S. B. 1888, p. 37.

(3) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (translated by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge (Oriental Translation Fund Series) vol. 1, p. 33.

deficiency was not thought of[1]."

But those who hold the opposite view contend:—

(i) That Abul Fazl's silence above can hardly be an argument against Akbar's literacy.

(ii) That Abul Fazl distinctly attributes to Akbar a knowledge of the numerals.

(iii) That much reliance cannot be placed on the statement of the Catholic Missionaries, as they usually make inaccurate statements.

(iv) That the word *Ummi* found in the *Tuzuk*, which has been taken to mean "unable to read or write, can be translated as "taciturn".

I have placed before the readers a summary of the arguments advanced by the historians of the two schools and now propose to examine the whole question in the light of the new evidence that has been my good fortune to possess.

We learn from the *Akbar Nāmā* that Akbar was "taken to Man's school on 7th Shawwāl of this year, (i.e. 954 A.H.) 20th November, 1547, being the fourth month and fourth day of the eternity-conjoined life, of his Majesty the Shahinshāh."[2] We also learn that he was placed in charge of Mullāzāda Mullā 'Asāmuddīn Ibrāhīm and on his dismissal was placed under Mawlānā Bāyazīd[3] but when it

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(1). His actual words are:-

با انکه امی بودند از کثرت مجالست با دانایان و ارباب فضل در گفتگوها چنان
ظاهر میشدند که هیچ کس پی با می بودن ایشان نمی برد - بدقائق نظم و نثر چنان
میرسیدند که ما فوقی بر ان متصور نبود..............

(*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, edited by Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, p. 14).

(2). Akbar Nama, (Bib. Indica), Text, Vol. i, p. 270; Translation vol. i, p. 519.

(3). *Ibid.* Text P. 271, Translation, P. 520.

was found out by Humāyūn that Akbar was not progressing well in his studies, he decided that "lots should be cast between Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Mullāzāda Mullā 'Asāmuddīn, and Mawlānā Bāyazīd, so that he, on whom the lucky chance should fall, should be exalted by being made the sole teacher. It happened that the lot fell on Mawlānā 'Abdul Qādir, and an order was issued for the removal of Mawlānā Bāyazīd and the appointment of Mawlānā 'Abdul Qādir"[1]. It is on record that Abdul Qādir discharged his duties with credit for some years but relinquished his appointment on the eve of his retirement to Mecca[2].

We also learn that Bairam Khān selected Mīr Abdul Laṭīf as a private tutor of Akbar in 963 A. H.—namely, when Akbar was 15 years old[3]. Further it is on record that Pīr Muhammad Khān and Hājī Muhammad Khān[4] and Mullā Alāuddīn[5] also acted as tutors of Akbar.

It is evident from the above facts that Akbar was sent to school at the age of *four and a half*, and that his studies continued up to the *fifteenth* year if not longer—a period extending over ten years. It would appear as very strange indeed if during this long period of study—however much idle and careless he may have been—he would have learnt neither to read nor to write. But at the same time there is no denying the fact that Akbar on account of his interest in games and other sports made very little progress in his studies; and perhaps forgot afterwards much of what he had actually learnt as a young boy. Abul Fazal, however,

(1) *Ibid*, P. 588.
(2) *Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin (Nawal Kishore edition, 1873, P. 392. Badayuni (Lowe, II, P. 332) refers to him as one of the tutors of Akbar.
(3) *Noer's Akbar*, Vol. i, P. 127.
Akbar Nama. (Beveridge), vol. i. P. 518nl
(4) Brigg's Ferishta vol. ii P. 194.
(5) *Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin. (Nawal Kishore edition, 1875), P. 390.

in his characteristic way, offers the explanation that "for him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to lessons? Accordingly Akbar's holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching[1]." But he seems to contradict himself when he says[2]:—

" از کتب نظم مثنوی مولوی و دیوان لسان الغیب خود بسعادت روان
میخوانند و از حقائق و لطائف آن التذاذ می یابند."

"Among books of poetry, he *reads fluently* the Maulvī's Masnawī and the Dīwān of the mystic tongue and takes delight in their varieties and beauties[3]."

The above statement is conclusive. We not only learn that Akbar knew to read but also that he could *read fluently* such difficult books as Rūmī's Masnawī or the Dīwān of Hāfiz.

Now, I place before the readers the two important evidences which go to prove that Akbar was *not utterly unlettered,* rather he could write words and sentences, and that one of his autographs is extant to this day in an extremely valuable manuscript of the *Zafar Nāmā*, which was once in the possession of the Mughal Emperors of India and had, as I will show later, been highly prized

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(1) *Akbar Nama* (Beveridge), vol. i. P. 589.
(2) *Akbar Nama* Text, P. 271.
I have purposely avoided a discussion on Akbar's proficiency as writer of Persian and Hindi verses, and also on his remarkable ability as a critic of Persian poetry, for such a discussion can hardly help me in gaining my point. However, those who wish to read the Persian verses of Akbar can see the *Akbar Nama* (Persian Text, vol. i. P. 271, *Majma ul Fusaha,* (vol. i, p. 9).

(3) *Akbar Nama.* (Beveridge), vol. i, P. 520.

Mr. Beveridge has translated (روان میخوانند) as "recites off-hand" which is not quite correct as it may suggest that he *recited from memory.* I have, therefore, translated it as "*reads fluently.*" I fear that Mr. Beveridge has started with the notion that Akbar was utterly unlettered and, as such he has translated it as "recites off-hand."

by them. It contains 8 miniatures of exquisite beauty drawn by Bihzād, the most famous painter that Persia has produced. M. Victor de Goloubew of Paris, the owner of this remarkable manuscript, is to be congratulated on his possessing such a valuable treasure of Persian art. The manuscript is remarkable in another respect also. It contains on the fly-leaf the autographs of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. Unfortuntely, the photograph of the manuscript reproduced by Schulz in his monumental *Die persisch-islamsche Miniāturmalerei* is far from satisfactory, as, towards the end, a portion of the manuscript has not been reproduced in the collotype reproduction.

First, let us examine the autograph of Jahāngīr, which runs as follows:— الله اکبر

کتاب ظفر نامهٔ بخط مولانا شیر علی وهشت مجلس تصویر کار اوایل استاد بهزاد
که در نفاست نظیر ندارد از کتابخانه حضرت عرش آشیانی پدر بزرگوار من [داخل
کتابخانه این بندهٔ درگاه الهی] شد حرره نورالدین محمد [جهانگیر پادشاه غازی]

(Note : words within parenthesis have been supplied by me.)

"God is great. The book *Zafar Nāmā* in the handwriting of Mawlānā Shir 'Alī containing eight miniatures of matchless beauty executed by Ustād Bihzād, in his early days, entered the library of this suppliant at the court of God, from the library of my father Hadrat 'Arsh' Āstānī, written by Nūruddīn Muhammad (Jahāngīr)". The above note shows that this copy was in the library of Emperor Akbar.

Now, the next note of Jahāngīr, the last portion of which has also been cut off from the photograph, reads as

follows :—

این کلمه خط مبارک حضرت عرش آشیانیست و میر جمال الدین حسین اینجو این
[نسخه] را در دارالخلافه [آگره ....]

This word is in the handwriting of 'Arsh' Āstānī (*i. e.*, Akbar) and Mīr Jamāluddīn Hussain Injū, presented this manuscript in the Dār-ul-Khilāfat (of Agra to His Majesty Akbar). Here is a definite and conclusive evidence testifyng to the fact that Akbar could write words and that : فر , ر , د , ین found on the fly-leaf of the manuscript is in the hand writing of Akbar himself.

But if we compare the above statement of Jahāngīr (which is in his own handwriting) with what he has made in his autobiography, *i. e.*, his father was an *Ummī*, or unlettered, there is no denying the fact that he appears to contradict himself. We can, however, attempt to reconcile the two contradictory statements by saying that the degree of literacy attained by Akbar was not considered sufficient enough by Jahāngīr to give him (Akbar) any other designation except that of *Ummī* : or it is just possible that in order to bring into relief his father's qualities as a judge of the "niceties of verse and prose" and as a patron of poets and writers—inspite of his being illiterate—he might have purposely avoided any reference to his literacy, though very superficial it may have been. For is it not a fact, after all, that the Prophet of Islam excites our admiration more because he was *Ummī* than if he had not been so ? But this is only by the way.

Now to the next evidence which is taken from the *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī* of 'Abdul Bāqī Nahāwandī, who composed his work in 1025 A. H. (A. D. 1616), only ten years, after the death of Akbar, and that as he wrote it at the

instance of Abdur Rahīm Khān and had the original documents at his disposal, there can hardly be any doubt as to the genuineness of the *Farmāns*, copied therein. With these two points in our mind, let us examine the *Farmāns*, which Akbar sent to the Khān Khānān, in 991 A. H. It is reproduced with the following heading in the *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*[1].

" نقل فرمانی که بتاریخ نهصد و نود و یک هنگام توجه گجرات باین سپه سالار
انشا نموده اند و بدستخط خاص این بزرگ را بخطاب فرزندی سرفراز ساخته اند
.... "

Tr. "Copy of the *Farmān* which was sent to this commander-in-chief in 991, on the occasion of his march towards Gujarāt, and in which, (Akbar) had, with his own hand, exalted him with the title of a son".

After this heading, the author reproduces the actual words of Akbar, which is as follows :—

شرح دستخط خاصهٔ این خلیفهٔ الهی که بربالای طغرا زین والا قدر را بز نبد
فرزندی بلند مرتبه گردانیده آمده آنکه - فرزند عبد الرحیم بداند -

"The Royal autograph which was transcribed above the Tughrā in the actual handwriting of the Viceregent of God (*i. e.*, Akbar) and in which he (*i. e.*, Akbar) had exalted him (*i. e.*, the Khān Khānān) with the title of a son, is as follows : - فرزند عبد الرحیم بداند *i. e.*, "May Abdur Rahim, (the) son, know . . . . "

Here we have another proof of the fact that Akbar was able to write words and sentences with his own hand.

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(1) Asiatic Society of Bengal Ms. (which was collated by the author himself), fol. 306.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE KṢATRAPAS OF SURAṢṬRA.

D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

A stone inscription is found in the village of Mewāsā near Chitrod in Cutch. The characters present an earlier form of the southern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The language is mixed Sanskṛta and Prākṛta. The inscription refers to the rule of a Rājā Mahākṣatrapa, whose name is not given but who is said to be the son of the grandson (पुत्रपुपुत्र *i.e.* पुत्रप्रपौत्र) of Bhartṛdāman, who was the son of the grandson (पुत्रपुपुत्र) of Rajā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Caṣṭana and is dated in the year 300, Kārtika Śu 5. Its object is to record the setting up of a sepulchral stele (yaṭṭi) in honour of Ābhera Vasurala.

The text runs thus—

1. Siddham [i] Rājño Mahākṣapra (tra) pasya Svāmī Caṣṭana.

2. Putrāpuputrasya rājño Mahākṣatrapasya Bhaddidamā.

3. Putrapuputrasya rājño Mahākṣatrapasya varṣa-ata.

4. Tryuttarake Vasaputrasya Praladapuputrasya Abhirasya.

5. Harihovakasagotrasya Vasurākasya Gutthajja duhitusya.

6. Kārtikasya Śu 5 Rājjyeśvarasya bhartur yaṭṭi praṣṭāpi.

7. ....bhavanam ca ....

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is a record of the time of a Mahākṣatrapa reigning in the year 300. Although the numismatic record of the western kṣatrapas is unique in its completeness in the whole range of early Indian history, only lithic records supplement the information. The latter refer themselves almost wholly to the earlier rulers, there being no other source of information except the coins for the rulers after Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I. The present inscription should have been more valuable if it had mentioned the name of the ruling prince who is only referred to as a Rājā and Mahākṣatrapa. Now we know from coins that Svāmi Rudrasena III who called himself Rājā Mahākṣatrapa ruled from about Śaka 270 to Śaka 300. The coin dates are continuous from 270 to 273 and 280 to 300. It seems thus likely that with the exception of a few year's possible intermission Svāmi Rudrasena III ruled for over 30 years. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the present inscription belongs to the time of this ruler. The most important point to be noted in regard to the genealogy mentioned in the inscription is that the ruling prince was called Mahākṣatrapa and he was descended from Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman. The actual relationship between Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman was three generations further removed from what would be indicated by the expression *putraprapautra* actually used in the inscription. It would therefore appear that the term *putraprapautra* was used more in the sense of a descendant rather than 'the son of a grandson.' The relationship between Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman and the ruling prince is again expressed by the term *putraprapautra* which may either be taken in the

sense of 'descendant' or 'the son of a grandson.' In any case it would be an important result to establish that Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena III was a descendant of Bhartṛdāman and a scion of the family of Caṣṭana. Professor Rapson has devided the family of the western Kṣatrapas into two groups, *viz.* (1) The family of Caṣṭana which according to him, was broken in the direct line after Kṣatrapa Viśvasena, whose latest date is year 226 and (2) the family of Rudrasiṃha II, to which he attributes all the later rulers from the year 227 onwards. Of course he recognises that the family of Rudrasiṃha II must have been a colateral branch of Caṣṭana's house but he suspects no connection between the last Mahākṣatrapa and Caṣṭana's family, *viz.*, Bhartṛdāman and the later rulers who assumed the title of Mahākṣatrapa about 40 years after the date of accession of Rudrasiṃha II. It is worthy of note in this connection that the title of Mahākṣatrapa was in abeyance for a period of over 50 years commencing from 217 and ending sometime before 270. During this period Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛdāman, Rudrasena II, son of Svāmi Jīvadāman and Yaśodāman, son of Rudrasiṃha II, ruled as Kṣatrapas, the last recorded date of the last mentioned prince being 254. Sometime between the dates 254 and 270 the title of Mahākṣatrapa was re-established in the person of Svāmi Rudradāman II. No coins are, however, available of this prince who, it may be supposed, overthrew the yoke of the overlord, whoever he may be, but did not probably survive long to enjoy his restoration to sovereign power. The present inscription clearly suggests the possibility of this Svāmi Rudradāman II being the great grandson of Bhartṛdāman. Within the numisma-

tically blank period of 254 and 270 it may be assumed that Svāmi Rudradāman II emerged from obscurity, put an end to the rule of the colateral family of Kṣatrapas and re-established the rule of the dynasty of Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman. As the distance which separates Rudradāman II from Viśvasena a son of Bhartṛdāman was about 40 years, it is not unlikely that Rudradāman II was the great gradson of Bhartṛdāman, Svami Rudrasena III, the son of Rudradāman II, was undoubtedly a powerful ruler and we shall not be justified in assuming the existence of another Mahākṣatrapa belonging to the dynasty of Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman ruling in the year 300. We know that Rudrasena III himself was succeeded by his sister's son Svāmi Siṃhasena sometime before the year 304. This would preclude the possibility of any other descendant of Bhartṛdāman's line intervening between Rudrasena III and Siṃhasena.

An interesting point about the inscription is the presence of three symbols on the top which cannot be deciphered or interpreted. They may be either symbols or abbreviated forms of some letters and may have benedictory significance. I hope the Epigraphists assembled here will examine the photograph of the record herewith attached and try to find out their meaning.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT
SECTION.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED SANSKRIT KĀVYA.

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In this paper I propose to give a brief account of a rare *yamaka* and *śleṣa-kāvya,* entitled *Kīcaka-vadha Mahākāvya in five cantos,* of which two MSS. have been recently discovered in the Dacca University Manuscripts Collection and an edition is being published by me in the Dacca University Oriental Series. It was written by Nītivarman, who flourished at a period anterior to the 11th century A. D. in the court of an unknown prince who ruled, if not in Bengal, probably in the adjoining province of Kaliṅga.

The peom has been known, so far, from quotations by a large number of gramatical, lexicographical and rhetorical writers, a resume of which will appear below; but only one MS. of it has been until now noticed. Rājendralāla Mitra, in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (vol. ii, No. 615, p. 57) gives extracts from this poem occurring at its commencement (viz., Canto I, śl. 1, 2, 4) and its conclusion (viz., Canto V, śl. 19), and furnishes the following description of the MS. he had examined:

"Substance, country yellow paper, Folio 11. Lines, 7 on a page. Extent, 266 ślokas. Character, Bengali. Date? Place of deposit, Calcutta, Sir Raja Radhakanta Deva Bahadur. Appearance, old. Verses, generally correct[1],"

1. It would appear from the extracts given from this poem that the verses were not always correct. For instance, the readings च्छुदांश्वरोऽयं (sl. 1), हारामलयं (sl. 2)' रससुख (last verse) give no sense and are obviously wrong. But these mistakes may be due to the Pandit who read and transcribed these passages for the *Notices.* The total number of verses does not agree with that given by our MSS; but this is, as shown below, probably a mistake.

Althohgh the number of cantos is not given in this description,. the last verse agrees with that given in our MSS., and we may presume that poem was presented complete in this MS. in five cantos. I have not been able to trace this MS. Possibly MSS. of this poem are available in Nepal, as Aufrecht's reference[1] to the *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts at Khatmandoo* indicates; but on this no further information can be obtained.

As all the MSS. available of this work are either in Bengali or Nepali character and as verses from the poem are quoted chiefly (as we shall see presently) by some early Eastern writers, we may presume that the work must have enjoyed a considerable reputation in the Eastern provinces. The only two known commentaries on this poem appear to be the work of Bengali authours and the MSS. are written in Bengali character. About the middle of the 19th century, Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa, Professor of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra at the Calcutta Sanskrit College, cites this poem in his commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (i, 14); and even today many a Paṇḍit in Bengal knows *Kīcaka-vadha* at least by reputation.

My attention was drawn to this poem by the reference of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa. In his definition of a *mahākāvya,* Daṇḍin lays down that it should commence with a benediction (*āśīr*), or an obeisance (*namaskriyā*), or an indication of the subject-matter (*vastu-nirdeśa*). Almost all the standard *mahākāvyas,* in accordance with this time-honoured prescription, open with a *namaskriyā* (e.g. *Raghū-vaṃśa*) or a *vastu-nirdeśa* (e.g. *Kumāra-sambhava*); but the example of a poem commencing with an *āśīr*-prelude is difficult to find. Commenting on this line of Daṇḍin's

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum,* i, p. 108a,

(i, 14), Premacandra mentions that the *Kīcakavadha* opens with an *āsīr*. This remark led me to make enquiries about the *Kīcakavadha,* of which Premacandra in the last century must have had some knowledge; but, as noted above, manuscripts of this work could not be satisfactorily traced, and I had to content myself with the extracts given by Rājendralāla. I could, however, find a notice of a commentary on this poem, entitled *Tattva prakāśikā* by Janārdana-sena, in the India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts[1]. On further search, I was fortunate in discovering two complete and fairly correct MSS. of the original poem in the Manuscripts Collection of the Dacca University. On examination the composition proved interesting, and the plan of editing it was conceived. An application was made to the India Office Library for a loan of their copy of the commentary; but before it arrived, I was able to restore the first three cantos of the poem. Though the commentary proved a useful guide for the elucidation of this difficult *yamak*-and *śleṣa-kāvya,* it did not appear to be very valuable, nor full or learned; while its only available MS. was exceedingly corrupt and incorrect. I am, however, publishing this commentary along with the text it comments upon, instead of adding a fresh commentary of my own; for a *yamaka* and *śleṣa-kāvya* cannot very well be published without some kind of running commentary.

On learning that I was editing this poem, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasāda Śāstrī very kindly sent to me from his own collection a new *ṭīkā,* not noticed elsewhere, on the poem by Sarvānanda-nāga. This commentary reached me when my edition was aleardy completed and the press copy made. It proved on examination to be much

1. ed. J. Eggeling, pt. vii, pp. 1492-93.

inferior to Janārdana's commentary, although in many places its interpretations were illuminating. It was not necessary, therefore, to print this commentary full in my edition, aspecially as it was corrupt in many places and one whole folio was missing. I have, however, given copious extracts from it in my notes, whereever it has anything fresh to add.

The *Kīcaka-vadha* is a short poem containing 177 verses[1] in all, distributed over five cantos thus: I-27, II-25, III-51, IV-55, V-19. With the exception of the last canto, the metre used throughout is the classical *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka,* diversified at the end of each canto with a variety of other metres. The last canto is written in *upendravajrā, indravajrā* and *upajāti,* although at the close we have *rucirā, praharṣiṇī* and *puṣpitāgrā.* At the end of the other cantos, the following metres are employed; *puṣpitāgrā* (I, II and partly in III and IV), *vasantatilaka, pṛthvī* and *śārdūlavi-krīḍita* (III) and *narkūṭaka* or *kokilaka* (IV).

The story is founded on the well known episode of the Virāṭaparvan of the *Mahābhārata.* All the narrative or descriptive details of the epic, however, are omitted, the poet selecting only those points in the theme which would lend themselves to his peculiar treatment. Thus the descrp-tion of the slaying of Kīcaka, which forms the central incident in the story giving its name to the poem itself, takes up about thirty verses in the Virāṭaparvan (xxi, 49-77), but our poet devotes to it only one stanza. The whole description of Bhīma's spirited fight with Kīcaka's

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1. Rajendralala Mitra's MS. is said to contain 266 verses, nearly one hundred more than what our MSS. (both of the text and the commentaries) give. Probably this is a mistake, for his extracts also show that some verses given by our MSS. are missing in his (e. g. sl. 3)₂ and thus the total mumber of werses should have been less. Possibly his number was 166, his MS being apparently a defective one.

friends and relatives and the rescuing of Draupadī is omitted, as well as the theme of the stealing of Virāṭa's cattle by the king of Trigarta. The story of the final battle between the king of the Matsyas (helped by the Pāṇḍavas) and Duryodhana is told very briefly by our poet and told without such wealth of description and vigour of narrative as we find it in the original. In fact, a comparison of the treatment of the story in this poem with that in the original epic would make it clear that our poet avoids the descriptive and narrative elements, and selects only those incidents which would give scope to his special object of employing *śleṣa* and *yamka*. It is for this reason that Draupadī's speech to Virāṭa, which by play upon words is also made applicable to the Pāṇḍavas, takes up more than three fourths of the third canto; while Arjuna's speech (in *yamaka* to the enemy-heroes occupy the last canto entirely.

On the other hand, the story does not agree in some details with that given in the original epic. In the epic Kīcaka is killed apparently in the dancing hall of the king, but our poet makes Bhima overtake him in his flight from a room in which the assignation was made and slay him on the way. It is possible that in this and other deviations our poet might be following other later versions of the well known story, and the commentary notes significantly in one place: युगभेदादागमभेदेनेयं कथा. It is not necessary to note here all these points of departure, but what has been said above will shew that our poet, like all later classical Sanskrit poets does not think it necessary to elaborate or reconstruct a well known plot, contenting himself with its general outline, but he makes the plot a means only of displaying his skill in the manipulation of the language. This poem aims at telling the simple and attractive story

of the epic in the elaborate pedantic style of the later *kāvyas*, which admitted strained efforts at mere verbal jugglery, with the result that the story is embellished out of all recognition. This tendency of playing with the language is possible because of the special advantages afforded by Sanskrit, the large number of meanings assigned to Sanskrit words, the different modes of splitting up compounds and the diverse ways in which the syllables comprising a line can be disjoined. The basis of such figures of speech as *yamaka* and *śleṣa* lies in this adaptability of the classical Sanskrit, the flexibilty as well as the complexity of its grammatical forms, and the susceptibility of its words to delicate subtleties of meaning.

Making allowance for this pedantic and artificial development of later *kāvya*-style and its vitiation of taste, one must admit that our poet had no mean talent in his own line. He is not a great poet in the proper acceptation of the term, nor even a mediocre poet, but his pretensions are in other directions. His theme is slender, and no attention is paid to its really poetic possibilities; but these defects are made good by the luxuriance of verbal embellishment and by the skill displayed in the use of double meanings and clever chiming. By this alone our author claims merit, and his work is one of the earliest authoritative examples of its kind. It must be said to the credit of our author that his *śleṣas* are not always as strained as we find them, for instance in the *Naiṣadha* or the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya*; while his *yamakas* are often inevitable and pleasing, much more than they are in the *Nalodaya* or the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* of Vāsudeva. It is well that he has kept himself within modest limits; for, while such a work may be acceptable as a *tour de force*, one

cannot have too much of it. If this was, as it appears, the chief object the poet had in composing this piece of literary exercise, he must be considered to have been eminently successful.

Indeed, in this class of factitious compositions, which form distinctive feature of later Sanskrit literature the *Kīcakavada* should occupy a high place. In Sanskrit, there are some good *śleṣa-kāvyas* and astouding feats of verbal ingenuity have been achieved; but the *yamaka-kāvyas* are not many,[1] and there is hardly any known *kāvya* which includes both *śleṣa* and *yamaka* in its scope as our *Kīcakavadha* does. The earliest *yamaka-kāvya*, attributed to Ghaṭakarpara, is a fine short lyric of 22 verses, which almost exclusively uses end-chiming. The later *yamaka-kāvyas*, however, of Vāsudeva are more ambitious but extremely artificial compositions, abounding in elaborate tricks of style. His *Nalodaya* in four cantos (217 verses, ed. F. Benary, Berlin 1830), *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* in eight cantos (719 verses, ed. kāvyamālā No. 60) and *Tripura-dahana*[2] are really literary curios. The second of these works is the most considerable feat of skill, known in Sanskrit, in this highly artificial style of composition; while the maturer and more well known *Nalodaya* (which had for a long time the honour of being ascribed to Kāliadāsa) is especially remarkable for the variety of complicated *yamaka*-schemes it illustrates, and for successfully managing even the more exacting demands of quadruple *yamaka* in each verse. Our author, however,

1. Rhetoricians, who quote *Kicaka-vadha,* take it as an authoritative example of a *yamaka-kavya* and hardly any attention is paid to its *slesa.*

2. The work has not yet been edited; but extracts from it are given by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar *J. R. A S.* 1925. pp. 265f. According to Mr. Ayyar, the date of Vasudeva is the first half of the 9th century A. D.

is not so ambitious, and has shown moderation in the use of only end and middle chiming of two or three kinds. In this he has kept to the simpler style of the Ghaṭakarpara poem and later subtleties of workmanship appear to have found no favour with him.

With regard to the date of composition of the *Kīcaka-vadha* no definite clues are given by poem itself. The whole of the first canto is taken up with two benedictions pronounced at the commencement which praise in turns Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, followed by a rather lengthy panegyric of the king (I,7-27) who was the poet's patron but whose name is unfortunately not expressly mentioned. In I, 21 we read

śucānuddhartaḥ siddhān nṛpāṃstasya kaliṅgataḥ
sādhu-vādaḥ kṣitiṃ sarvāṃ paribhūya kaliṃ gataḥ.

The commentator Janārdana explains that in this verse we are told that the King's praise extended from Kaliṅga to all the world, because he did not, out of pity, exterminate the famous Kings whom he conquered. Apart from the obvious exaggeration involved in such panegyrics, this would indicate that he was a King of Kaliṅga *(anena ślokena tasya kaliṅgeśvaratvaṃ dhvanitam)*. Turning to I. 7 we find the King is described in the following words :

asti rājā jagad-gīta-mahimā loka-vigrahaḥ
sākṣād iva rucāṃ sthānam ahimāloka-vigrahaḥ.

With regard to the phrase *loka-vigrahaḥ* in the first line, Janārdana explains: *lokā-vigrahaḥ manuṣya-śarīraḥ, yad vā, lokyate [iti] loka [ḥ] darśanīyaḥ, tādṛg vigrahaḥ.* The phrase *ahimāloka-vigrahaḥ* in the second line is explained as *ahimo him-viruddho ya ālokas tad-vigrahaḥ, tanmayaśarīra iti yāvat.* Whatever may be the value of

this interpretation, it is clear that the commentator fails to explain the word *vigrahah* satisfactorily in the two lines. In order that it should be a proper *yamaka*, the word *vigarahah* in the second line must be explained differently from the same word in the first line. In both places, however, the commentary explains it as *śarīra*. On the other hand, we have the more likely suggestion of the other commentator Sarvānanda that in the first line the phrase is *āloka-vigrahah* which was the name or *biruda* of the King, whose other name was Rāma (*tatah paraṃ śrī-rāma-nāmānam āloka-vigrahaṃ rājānaṃ varṇayam āha—astīti ālokavigraha-nāmā rājā asti vidyate*). It is quite probable that in this phrase there is some such allusion to the actual name of the poet's patron; but as we possess little authentic information regarding the political history of Kaliṅga prior to the 11th century, it is not possible to identify the King definitely with any known historical personage.

On the other hand, it is possible to explain I, 21 in a different way, taking *kaliṅgatah* with *anuddharatah* and not with *gatah* as Janārdana takes it. It would then mean that the king's praise extended over all the world, because he did not, out of pity, exterminate from Kaliṅga the princes of the place whom he had conquered. This would indicate that he was the ruler, not of Kaliṅga, but probably of an adjoining province, who concured Kaliṅga in his career of conquest. But all this does not give us any clue to the dlfinite date of the poem. Accepting the second view given above, however one may find in the word विग्रह in I, 7 (which commentators fail to interpret satisfactorily) a convert allusion to Vigrahapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, if it be possible to establish by other evidences that our poet lived in the court of the Vigrahapālas of Bengal.

But it is hardly safe to speculate upon this slender and doubtful basis, in spite of the fact that one of the three Vigrahapālas may be shewn to have had some connexion with the conquest of Kaliṅga. It is noteworthy, however, that so far as we can trace, the poem always had a direct relation to Bengal, that it has been preserved and held in high estimation in this country, and that the only commentaries that have been obtained had its origin in Bengal, indicating its currency there; while there is nothing to connect it with Kaliṅga excepting the verse I, 21 of ambiguous meaning.

The poem itself affording no certain indication of its date, we have to fall back upon external evidence for fixing its period of composition. So far as I have been able to trace, the earliest writer who quotes the work and the author seems to be Bhoja. In his *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, he quotes anonymously and comments on two verses from this poem, I, 3 (= p. 86, ed. Borooah, 1884) and I, 10 (= p. 79); while in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*[1], he mentions the name of the author and his work. This would furnish the lower limit of the date of the poem; and we know from Bhoja's own inscription as well as from other evidences that he belongs to the Paramāra dynasty of Dhārā and ruled in the second and third quarters of the 11th century A. D.[2] It is clear therefore that the *Kīcaka-vadha* must have been composed some time before the 11th century A. D., at which date it was authoritative enough to be quoted by Bhoja in his two works. This date is corrobo-

1. See *Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies*, vol iv, pt. ii, p. 282; also *Report of the working of the Peripatetic Party of the Madras Govt. Oriental Library*, 1916-19, p. 42.

2. On the date of Bhoja, see my *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, 144-7.

rated by the fact that Nami-sādhu, who comments on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* and who gives the date of his own commentary as saṃvat 1125 (= A. D. 1069), quotes anonymously the verse I, 10 at p.37 (ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay, 1909). The upper limit of the date of our poem, however, is uncertain; but in one passage (III, 25 पङ्के गौरिव सीदति). Nītivarman appears to be consciously or unconsciously, imitating Bhāravi *Kirāta*° ii, 6 (करिणी पङ्कमिवावसीदति) This is not conclusive evidence, nor is any other clue available; but from the general style of composition and its highly artificial character, we would not be justified in placing the *Kīcaka-vadha* too early. It was probably composed sometime in the 9th or 10th century A. D.

The *Kīcaka-vadha* is also quoted by a large number of grammarians and lexicographers, as well as rhetoricians,[1] some of whom appear to be fairly early writers. In his commentary on the *Uṇādi-sūtra* i, 117 (ed. Aufrecht, p. 22), Ujjvaladatta cites I, 24 of our poem with (इति कीचकवधः) and on iv, 102, quotes[2] the last *pāda* of II, 12 again with (इति कीचकवधः) Puruṣottama-deva in his *Bhāṣya-vṛtti* on Pāṇini ii, 4, 23 comments on the formation of the compound (नृपतिसभाम्) quoting anonymously the line (II, 25d) in which it occurs[3]. This ungrammatical formation has puzzled most grammarians and has been discussed in the *vṛtti* on *Saṃkṣipta-sāra* (ed. Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna, Samāsa-pāda 344, p. 1294 : quoted anonymously), *Supadma*

1. Besides Bhoja and Nami-sadhu, Gopala Bhatta in his commentary on Mammata (ed. Trivandrum, 1926 p. 77), quotes anonymously and comments on *Kicaka-vadha* I, 10. यस्यारिजातं नृपतेरपश्यदवलम्बनं

2. Wrongly read by Aufrecht, श्रुत्वा श्रुत्वाश्रु धरां त्यजति श्रुत्वा श्रुत्वातुरासृजंत् ।

3. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 108a) notes that the *Kicaka-vadha* is also cited in Purusottamadeva's *Karna-bhusana*.

(vi, 3, 80, anonymously), *Praudha-manoramā* (ed. Benares, 1888, p. 346 इति कीचकवधे) *Tattva-bodhinī* on *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (ed. Śivadatta, Bombay, 1926, p. 242, इति कीचकवधे) and other grammatical works. Aufrecht notes that the poem is also quoted by Rāmanātha in *Manoramā Kātantra-dhātu-vṛtti,* which was composed in 1537 A. D.

In the lexicographical works this poem is quoted by name in Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Amra-Koṣa* (Bhandarkar's *Report* 1883-84, p. 472) in connexion with the explanation of the word विकसितम् in 1, 17. Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in his commentary on Amara's lexicon, gives a large number of quotations with इति कीचकवधः Thus *Kīcaka-vadha* IV, 1 (=Sarvānda on i, I, 39-40, ed, Trivandrum, pt. I, p. 30), I, 17 (= on i. 5, 12 ; pt. I, p. 110 : also pt. II, p. 58), II, 11a(=on ii, 6, 296 ; pt. II, p. 284), V, 5d (=on ii, 4, 104 ; pt, II, p. 153), V, 5cd (= on iii, 5, 20 ; pt. IV p. 179). It is noteworthy, however, that one verse (on iii, 1, 106 ; pt. IV, p. 49).

क्रीडयापि न वैद्येन वितथा वागुरीकृता।
हन्तुं चारिमृगान् बाणसन्तति र्वागुरी कृता ॥

which Sarvānanda gives as a quotation from *Kīcaka-vadha* does not occur in our poem. The attribution in alll ikelihood is incorrect.

It is worthy of note that almost all these quotations are quotations of Nītivarman's *yamakas* and his *śleṣa* is hardly cited as authoritative. It is probable that his *yamakas* were more admired (and justly so) than his *śleṣas,* in which he does not seem to have been equally succesful.

These quotations would indicate the admiration with which the *Kīcaka-vadha* was regarded by a certain class

of writers who favoured this kind of elaborate composition; but it also gives us an idea of the weight and authority attached to the work as the composition of a well reputed poet. It is also remarkable that, with the exception of Bhoja, Nami-sādhu and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, almost all the writers who quote this work belong in all probability to the Eastern provinces, and some of them are directly connected with Bengal. The reputation of this poem must have been at one time very high in Bengal, even if we suppose it to have been composed in Kaliṅga; and it can claim distinction as being one of the earliest known Kāvya-works originating in the Eastern provinces of India.

My edition of the text of *Kīcaka-vadha* which will be published soon is made from two complete paper MSS. in the collection of the Dacca University Manuscript Library, which are marked by me as A and B. Both of these are in clear good Bengali handwriting of different periods, but the *variae lectiones* shew that they were probably not derived from the same archetype. Both of them, however, agree in the number and order of verses as well as in the division of the cantos. B is as a general rule more correct, but the readings of A are some times preferable, especially in those folios where the text is accompanied by a marginal gloss. Both the MSS. make no mention of any date, nor of the name of the scribe.

A consists of 16 folios; size, 3 in.×16 in.; 4 lines on a page (excepting the last which contains three lines). The MS. was purchased from Babu Murari Mohan Chaudhari of Pingla, Midnapore, in west Bengal. On the blank front page of first folio there appears a *mantra* ओं इमा रुद्राय etc., two lines and half) on the right top corner, and on the

left side: सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते । तस्य लक्षणम् आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् । These lines are probably written by the person who studied a part of the poem and wrote the marginal gloss (using both black and red ink), which accompanies the text up to the end of folio 6a (III, 17).[1] The writer of the text and the gloss appears to be the same person, as there is not much difference in the handwriting. He must have copied the text, and then very carefully studied and corrected it up to the point indicated, supplying omissions etc., and compiling a brief marginal gloss, apparently from different commentaries on the poem. He is careful enough to mark every word-division with signs and even the *anvayas* of the words sometimes with figures 1, 2, 3, etc, or by dots. But possibly his patience was exhausted by the time he came to the sixth folio, i. e. to III, 17; and the obvious scribal mistakes or omissions have not been corrected or supplied in the rest of the poem, nor the marginal gloss continued. The writer of the gloss had probably the commentary of Janārdanasena before him, for in many places he actually reproduces it; especially in one place the whole of Janārdana's commentary (on I, 27) is reproduced in the gloss. But he had perhaps other commentaries or help before him : for his interpretations are sometimes new and do not agree with the commentary. We have reproduced some of these in our notes. Some of these passages indicate that probably the gloss-writer had also before him the commentary of Sarvānanda-nāga. Ii is not unlikely that other commentaries on the poem also existed.

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1. The marginal writing has suffered a good deal from damp and is worn along the edges.

The writing of A is clear, but some pages are damaged by damp, and the letters (especially in the marginal gloss) have become indistinct. It is written on white country-made paper, and the appearance as well as the script of the MS. is old. From the formation of the letters, it is probable that the writing belongs to about 1600 A. D. The history and development of Bengali script have not yet been scientifically studied and chronological materials have not all been collected together; but I have carefully compared the script of my MSS. with Bendall's plates, with the facsimilies given of the 16th century MSS. in Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Notices* Vols. III and IV, as well as with some of the dated MSS. of the period in the Dacca University collection. While substantially agreeing with Mitra's plates, the Bengali script of A shows a further development but cannot be placed much later. The writing thus seems to be of about the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

B appears to be a more modern MS. Its writing is very clear, distinct, large and bold; and the paper is of the usual yellow country-made variety. It conists of 13 folios, four lines on a page; size 3 in. ×14¼ in. The writing belongs probably to the 18th century. The MS. was presented to the Dacca University by Messrs Tarachand Bhattacharya aud Nalini Mohan Bhattacharya of Borai, District Bogra.

Both the MSS. exhibit the usual characteristics of Bengal MSS. *viz.*, duplication of consonants with र, the non-discrimination of व and ब, confusion of certain *akṣaras* which have the same sound in Bengali etc. I have corrected all these in my text and adopted a uniform system of spelling. But I have taken care to note all the

real *variae-lectiones*, except in a few cases where they are obvious mistakes of spelling (*e. g.* in णत्व or षत्वविधान) or dropping of a letter. **A** begins the text with श्रों नमो गणेशाय and sometimes writes on the margin श्रीराम: (*e. g.* fol. 6a); **B** commences with श्रीदुर्गा and has no marginal writing or corrections. The pagings of both **A** and **B** are regular, except that **A** has an extra folio, in which it writes over again III, 11-24 (fol. 6a and b).

The India Office MS. of the commentary of Janārdanasena is complete in 40 folios (ending at 40a), written on yellow country-made paper. On an average there are eight lines on each page (excepting fol. 1b 7 lines; fol. 2b—6 lines; fol. 40a—7 lines). The MS. appears to have been presented to the East India Company's Library by H. T. Colebrooke, and the word रघुमणि at the top of the title probably indicates the name of Raghumaṇi Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is said to have been Colebrooke's Paṇḍit. The MS. was either copied by him or purchased through him, this name appearing in most of Colebrooke MSS. in the India Office; and the figure लं ३६ probably indicates lot No. 36.

The MS. is in modern Bengali script and cannot be older than the 19th century. It is written in two different hands, the first hand going only up to fol. 1—3b, although some of the corrections in the following pages appear to be also in this hand. A different hand appears from fol. 4a up to the end. The hand-writing is good and clear, but the MS. is badly copied, and there are mistakes and omissions in almost every two lines.

The MS. copy was probably made (for Colebrooke) from a very old Bengali MS. and the scribe stumbled at

every step over its old script. It is also probable that the copyist did not have the text of the poem before him for following the commentary, which he had to copy blindly and blunderingly. The MS. exhibits all the characteristics mentioned above of Bengali MSS. although it rarely duplicates consonants with र. The sign of *anusvāra* or *visarga* is often omitted, consonants or letters dropped (*e. g.* अर्थं for अर्थात्), syllables transposed, redundant letters used, wrong *sandhis* made, and incorrect forms of words used (*e. g.* प्रशंसता for प्रशस्यता). Some corrections are indeed made and omissions supplied on the margin, but these are not sufficient nor carefully done. There is a regular confusion between certain *akṣaras*.

Nothing is known of the commentator except that his name was Janārdana-sena, and that his commentary was entitled तत्त्वप्रकाशिका। The name of the author is peculiar to Bengal, and he was apparently a Bengali Vaidya with the patronymic *sena*, usual in Bengali Vaidyas (though the patronymic is also found in some *Kāyastha* and *Vaiśya* names as well). His citation of Kātantra grammar throughout as authoritative, his use of words like कष्टसृष्ट्या (still employed by Bengal Paṇḍits and in the vernacular), and the literal rendering of some vernacular idiom to be found in his Sanskrit sentences,—all indicate the probability of his being a Bengali and a very modern writer. The commentary, though useful in its way, is not pretentious and the author seems to be a man of limited scholarship. He is generally correct in his interpretations, but sometimes fails to explain some passages satisfactorily and is positively wrong in some of his explanations; while in some cases he deserts us in difficulties. He cites विश्वकोश twice (on II, 7; III, 4), and मेदिनी once

(on III, 5), but all these seem to be misquotations from memory, not to be found in the printed editions of the lexicons. He generally follows अमरकोश, but it is interesting to note that he quotes Rantideva twice (on II, 15; III, 1). The only author on Alaṃkāra cited in Daṇḍin (on IV, 19), and from general literature there are only two quotations from महिम्नः स्तोत्रम् (on I, 1; I, 2).

It is not necessary to describe here in detail the MS. of Sarvāndra-nāga's *Ṭīkā* on the *Kīcaka-vadha*, which has been utilised in my notes to my edition. The copy lent to me by Dr. Śāstrī consisted of 38 folios (ending at 38a), written in Bengali character on white country-made paper. It is complete, and fairly correct, but the left top corners of folios 21a to 24a have been torn off and a part of the first line on these folios lost. One folio (fol. 30) is entirely missing, and comments on IV, 15 (partly), 16—22, 23 (partly) are thus lost. On fol. 29b, a part of the commentary on IV, 14 has been struck off (probably inadvertently) and then penned over again in deeper ink, thus blurring the whole impression. The commentary fails to impress us either by its learning or its acumen, and is not so full as Janārdana's, but in some cases its suggestions are striking and helpful. The patronymic *nāga* is common in Bengal, and there are other indications in the *ṭīkā* which make it propable that Sarvānanda was also a Bengali. He follows *Kātantra* but not slavishly. He quotes अमरकोश generally but also मेदिनी (on I, 9, 26 etc), विश्व (e. g. on II, 8, 14, 24; III, 8), दामोदर (on I, 9, 15), कोश (on III, 1; II, 2). महेश्वर (on II, 7), and शब्दार्णव (on II. 11), although as a rule its quotations from lexicons are anonymous. It is not impossible that Janārdana had before him this commentary; for in some places Janārdana's

alternative suggestions (यद्वा) agrees with Sarvānanda's explanations, and in one instance especially (on V, 2), the कश्चित् of Janārdana appears to be Sarvānanda. The name of the scribe as well as the date of the copy of the MS. is given at the end in a doggerel verse:

टीकेयं लिखिता श्री [मद] रामशरणशर्मणा ।
पत्न (वे) दरसत्त्वोणीयुक्शकाब्दे सुखप्रदा[1] ॥
मल्लाब्दे रसयुग्माशायुजि टकियमालिपत् ।
शुक्रे शनौ नवाहे च पूर्वाह्णे पाठहेतवे ॥

This gives us *śakābda* 1642 and *mallābda* 1026[2] (=A. D. 1720) as the date of the copying of the MS. The use of the Malla Era would indicate the currency of this commentary in Mallabhūma (=District Bankura in West Bengal), to which place it is not unlikely that the scribe Rāmaśaraṇa (and also probably Sarvānanda) belonged.

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1. युक्शाके पाठहेतवे was originally written, but corrected thus on the margin.

2. On the Malla Era, see *Indian Historical quarterly*, vol. iii, pp. 180-1 412; *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali MSS.* vol. i, (Cal. Univ., 1926), pp. vi-vii.

TIRUMALĀMBĀ'S AMBIKĀPARIṆAYA.

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The object to this paper is to announce the discovery of a new prose romance. It is entitled *Ambikāpariṇaya.* The author is Tirumlāmbā, a lady writer of Southern India. It is written in poetic prose. I believe it is the only extant work of a lady writer in elaborate and artificial Sanskrit. A critical study of the work gives rise to several problems. Before I discuss them, I would like to add, for the convenience of my readers, a brief description of its contents.

The work opens with a fanciful description of the Emperor Moon. Moon had a son called Budha. The son of Budha was Purūravas who married Urvaśi. Their son was Āyu. Āyu obtained as his son Nahuṣa, the performer of a hundred sacrifices. Yayāti, the terror of all his foes was the son of Nahuṣa. Turvasu, the son of Yayāti, held sway over the entire universe. Thus the lunar dynasty whose kings were endowed with exceptional qualities flourished. In course of time, king Timma was born in this dynasty. He married a queen named Devaki. Their son was Īśvara, who was married to Bukkamāmbā in accordance with the injunctions of the Scriptures. In course of time, a prince named Nṛsiṃha was born. With his matchless bravery he conquered the whole earth. He was invincible in battle. All the rulers of the earth became his vassal kings. He set out on a tour of world conquest. First of all he proceeded in the eastern direction, then he turned to the south and reached the country of the Colas. Here follows a long description of the Cola

country. The river Kāverī is next described. The river was crossed. The king encamped on its right bank. He issued an order prohibiting his army to molest the people of the country. Secret spies brought the news that the Cola King was determined to fight. A council of war was held. It was decided to take the offensive. A night was spent in giving rest to army. The following morning, having performed the daily duties, the king came out of his tent and greeted the vassal princes who were waiting for him with folded hands. The order to march was issued. At once the drums were beaten, conchs were blown, kettle-drums were sounded. There rose such a tumult that the vault of heaven was reverberated with the din of his army. The movement of the army is then described. The moving army raised mountains of dust. Every thing was darkened. The day was turned into a night. The distinction between heaven and earth was obliterated. The Cola King came out with his fourfold army and delivered an attack with great vehemence. Both armies were locked in a life and death struggle. The carnage was terrible. The dreadful battle went on for a long time when the army of Nṛsiṃha began to retire. Seeing his troops waver, the king mounted a huge elephant, and reviving the drooping spirit of his soldiers, rushed at the enemy with an irresistible force. If seemed that the time of final dissolution was near at hand. Streams of blood ran in every direction. The slaughter was truly frightful. Nṛsiṃha wrought havoc in the army of the enemy. Meanwhile he recognised the Cola King in the midst of the battle-field and advanced to challenge him in a single combat. In the fearful duel which ensued, Nṛsiṃha hurled his flaming spear with such tremendous force that his adversary with his elephant fell

down at a single blow. Himself jumping down, he captured the Cola King alive. The Cola army was prostrate with consternation and panic-stricken fled in confusion with dismay. Nṛsiṃha was crowned with victory. In a triumphant procession, he entered the capital of his enemy. He then proceeded towards Rāmeśvaram and saw the ocean. Here is a description of the ocean. I quote a few lines with double entendre:

गगनमिव ग्राहविहारकारणं किरणमालिनमिव सन्ततस्यन्दनदीप्रवाहं गिरीशमिव तमालश्यामलोपकण्ठं केशवमिव प्रकाशितशंखचक्रं ......समुद्रमद्राक्षीत् ।

On the sea-shore, he heard the legends of the sons of Sagara and the exploits of Rāma. Then he adord God Rāmeśvara. Here follows a description of Rāmeśvara. I quote a line or two from this description:—

लंकापुरपंकेरुहनिशशङ्कोन्मूलनाहङ्करणसंङ्कुलरघुकुलतिलकभुजशौण्डीर्यवेतण्डशुण्डादण्डसमुद्दण्डं... ककुत्स्थवंशप्रशस्तिकेतुं कौणपलोकप्रलयधूमकेतुं जानकीशोकशल्योद्धरणहेतुं -सर्गस्थितिसंहरणाध्यक्षगुणत्रयमपिनिर्गुण इति समुद्घोषयन्तं......सकलनिगमागमागोचरमपि सागरतीरगोचरं रामेश्वरमीश्वरनन्दनो ववन्दे ।

Having vanquished all the kings of that country he came to Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, built a bridge and invested the town. The King Mahāvīra accepted defeat, fell at his feet with all his queens and placed all the wealth of his treasury at his disposal. He was reinstated. The King of Maruva fled as soon as Nṛsiṃha approached his territory. Then he captured the famous fort Mahādurga and adored the God Gokarṇa and made rich gifts to the brāhmaṇās including the *tulādāna*.

Followed by innumerable chiefs, he marched towards the north and defeated the Kāmbojas, Vālhikas, Tukhkhas, and Suratrāṇa which probably stands for Sultan. He took

a fort. The text is here corrupt and unintelligible. The reference to the defeat of the Suratrāṇa is made in the following sentence:—सुरत्राणः प्राणत्राणपरायणो दुर्गममानवदुर्गं तत् क्षणमध्यस्त्वत् ।

He captured Suratrāṇa, took pity on him and set him free. Thus not only he circumambulated the earth in this tour of conquest, but also captivated the three worlds with the glory and majesty of his innumerable qualities. Then he went to his capital Vidyāpuri-Vijayanagara, bestowed favours on vassal kings according to their merits and entered his palace. Here follows a description of Vidyāpuri. Thus he ruled over the whole of India from Rāmeśvara to the Himalayas—आसेतोराहिमाद्रेः ।

Having entrusted the affairs of the state to the ministers, he passed his time in the pursuit of fine arts like music, poetry, literature.

One day, a priest came and said that he had seen a most beautiful girl. The priest was appointed to obtain all information about her habitation, family, parentage, name, age, and so on. The girl was Omāmbā, daughter of Rāmāmbā, of the solar dynasty. As all the ministers and priests approved, the marriage was celebrated. The king experienced great happiness and day and night prayed to God Acyuta for a son. God Acyuta granted his desire in a dream. A son was born in course of time. There was great rejoicing. Sacred ceremonies were performed. Subordinate kings came with rich presents. The poor were fed. Taxes were remitted. Festivals were celebrated. Prisoners were released. Every body was happy. The king penetrated into the inner apartments and saw a glorious child:—परिस्फुरन्तं बालकमालोक्य त्रैलोक्यमपि करतलान्तरगतमेव तर्कितवान् ।

The prince was named Acyutarāya after the God

Acyuta. He was educated in all the arts and sciences. King Nṛsiṃha died in course of time and Acyuta was crowned king. His rule pleased all his subjects.

Here follows a description of the youth of Acyuta. I quote a sentence or two:—'Then youth came to Acyuta as the spring to Nandana, the garden of Indra.'

नन्दनमिव वसन्तो नयमिव विनयो नालीकमुकुलमिव विकासो नदीनायकमिव विधूदयो नक्षत्रेशमिव शरदागमो, नागेन्द्रमिव मदोदयो नारायणभुजमध्यमिव कौस्तुभमणिः ।

At the new youth of Acyuta, the world became like a second Rati, displaying her charming loveliness. Acyuta was a model king and perfect in every way. One day the king went to his stable and saw a beautiful horse. Here follows a description of the horse. I quote a few lines:—

स्थलगमनवाञ्छाकलितमहीसंचारमिव कञ्जेशहयं......वपुष्मन्तमिव गर्वोष्माणं वेगमिव तुरगवेषं साहसमिव देहसंगतं सलिलप्रवाहमिव सततचटुलशफराजिविराजितं सन्नृपसभामध्यमिव सततमुखरचितकविकान्तं वसन्तवर्धितवालपल्लवं वारिराशिमिव प्रकाशितदेवमणिं......राघवानीकमिव सुग्रीवमुखं......विनीतमपि विरचितबालचापलमनुकलाकलितसत्कृतिमप्यध्वनिधीरं महान्तमश्ववर्यमपश्यत् ।

The horse enthusiastically greeted the King in the form of vigorous neighing, as if wishing the King victory and was brought near. The King mounted the horse as Indra rides Uccaiḥśravas, or Keśava Garuḍa. A multitude of youths of the same age followed the King on horseback. People flocked to see him pass by. On both sides of the road stood the citizens with folded hands raised to their forehead. Acutya was the centre of attraction, he was the cynosure of all eyes. Elephants, cavalry, infantry passed to and fro like the waves of the ocean. The King moved slowly conversing with the vassal princes and reached the hunting forest in course of time. Here follows a description of the various sports. On his

return to the capital, which was gaily decorated, and where bards were singing panegyrics of the King, he passed by a garden situated near the town. A gentle, fragrant breeze was blowing from the garden. The jester brought the garden to the notice of the King and beseeched him to pass some time there. The King agreed and went into the garden. Having rested and refreshed themselves in a beautiful tent, the King and the jester strolled away among the flower-beds. They saw bees flying in the eastern direction. The King asked, 'Why are these bees flying in a line to the East?' and eager to know the reason, moved a few steps forward. He heard sweet and indistinct sounds like the melodious notes of birds excited by the honey of fresh blown lotuses. The jester, who claimed to be an authority on sounds, declared that it must be the wandering voice of cuckoos, who have tasted the juice of the fresh blossoms of mango trees. The King decided that these were the sounds of several girls talking together, proceeded forward and saw a wonderful temple of the Goddess Gaurī. He went to the temple and saw a most beautiful princess engaged in worship. Here follows a description of princess. I quote a few lines:—

विषमशरविजयकेतुवैजयन्तीमिवं विस्फुरन्तीं चक्षुरिन्द्रियसंवननमन्त्रदेवतामिव सन्निहितां लावण्यराज्यलक्ष्मीमिव..... शृङ्गारसिन्धुकन्दलितामिव सीमन्तमयूखरेखां..... एकत्रपुञ्जीभूयसञ्चरन्तीमिव मदनसंजीवनकलांमवर्णनीयलावण्यामन्यादृशीं कामपि राजकन्याम्

He was surprised by beholding this wonderful beauty. The sight held him spell bound. He was fixed as it were on the ground. He became rooted as it were on the spot. He stood as if he had lost all consciousness, as if paralysed by a sudden attack of irresistible love, absolutely lost as if in a trance of contemplation. His mind

suspended its function. All his senses ceased to operate as it were.

The effect produced on the King by this sight is thus described by the authoress:—

विस्मयविधेयतया नियन्त्रित इन नियमित इव निरभिज्ञ इव निरर्गलरागाभियोगानिघ्न इव निश्चलध्यान-शील इव निरवधिकानन्दानुसन्धान इव विरुद्धमनोवृत्तिर्निष्पंदीभवदिन्द्रियवैचक्षण्यो निर्निमेषवीक्षणः क्षणमतिष्ठत् ।

The princess was in deep meditation. When she opened her eyes and saw the King all of a sudden. She was composed for a moment. The adoration of the deity was left unfinished. Her slender frame trembled like a wind-tossed creeper. She took a step or two backwards and stood face to face with the King. She fully opened her large eyes and saw before her the king, the Prince-charming of her dreams, an incarnation of vernal splendour, the very embodiment of love. To support herself she put her hand on the jewelled pillar of the temple as if she wanted to hold up her failing heart. Her eyes forgot to wink in their joy. Her hair stood on their end. Drops of perspiration made their appearance. Her glances were eloquent with love. She was thrilled to the bone and deeply wounded with the shafts of cupid.

Both were in a similar state. They stood motionless like statues. Their eyes were fixed on each other. They forgot everything else. Consciousness seemed to have deserted them. Life itself seemed to have departed form them.

The jester had delayed looking at the pictures painted on the temple-walls. He now entered and announced that the prime minister wanted to have an audience with the king on certain urgent affairs of the state. The king was

annoyed but could not refuse the request of the minister. He found it very hard to leave the temple and considerably delayed his departure under the pretext of explaining the various scenes from the life of the Goddess. The king had to return to the capital at once. The jester was, however, left behind to ascertain the particulars of the princess from her nurse. The king returned to his palace, and felt the pangs of separation. He was courteous to the ladies of the harem but did not like their company. He remained in a solitary place and waited for the arrival of the jester. The jester obtained all the information from the nurse and reported that the princess was named Varadāmbikā, was a younger sister of two brothers called Tirumalas, and the daughter of Trapāmbā, a queen of the solar dynasty. She had gone to the temple of Gaurī to celebrate a particular rite called the *Varapradhāna* the object of which was to obtain a suitable husband. The king began to think of the means to attain his desire.

Meanwhile, the princess went home. She refused to speak to her female friends. She would not even look on her attendant maids. She did not wait on her elders. She omitted to worship the family deity. Her lute lay unstrung. The fawn failed to hear her sweet sound. The gazelle was not fed. The peacock lost his dance. The dolls remained locked. The pair of swans was ignored. The parrot missed his daily lesson. The bath-room-maid waited for her in vain. The hair-dresser was disappointed. The toilette was neglected. All duties were forgotten. She sat absorbed in contemplation of the king. She felt an unbearable torture in her heart. She rolled on flower-bed, but her enflamed limbs found no relief. All the servants were alarmed. All her friends were distressed.

One day she was pressed hard by her friends and had to confess her love. She implored them to do some thing for her. They began to deliberate and devise plans, when a chamberlain appeared and announced that an embassy had arrived from king Acyuta Rai to seek the hand of the princess, that the brothers had welcomed the priest and the minister, agreed to bestow the hand of the princess on the king and had asked the princess to be ready as the auspicious ceremony was to be performed that very day. These words were like nector to her ears. Her friends eagerly precipitated themselves in decorating her. Acyuta Rai came there with great pomp and show and was married to the princess. Varadāmbikā became the chief queen. The royal couple was now in the seventh heaven of delight. Their cup of happiness was full to the brim. Months passed like days and days like moments.

One day the chief gardener reported the advent of the spring. He was richly rewarded. The king went to the garden with the queen. Here follow descriptions of spring, breezes, and flowers. The queen enjoyed herself in plucking flowers. Then follow descriptions of sports in water and sunset.

In course of time a son was born. He was named Veṅkaṭādri as he was obtained through the favour of God Veṅkaṭeśvara. He was a promising prince and was made heir-apparent by the king although he was quite young. With this, the romance comes to an end.

Tirumalāmbā, the writer of the romance, seems to be a well-educated and cultured lady. From innumerable references it is quite evident that she must have studied the epics, the Purāṇas, systems of philosphy, drama, poetry,

and the prose romances of her predecessors. She had a remarkable memory, for she says about herself that she could easily retain new poems and plays even when she had heard them once only.

एकवाराकर्णनमात्रदृढावधारितनव्यकाव्यनाटक......स्वाभाविकप्रतिभानुभावया ।

She was a a born genius and had a wonderful command on Sanskrit language. She says that she could easily compose learned works in charming language भाषाविषयसरसप्रबन्धसन्दर्भया

She was fond of the society of poets and learned scholars :—

विद्याविशेषनिरवद्यविद्वद्वरसकलकविकुलश्रवणानन्दानन्ताभीष्टफल......

She could write several scripts. She had received training in fine arts, could sing, and had a sweet and meloious voice. She knew the art of entertainment. She afforded protection to many poets and the blessing on her was pronounced by a learned brāhmaṇa who had performed the great sacrifices like the *Vājapeya, Pauṇḍarīka,* and *sarvatomukha.* She was above all an object of love and confidence of king Achyuta. She says :—

विविधविद्याप्रगल्भराजाधिराजाच्युतरायसार्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वाविश्वासभुवा ।

The question now arises, who was Tirumalāmbā ? Was she a queen of king Acyuta Rai ? If she was a queen, would she describe the charms and marriage of a co-wife in such glowing terms ? It is difficult to believe but there are persons who transcend such weaknesses of the human heart. Acyuta made rich gifts to the temple of Viṭṭhala at Vijayanagara. These gifts including the gift of *Suvarṇameru* are registered in eight records and commemorated in a verse composed by a princess named Tirumalammanavam, who calls herself a 'student', She is

probably to be identified with Tirumalāmbā, who was undoubtedly a queen of Acyuta for a Telugu poem *Vijayavitāsamu* or *Subhadrāpariṇayam* gives Tirumalāmbā as the name of the queen of Acyuta Rai. It is also stated that a sister of Tirumalāmbā was married to Sevvappa Nāyaka of Madura.

It may now be asked if the marriage of Acyuta with Varadāmbikā as described in our romance is fictitious or based on historical reality ? Does the romance give an indirect description of the marriage of Tirumalāmbā herself ? The evidence of inscriptions shows that Varadāmbikā had a historical entity. A Conjeeveram inscription Ep. Ind. iii. 236, mentions Varadādevī as a queen of Acyuta, who got a son Veṅkaṭa from her. A poem *Acyutarāyābhyudayam*, composed by the poet Rājaṇātha states that Varadāmbā, the queen of Acyuta Rai was a daughter of a Salaga Chief. It is also mentioned that on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Karkaṭa *i.e.* Śrāvaṇa in the cyclic year Nandana, king Acyuta entered the town of Kāñci with his queen Varadādevī Ammāl and prince Komāra-Veṅkaṭādri alias Chikka-Uḍaiyar (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900 paragraphs 70—77). It is clear therefore that Varadāmbikā, a daughter of Salaga Chief was actually married to Acyuta.

A Kāñcī inscription states that the two rebellious chiefs Sāḷuva-Nāyaka and Tumbicci were subjugated by Acyuta Rai and that he married a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king. Varadāmbikā could not be the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king as she was a daughter of Salaga Chief. Only two queens of Achyuta are mentioned. I therefore think that Tirumalāmbā the other queen of Acyuta was the daughter of the Paṇḍya king.

STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

The style of Tirumalāmbā is modelled after Bāṇa. It is not a slavish imitation. The writer has a power of vivid description. The language is vigorous. Here and there are compounds which are longer than any found in Kādambarī or Harṣacaritam. The descriptions are adorned with all the ornaments. Prasāda, anuprāsa, śleṣa are profusely used. Similees are apt, original, and striking :—

तस्मिन् क्षणे तस्य चमूसमूहः सत्रास कुत्रापि पदं न लब्धः ।

प्रचण्डवाताहतपद्मपत्रपारिप्लवाम्भःकणिकाप्रकारः ॥

There is a local colouring in the description of the Cola country. The trees, fruits, flowers and other things are described in detail *i. e.*

द्राक्षालतावितानसवितानबालरसालमूलच्छायानिषण्णनिस्पन्दगोवृन्दवदननिस्यन्दमानरोमन्थबिन्दु-
संदोहतारकिताम्बराडम्बरविडम्बनचतुरशाद्वलप्रदेशान् (चोलदेशान्)

The battle is very vividly described. The queens of Vijayanagar often accompanied their husbands to the field of battle. Tirumalāmbā seems to have witnessed an actual battle.

Long majestic compounds are often followed by short sentences which may be compared with the ripples on the surface of a calm lake after seeing the breaking billows of the sea, *e. g.*

पक्षपातः पतङ्गेषु प्रमत्तता मातङ्गेषु समुत्तरलता हारेषु सदैन्यालापः प्रणयकुपितदारेषु मित्र-
द्वेषः कुमुदिनीषु मूर्छना परिवादिनीषु कार्कश्यं कारेकरेषु आरूढपतनमद्रिशिखरनिर्झरेषु अरिकुलाक्रमणं
अम्भोरुहेषु शृंखलाबन्धः प्रबन्धेषु विरोधप्रसङ्गोऽलंकारेषु .....

Historical importance

The *Ambikāpariṇaya* is not only a charming prose romance, it is a historical document as well. Krishna

Śāstrī, the author of *the second Vijayanagar Dynasty, its Viceroys and ministers*[1] in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1908-1909 does not seem to be aware of the existence of *Ambikāpariṇaya.* He mentions the *Acyutarāyābhyudyam* composed by Rājanātha Kavi but not the *Ambikāpariṇaya.* It has therefore never been utilised before for the history of the reign of Acyuta. Written by the queen of Acyuta, it is a valuable historical document. I am tempted to discuss the light it throws on the reign of Acyuta but that discussion will form a suitable subject for another paper.

1. It is overlooked in the Index to the Annual Reports.

SOME POINTS CONCERNING THE MAHĀNIDDESA

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1. Relative chronology of the Mahāniddesa and the Sutta Nipāta: Total number of poems in the original Aṭṭhaka-group, the Book of Octaves:

The Mahāniddesa is a Pāli canonical commentary on the Aṭṭhaka-group of 16 *suttas* or poetical discourses. This commentary, as its name implies, belongs to the exegetical type, its purpose being to supply a word for word explanation. Its method is characteristically philological. There is another book of *niddesa, viz.,* the Culla-Niddesa which is a canonical commentary on the Pārāyaṇa-group of 16 poems, as well as on the Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta.

The Aṭṭhaka-group of 16 poems forms the fourth Book of the Sutta-Nipāta, and the Pārāyaṇa-group of 16 poems forms the fifth or last Book of the Sutta-Nipāta while the Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta is counted, as the second poem in the first Book of the Sutta-Nipāta.

The Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta which ranks as the second poem in the first Book on the Sutta-Nipāta hangs in the Culla-Niddesa on the Pārāyaṇa-group as an isolated poem, forming no integral part of the group itself. The Pārāyaṇa-group as we find it in the Sutta-Nipāta has a prologue of verses (*Vatthugāthā*), but as we find it in the Culla-Niddesa, it is conspicuous by the absence of the Prologue.

Thus a question arises as to whether the Sutta-Nipāta is at all presupposed by the Culla-Niddesa. The facts, that the Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta still hangs in the Culla-Niddesa on the Pārāyaṇa-group, and that the Pārāyaṇa-

group as we find it in the Culla-Niddesa has no prologue attached to it go to prove that the Sutta-Nipāta as a separate collection of poetical discourses was not, as yet, in existence. A similar hanging of two isolated *suttas*, the Muni-Gāthā (Muni-Sutta) and the Śaila-Gāthā (Sela-Sutta), on the Aṭṭhaka-group of poems (Arthavargiyāṇi) is clearly hinted at in one of the edifying legends of the Divyāvadāna, where a Buddhist Thera of Aparānta is said to have chanted in intonation the Muni-gāthā and the Śaila-gāthā together with the poems of the Aṭṭhaka-group.

The significance of the above question is deepened indeed as we examine the verse-quotations in the Mahā-Niddesa which can be traced to *Suttas* now found in the Sutta-Nipāta. We have, for instance, a few verses in the Mahā-Niddesa, which may be treated as a quotation from the Padhāna-Sutta in the Sutta-Nipāta, the quotation running as *Kāma te paṭhamā senā, dutiyā arati vuccati* (Mahā-Niddesa, pp. 96, 174, 335). There are a few verses in it which may be treated as quotations from the Sabhiya-Sutta in the Suttā-Nipāta, the quotations running as *Pajjena katena attanā, Sabhiyāti Bhagavā* (p. 71), *Bāhetvā sabba-pāpakāni Sabhiyāti Bhagavā* (p. 87) and *Vedāni viceyya kevalām Sabhiyāti Bhagavā* (p. 93). These quotations have a clear indication in the phrase *Sabhiyāti Bhagavā* that the verses are quoted from a Buddha's Dialogue in which Sabhiya played the part of an interlocutor.

Although both the Padhāna and the Sabhiya Suttas are now found only in the Sutta-Nipāta among the Pāli canonical texts, the Mahā-Niddesa has quoted verses from them simply as "utterances of the Blessed One", each quotation

being introduced by such phrases as *"Ten' āhu Bhagavā"*, *"Vuttaṃ h'etaṃ Bhagavatā"*. There are similar quotations in the Kathāvatthu which is believed to have been a compilation of Aśokan time.

There is just another important quotation of verses, *Na monena muni hoti etc.*, from the Muni-Sutta referred to in Aśoka's Bhabru Edict, as well as in the Divyāvadāna as Muni-Gāthā. In this instance, too, there is nothing clearly to show that the verses were actually quoted from the Muni-Sutta in the Sutta-Nipāta.

References in the Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara-Nikāyas, as well as in some of the Vinaya texts unmistakably prove that the Aṭṭhaka and the Pārāyaṇa groups of poems were well-known to the Buddhists as two separate and independent collections long before they were incorporated in the Sutta-Nipāta. And we maintain that in referring to a *Sutta* belonging to the Aṭṭhaka-group, the Mahā-Niddesa has referred to it as a *Sutta* belonging to this group instead of referring to it as a poem belonging to this group as found in the Sutta-Nipāta. For instance, in quoting a verse from the Māgandiya-Sutta of the Aṭṭhaka-group, the Maha-Niddesa has these words by way of an introduction: *Vuttam idaṃ Bhagavatā Aṭṭhakavagge Māgandiya-kañhe* (p. 197). The Māgandiya-Sutta has been referred precisely in these words also in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya (*iii. g.*)

Thus it is clear that even the Saṃyutta-Nikāya presupposes the Aṭṭhaka-group with the Māgandiya-Sutta as one of the poems included in it. But the references in the Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas, as well as in some of the Vinaya texts are indecisive as to the total number of

poems contained in the original Aṭṭhaka-group presupposed by them.

The Aṭṭhaka-group or Book of Octaves, to be worth its name, must contain in it only those poems which consist of eight stanzas each. But, strictly speaking, there are in the extant Aṭṭhaka-group of 16 poems just four poems bearing each the name of an Octave and consisting each of eight stanzas, *viz.*, (1) Guhaṭṭhaka-Sutta, (1) Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka-Sutta, (3) Suddhaṭṭhaka-Sutta, and (2) Paramaṭṭhaka-Sutta. Among the remaining poems, the Kāma-Sutta, the Jarā Sutta, and the rest, there is none which is found to be an Octave in the above sense.

Thus a question may naturally arise as to whether the original Aṭṭhaka-group was a collection of just 4 Octaves, of four poems of eight stanzas each. The passage in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya referring to the Māgandiya-Pānha as a *Sutta* of the Aṭṭhaka-group goes to prove that the Aṭṭhaka-group presupposed by it comprised besides the poems known by the name of Octave, the Māgandiya-Sutta as we now have it consisting of as many as 13 stanzas.

And yet, in the absence of a clear statement about its total number of poems, it is difficult to say that the original Aṭṭhaka-group presupposed by the Saṃyutta and Aṅguttar-Nikāyas, as well as by some of the Vinaya texts comprised as many as 16 poems. We have reasons to believe that the original Aṭṭhaka-group did not include in it all the extant 16 poems. It contains, for instance, among its 16 poems, the Tuvaṭaka-Sutta which has been identified by Mr. Charan Das Chatterji with the first Buddhist passage recommended by king Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict on the ground that it has found its place

in Buddhaghoṣa's list of four *suttas*, the remaining three of which may be definitely identified with three of the remaining possages recommended by the Buddhist emperor in the same edict. We on the contrary, find that the Tuvaṭaka-Sutta of the Aṭṭhaka-group is nothing but a versified form of the Amimāna-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya. Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on this *sutta*, informs us that it was known to the ancients (porāṇā) as Bhikkhu-Vinaya, "the disciplinary code of the monks", precisely in the same way that he tells us in his commentary on the Siṅgālovāda-sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya that it was treated as *Gihi-vinaya*, "the Institute of the householders."

If this information be at all reliable, it follows that there was a stage in the development of the Pāli canonial texts when the Anumāna-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya and the Siṅgālovāda-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya passed respectively as *Bhikkhu-Vinaya* and the *Gihi-vinaya*. And as a versified form of the Anumāna-Sutta, the Tuvaṭaka-Sutta of the Aṭṭhaka-group must be judged as a chronologically later production. Anyhow, Aśoka's title *Vinaya-samukase*, "the Vinaya par excellence", does not afford any clue to the title of the *sutta* which he kept in his view. It is, moreover, true that neither the Aṭṭhaka nor the Pārāyaṇa group of poems is referred to in any of the Suttas in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas. It is certain that the total number of poems of these two groups came to be fixed at 16 before the compilation of the Mahā and Culla Niddesas.

2. Development of the Mahā-Niddesa on the model of Mahākaccana's expositions:

Among the prose-quotations in the Mahā-Niddesa from the earlier canonical sources, there is one (Mahā-Niddesa, pp. 197—201) which can be traced in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya

(iii. g) and enables us at the same time to prove that the whole of the Mahā-Niddesa as an extensive exegetical work developed on the model of an exposition attempted by Mahākaccāna of a stanza belonging to the Māgandiya-Sutta of the Aṭṭhaka-group. Mahākaccāna who was one of the immediate disciples of the Buddha and was honoured almost as the Buddha for his powerful expositions of Buddha's doctrines made Avanti[1] and Mathurā as two great centres of his activities, even in the life-time of the Buddha. The Etadagga-vagga of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya (Part I) shows that the Buddha placed Mahākaccāna at the head of those who could expand the ideas formulated by him in brief; as bare statements, bringing out their full significance. The quoted exposition of the stanza of the Māgandiya-Sutta of the Aṭṭhaka-group, *Okaṃ pahāya aniketasārī etc.*, stands out as a typical example of how the Venerable Mahākaccāna showed the way of expanding the ideas formulated in brief by the Blessed One, as bare statements, bringing out their full significance (*Bhagavatā saṃkhittena bhāsitassa evaṃ vitthārena attho daṭṭhabbo*).[3]

The Bhaddekaratta and several other Suttas in the Majjhima-Nikāya which are all of the *Niddesa* or *Vibhaṅga* type go to show that whenever the monks found difficulty in grasping the ideas formulated in brief by the Buddha, the Buddha himself referred them to Mahākaccāna as a talented Thera who had the capacity to expand his idea, as well as to elucidate the underlying meaning of his

1. Vinaya Mahavagga, V. 13.
2. Madhura-Sutta Majjhimma-Nikaya.
3. Maha-Niddesa p. 201

statements.[1] The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-Piṭaka embodies an old tradition (V. 13) to the effect that all the poems of the Aṭṭhaka-group were chanted in intonation by Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa who received ordination at the hands of Mahākaccāna (*Soṇa.....sabban'eva Aṭṭhavaggikāni sarena abhāsi*). A similar tradition is embodied also in one of the edifying legends in the Divyāvadāna. This tradition is important as showing the Aṭṭhaka-group of poems was a favourite text for the school of Mahākaccāna. It is indeed most astonishing that exposition of the verses in all the 16 poems of the Aṭṭhaka-group were exactly modelled upon the exposition of a single stanza of the Māgandiya-Sutta which was attempted by the Venerable Mahākaccāna.

3. Khana-bhaṅga-vāda: the Doctrine of Momentariness:

Among the verse-quotations in the Mahā-Niddesa, there is one (pp. 117—118) which is not to be found in any other Pāli Canonical text and is important as embodying a Buddhist Doctrine of Momentariness. We quote the verses *in extenso* in order to set forth their contents:

Jīvitaṃ attabhāvo ca sukha-dukkhā ca kevalā,
Ekacitta-samāyuttā, lahuso vattati-kkhaṇo.

cullāsīti-sahassāni kappā tiṭṭhanti ye marū,
Na tveva te pi jīvanti dvīhi cittehi samāhitā.

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1. See, for instance, Majjhima-Nikaya, Sutta, No. XVIII, in which the monks are represented as saying: "The Blessed One has just addressed us in a brief discourse, and without imparting to us its meaning in detail, has gone into His Dwelling. Who now should be able to unfold at length the sense of this concise discourse? Why, there is that Venerable one, Mahakaccana, highly spoken of by the Teacher Himself, highly esteemed by the wise among his fellow disciples! Surely the Venerable Mahakaccana will be able to set forth in detail the purport of this condensed discourse of the Blessed One.'' And the Buddha himself is represented as remarking with reference to Mahakaccana's exposition: "Learned, O Disciples, is Mahakaccana! Mighty in wisdom is Mahakaccana! If, Disciples, you had asked me for an explanation I should have answered you precisely the same way you have been answered by the Venerable Mahakaccana. For this is the exact meaning of the matter.''

Ye niruddhā marantassa tiṭṭhamānassa vā idha,
Sabb'eva sadisā khandhā gatā appaṭisandhikā.

Anantarā ca ye bhaṅgā, ye ca bhaṅgā anāgatā,
Tadantare niruddhānaṃ vesammaṃ n'atthi lakkhaṇe.

Anibbattenna na jāto, paccuppannena jīvati,
Cittabhaṅgo mato loko, paññatti paramatthiyā.

Yathā niunā pavattanti chandena pariṇāmitā,
Acchinnavārā vattanti saḷāyatana-paccayā.

Anidhānagatā bhaṅgā, puñjo natthi anāgate,
Nibbattā geva tiṭṭhanti āragge sāsapūpama.

Nibhattānaṃ ca dhammānaṃ bhaṅgo nesaṃ purekkhato,
Palokadhammā tiṭṭhanto porāṇehi amissitā.

Adassanato āyanti bhaṅgā gacchanti dassanaṃ,
Vijjuppādo va ākāse uppajjanti vayanti ca ti.

It can be proved, beyond doubt, by the evidence of one of the controversies in the Kathāvatthu that the Doctrine of Momentariness came into existence among the Buddhist as early as the 3rd century B. C., if not earlier. *Eka-citta-kkhaṇikā sabhe dhammā,* "that all things endure only for a moment of consciousness", is an opinion, which has been ascribed by Buddhaghoṣa to the Suññatāvādins, "the Voiders", among the Buddhists. This has been treated and criticised in the Kathāvatthu rather as a Schismatic opinion, unsupported by any of the authoritative texts. But the quotation in the Mahā-Niddesa goes to show that 'momentaneity' was equally the doctrine of the Orthodox section among the Buddhists. The importance of the quotation also lies in the fact that in it we find a formulation anticipating the Kārikās of Vasubandhu.

4. Conception of Nirmāṇa-Kāya Buddha.

Prof. Anesaki in his instructive article on (Buddhist) Docetism (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics), has pointed out that a conception of trinity developed in Buddhism in the Mahāyānist Doctrine of Trikāya, and that the Trikāya came to consist of Dharma-kāya, the Essence-body, as its first element, Nirmāṇa-Kāya, the manifestation-body, as its second element, and Sambhoga-Kāya, the enjoyment body, as its third. Nirmāṇa-Kāya, is the manifestation in a human form of 'Suchness' or "Thatness' representing the essence of the Norm, a sort of incarnation of *Dharmatā* or *Tathatā*. Prof. Anesaki has also pointed out that the Mahāsaṅghikas and their followers in laying greater and greater emphasis on the spiritual personality of the Buddha, came all together to lose sight of the historical aspect of Buddha's life and career, and that this progressive idea of religion proved uncomfortable to the Sthaviras in whose opinion the historicity of the Buddha formed the very bed-rock of the Buddhist faith.

Whether or no, the Mahāyānist Doctrine of Trikāya is docetic in its main conception is not here the point at issue. We are simply concerned to draw attention to two controversies in the Kathāvatthu (XVIII 1, XVIII 2) which clearly indicate that the conception of Nirmāṇa-Kāya Buddha assumed a definite form as early as the 3rd century B. C., if not earlier.[1] Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu, informs us that the Vetulyakas (among the Suññatāvādins) denying the historical career of the Buddha, sought to maintain that the doctrines of Buddhism

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1. Kathavatthu, *XVIII. 1. Na vattabbam "Buddho Bhagava manussa-loke atthasi"; XVIII 2 Navattabbam 'Buddhena Bhagavata dhammo desito.'' Abhinimmitena desito. Ayasmata Anandena desito.*

were propounded in this world of men by Ānanda who represented a specially created form of Buddha's mind, the Buddha himself remaining eternally in the world of Delight (Tusita).[1]

The criticism offered from the Orthodox point of view was entirely based upon historical arguments. So far as the Theravādin critic was concerned, it is clear that he endeavoured to check the docetic tendency implied in the Schismatic views. But curiously enough, the evidence of the Mahā-Niddesa and its commentary goes to prove that the conception of *nimmita, abhinimmita* or *Nirmāṇa-kāya* was a common doctrine of the Sthaviras as of other Buddhist schools of thought.

In giving different classifications of questions (*puccha*) the Martā-Niddesa makes mention of (1) *manussa-puccha* (2) *amanussa puccha, and* (3) *nimmita puccha.* The ***nimmita puccha,*** have been defined as questions put to the Buddha by a form created by the Blessed One, made up of mind, endowed with all the limbs, and perfect in the possession of all the senses and faculties[2]. Dharmapāla in his commentary on the Mahā-Niddesa, has explained *nimmita* as signifying a Buddha-form created by the Buddha (*Nimmito'ti so Bhagavatā nimmito Buddho*). Can it be doubted, we ask, that here we trace a notion of the Nirmāṇa-Kāya Buddha, the spiritual reflex, so to speak, of the Buddha's mind.

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1. Kathavatthu-commentary on *XVIII. 1* and *XVIII. 2, Suttam ayoniso gahetva Bhagava Tusita-bhavane nibbatto tatth'eva vasati, manussalakam agacchati nimmitarupamattakam.*

2. Maha-Niddesa, p. 340: *Yam Bhagava rupam abhinimminoti manomayam sabhanga-paccangam ahinindriyam. so nimmito Buddham Bhagavantam upasankamitva panham pucchati, Bhagava tassa visajjeti ayam nimmita-puccha.*

5. Trade routes: Indian Maritime Activities.

The Mahā-Niddesa contains a stock-list of certain geographical names of places visited by the daring Indian sea-going merchants (pp. 154—155, 415). This list contains in it such names as Gumba, Takkola, Takkasilā, Kālamukha, Maraṇapāra, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, Java, Tamali, Vaṅga, Elavaḍḍhana, Suvaṇṇakūṭa, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Tambapaṇṇī, Suppāra, Bharukaccha, Suraṭṭha, Aṅgaṇeka, Gaṅgaṇa, Paramagaṅgṇa, Yona, Paramayona, Allasanda, Marukāntāra, Jaṇṇupatha, Ajapatha, Meṇḍapatha, Saṅku patha, Chattapatha, Vaṃsapatha, Sakuṇapatha, Mūsikāpatha, Daripatha, and Vettādhāra. A similar but shorter list of places in the Milinda pañha includes in it Cīna (China) among other places. Prof. Sylvain Levi is the first to notice the importance of the Mahā-Niddesa list. Examining this list closely, we find that there is nothing but a jumbling up of geographical names. We cannot think that all the names which find a place in this list were names of sea or river ports. To bring the cosmos out of a chaos, the names should, in our opinion, be broadly divided into two groups, one group comprising the names of places relating to a sea-route, and the other comprising the names of places relating to a land route.

The name Marukantāra (Sandy wilderness) may be taken at once to refer to a caravan route, which lay across a desert, that is to say, to the north-western trade-route extending from Sāvatthi in the north-east to Takkasilā, the capital of Gandhāra, in the north-west. The Jaṇṇupatha or Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka (Fausboll, No. 2) clearly proves that Jaṇṇupatha was that part of the caravan route which lay across a desert, say, the desert of Rājpūtānā. Similarly, Ajapatha (the goat track), Meṇḍapatha (the sheep-track), Saṅkupatha (the

Thorny track), Chattapatha (the shady track), Vaṃsa patha (the Bamboo track), Sakuṇapatha (the Bird track), Mūsikapatha (the Rat track), Daripatha (the hollow track) and Vettādhāra (the cany track) may all be taken on the strength of descriptions met with in the Travels of the Chinese pilgrims, particularly of Fa-Hian, to be the names of other parts of the same caravan route.

Vaṅga, Tamali (Tāmralipti), Tambapaṇṇi, suppāra (Sorpārā), Bharukaccha (Baroch), and Suraṭṭha (Surāth) are obviously the names of Indian ports representing the coastal trade of India. Java is evidently the same name as modern Jāvā. The inclusion of the names relating to the north western caravan route and of those of Tamali (Tāmralipti), Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) and Java (Jāvā) is important as showing that the same land and sea routes were well known before the Christian era as those followed by Fa-Hian in travelling from Gandhāra to Jāvā via. Tāmralipti and Ceylon.

Allasanda, which is mentioned as Allasanda-dipa in the Milindapañha, was probably an island in the Indus and was named Allasanda or Alexandria in commemoration of the name of Alexander the Great. In the same list, we have mention of Yona and Paramayona. If Yona denoted a great principality in the Punjab or in the North West Frontier Provinces, Paramoyona must have denoted a distant Greek territory with which India had commercial relations. The name Maraṇapāra (Beyond the shore of death) may be taken to indicate the passage of the merchant vessels across a dangerous sea or ocean. The names of Suvaṇṇakūṭa and Suvaṇṇabhūmi may be taken to signify the maritime connection of India with Burma and other parts of Further India. Among the names, some

at least, Takkola, for instance, was perhaps a regionial name indicating India's trade relations with different regions in Further India. Although all the names included in the Mahā-Niddesa list cannot be identified, their importance, even as bare names, cannot be lost sight of for reasons stated above.

ON THE USE OF THE PROHIBITION PARTICLE 'MĀ' IN THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

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In the Appendix I to his first edition of the Pratimā-nāṭaka, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrin pointed out certain grammatical peculiarities which he had noted in the dramas which he had recently discovered and attributed to Bhāsa. Among these peculiarities is the use of prohibition particle Mā with the Gerund and the infinitive in prākṛta. The eminent Pandit called these irregularities "ārṣa-prayogāh" and regarded them as evidence of the high antiquity of these dramas and placed their author, whom he identified with the celebrated Bhāsa, before Pāṇini. In a thesis which I submitted to the University of Paris in 1916, I also had the occasion to remark upon these and other peculiarities which I had noticed in these dramas. In 1921, Wilhelm Printz published his "Bhāsa's Prākrit" in which he also mentions the peculiarity in the use of Mā already noticed by Pandit Gaṇpati Śāstrin.[1]

It has been assumed by all these writers that the forms in question are irregularities, *i.e.* that they do not agree with the rules of grammarians. Let us, therefore consider what the rules of grammarians are on this point. The instances quoted by the late Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrin, in connection with the use of Mā are all from the Prākṛt of the dramas. Their irregularity consists, however, in going against the rules of Sanskrit Grammar. He says, "Iha māśabdayoge ktvāpratyayah prayuktah Śāstrīyah, 'Alaṃ

1. W. Printz Bhasa's Prakrit. p. 43.

khalvoḥ' ityatra tu na paryāyagrahaṇam.[1]" The assumption is, of course that the rules of Śanskrit Grammar apply to Prākṛta also. This is generally the case. Prākṛta Grammars usually do no more than point out where Prākṛta differs from Sanskrit. As for the rest, the rules of Sanskrit Grammar apply to Prākṛta also. Vararuci openly says, Śeṣaḥ Saṃskṛtāt,[2] "All the rest, *i e.* the rules relating to the use of suffixes, compounds, secondary affixes, gender and sounds should be understood from Sanskrit. Now the well known Prākṛta Grammars do not point out any difference between Sanskrit and Prākṛta in the use of the prohibition particle Mā. Let us therefore consider what the rules of Pāṇini are on this point.

The two important Sūtras regulating the use of the verbal forms with Mā are:

Māṅi luṅ P. 3. 3. 175 on this, the Kāśikā says māṅyupapade dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati *Sarvalakārāṇām apavādaḥ*, mā kārṣīt, mā hārṣīt, katham mā bhavatu tasya pāpam, mā bhaviśyatīti, Asādhurevāyam, kecid āhuḥ, Aṅid-aparo māśabdo vidyate tasyāyam prayogaḥ.

2 Smottare laṅ ca, P. 3. 3. 176. On this the kāśikā runs as follows, Smaśabdottare māṅyupapade dhātor liṅpratyayo bhavati, cakārālluṅ ca, māsma karat, māsma harat, māsma hārṣīt.

From these two sūtras, we learn that the prohibitive particle 'mā' called 'māṅ' by Pāṇini, is to be used with the aorist (luṅ). The author of the kāśikā understands that this means *the exclusion of all other verbal forms.* He however notes that the Imperative (loṭ) and the future

1. Pratima-nataka Appendix I.
2. Prakrtaprakasa, 9. 18.

(lṛt) are also found used with 'mā' in the actual language. In his opinion, it is not corrct usage. He quotes however the opinion of others who think that there is another 'Mā' besides the one called 'māṅ' by Pāṇini and it is that which is used with the Imperative and the future. The second sūtra quoted above allows the use of the Imperfect also when 'mā' is followed by 'sma'. The question whether there is another 'mā' besides the 'māṅ' really means whether Pāṇini recognises another 'mā' or not, because in the actual language, there cannot be any distinction between 'māṅ' and 'mā,' as the 'ṅ' is only an 'it' letter. The author of the Bālamanoramā apparently does not think that Pāṇini recognises the existence of two 'mā's. His proof is the bhāṣya on the Sūtra; āṅ māṅośca (P. 6. 1-74). It runs as follows: Ath-Kimartham āṅmāṅob sāmbandhakayor nirdesah vā Āṅmāṅoh sāmbandhakanirdeśo gatikarmapravacanīyapratiṣeddhapratyayārthah. Āṅmāṅoh sāmbandhakanirdeśah kriyate āṅo gatikarmapravacanīyasampratyayārthah māṅah pratiṣedhapratyayārthah. Iha mābhūt ā chāyā ācchāyā Pramā chandah-pramācchandah.[2] The author of the Bālamanoramā argues that if Paṇini had recognised the existence of two mās, he (Patañjali) would certainly have quoted the one without 'ṅ' here, instead of 'Pramā.' From what Kātyāyana and Pātañjali say, it can be inferred that only 'māṅ' can express prohibition. It is quite clear that Paṇini does not openly speak about a 'mā' which is not "ṅit" and which expresses prohibition.

So much for the use of verbal forms with mā. The next question is whether Paṇini allows any other form with

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1. Balamanorama II. p. 27.
2. Mahabhasya Vol. III. p. 51.

'mā' to express prohibition. The sūtra: alaṃkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṃ ktvā (P. 3.4.18) teaches the use of the gerund with 'alam' and 'khalu' in the sense of prohibition. The examples given are: alaṃ kṛtvā—don't do it; khalu kṛtvā—don't do it. While explaining this sūtra, the author of the kāśikā says; alaṃ khalvoḥ kim? Mā kārṣīḥ. The obvious inference is that the gerund is not allowed with 'mā.' As for the use of the infinitive ending in 'tum' with mā, it is not openly taught anywhere in the aṣṭādhyāyī. Some modern students of Pāṇini seem to think that it might come under the sūtra; Tumun-ṇvulau krīyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām (P. 3. 3. 10), which teaches such forms as bhoktuṃ vrajati etc. They argue that such a form as 'mā tatra gantum' might be brought under the same rule on the assumption that the kriyārthā kriyā is understood. This is, however, not very convincing.

As far as Prākṛta grammarians are concerned, Vararuci and Hemacandra say nothing about the forms which are allowed with mā. These writers had the literary Prākṛtas in view when they wrote their works. Their silence on this point cannot however be taken to mean that the rules of a Sanskrit Grammarian like Pāṇini apply to Prākṛta also. They must have been aware that usage, at least in the literary Prākṛtas, does not conform to the rules of Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's rules conform to the usage of the earlier language. In the Vedas, it is luṅ or laṅ which is generally used with mā. Often it is the injunctive formed from the luṅ or aorist stem that is so used. Whitney says on this point. "The relation of the Imperfect to the aorist construction in point of frequency is in the R.V. about as one to five in the A.V. still less or about one to six and though instances

of the Imperfect are quotable from all the older texts, they are exceptional and infrequent; while in the epics and later they become extremely rare"[1] There are just two or three cases of the Imperative being used with 'mā' in the Vedas but only in the Khilas.[2] The construction of 'mā' with the Imperative must have been equally rare in Pāṇini's time. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why he does not teach it. Nor do Kātyāyana or Patañjali comment upon the two sūtras quoted above regulating the use of verbal forms with 'mā.' It became more common later and in the epics, it is quite frequent. It is this increasing frequency which made later grammarians of the Pāṇinean School postulate the existence of another 'mā' besides the māṅ of Paṇini. Mā with future never became common in Sanskrit, though instances of it are met with here and there. As pointed out above, the author of the Kāśikā, while explaining the sūtra 'māṅi luṅ' asks: Katham mā bhavatu tasya pāpam, mā bhaviṣyati, showing that the use of the future was sufficiently common in his time to make him notice the discrepency between Pāṇini's rules and actual usage. We have in the Mahābhārata: Samaṃ vartasva bhāryāsu, mā tvāṃ śapsye virocana.[3] Here, of course, the meaning of mā is not prohibition, but wish, or hope. The optative with mā is equally rare in all periods of the language In the Vedas, it is practically non-existent. Some instances are met with in the epics. The following might be cited: mā dauṣyanto vaṃśa ucchedaṃ vrajed iti[4]. Mā is found with the aorist, the future and the optative in the following śloka:

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1. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar p. 218.
2. See Macdonnell Vedic Grammar for students.
3. Mahabharata 9. 36. 14.
4. Mahabharat. Abridged by Vaidya p. 23.

Putra mā sāhasaṃ kārṣīr mā sadyo lapsyase vyathām.
mā tvāṃ daheyuḥ saṃkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ! 1

Often mā is found used by itself or with just 'evam' in the sense of prohibition, 'mā maivam' is a very common exclamation used in the dramas.

There is little difference between Sanskrit and Pāli in this matter, mā is used with the aorist quite frequently as the following instances show:—

mā evam akattha.	Dh. A. I	7.
mā parihāyi	M. I	144.
mā bhāyi	Jāt. II	159.
mā marimsu	Jāt. III	55.
mā te rucci	Vin. II	198.
mā evam rucettha	Dh. A. I	13.

It is also used with the imperative as in the following instances:—

mā gaccha	J. I.	152.
mā dettha	J. III.	275.

It is used with the optative as in the following:—

mā vadetha. J. VI. 364.

It is used with the present indicative as in the following:—

mā patilabhati. A. V. 134.

Coming to the prākṛtas, we find that in the inscriptions of Aśoka which are the earliest documents in prākṛta that we possess, mā is used with the aorist. The following

1. Mahabharata, 1. 30. 15.

instances might be quoted; mā alocayiṃsu, K. IV. 13; D. IV. 18; J. IV. 21[1]. But it is not restricted to the aorist alone. There is more flexibility in its use. It is used with the future in the following: —mā palibhāsayissam, T. III. 21; Mi. III. 14; Rdh. III. 13; Rp.III. 11. It is some times used with the future passive participle (forms ending in tavya) as the following instances show

mā locetavyā. G. IV. 12 1.

mā vijetavyam. G. XIII. 11.

This comparative freedom of usage, however, disappears when we come to the literary prākṛtas. There only the imperative is used with mā. Instances of this can be multiplied by hundreds. I will content myself by citing here all the instances where mā is used in the kumārapālacaritā, the prākṛtadvyāśrayakāvya of Hemacandra, a work composed to illustrate the rules of his own prākṛta grammar, which forms chap. VIII. of the Siddhahemacandra.

Evam eva mā jūra	II.	80.
mā paḍasu	II	81.
mā kuppa	III.	75.
mā kuppa	III.	79.
mā tamma	IV.	20.
mā lavasu	IV.	51.
mā savasu	IV.	56.
mā itthuo pulocha	VI.	24.
pāhusa mā	VII.	29.
mā cinta	VII.	100.

1. The references are to Woolner's edition of the Asoka Inscriptions: Punjab University Oriental Publications—Asoka, Text and Glossary pt. I.

mā karahi VIII. 63[1].

Similarly 'mā' is used invariably with the imperative in the Karpūramañjarī of Rāja-Śekhara, a drama written entirely in Prākṛta. The disappearance of the aorist, which is so regularly and frequently used in the Sanskrit of all periods, in Pāli and in the prākṛta of the Aśoka inscriptions, is therefore worthy of observation. It is not merely the aorist which disappears, but all the other forms except the imperative. What is an optional form in Sanskrit of the later period becomes the rule in the literary prākṛtas.

It was therefore a surprise for scholars to see that this rigidity is not observed in the dramas discovered by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Gaṇapati Śāsthrin and attributed by him to Bhāsa. Both in Sanskrit and in Prākṛta mā is combined with certain unusual forms.

In Sanskrit, mā is used with a word ending in the Instrumental case, as in the following:—

Mā Saṃrambheṇa-Pratijñā, p. 58[2].

Mā Viṣādena. Abhu., p. 23

This may have come about on the analogy of 'alam' which is generally used with a word ending in the Instrumental case in the sense of prohibition. In the following verses, we notice a still more free use of the word 'mā'

Mā tāvad vyathitavikīrṇabālavatsā.
gāvo me ratharavaśaṅkayā hriyante
pināṃsaścalavalayaḥ sacandanārdro
nirlajjo mama ca karaḥ karāṇi bhuṅkte.

Pañca. p. 24.

1. The references are to the edition of the Kumarpalcarita published in the Bombay Sanskrit series.
2. The reference is to the first edition published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

Mā Svayaṃ manyum utpādya
parihāse viśeṣataḥ
Śarīrārdhena me pūrvam
ābaddhā hi yadā tvayā.

Pratimā. p. 16,

It is not merely 'mā' which is used for expressing prohibition. 'Alaṃ' is also used for the same purpose, but not with the gerund as taught by Pāṇini, nor with a word ending in the instrumental case, as is usual elsewhere, but with the infinitive. The following might be cited. Alaṃ alaṃ vāayitum. Karṇābha. p. 82; Alam uphatāsu strībuddhiṣu svamārjavam upanikṣeptum. Pratimā. p. 18. A few such instances are met with in other works also, but the usage is extremely rare. Mṛcchakaṭika, (B. S. S. edition) p. 135 has: alaṃ suptajanaṃ prabodha-yituṃ. Jātakamālā, 153. 2 has: alaṃ māṃ anyathā pratigrahituṃ.

It is in the prākṛta of these dramas that one finds greater freedom in the use of mā. Among the verbal forms, we meet the present and future tenses and, of course the imperative mood. The following instances might be quoted.

Mā with the present tense.

Mā de khāidāṇi khaam uppādanti. Pratijñā, p. 45.

Mā dāva tava a mama a dāluṇo khoho hodi thi, Cār. p. 25.

The force of mā is not quite the same in these two sentences. In the first case, it means no more than 'na', *i. e.* mere negation, in the second case, it expresses a wish, a hope and one almost wonders whether this is not a case of a corrupt text, the correct text being mā hodutti. But we have no manuscript authority for it.

Mā with the future tense.

Mā dāśieputta..................maḍa maḍāiśśam Cāru. p. 25.
mā khu mā khu...........maḍamaḍāiśśam Cāru. p. 25.

Here also, mā does not mean prohibiton. It rather expresses a warning, a wish.

Mā with the imperative.

Instances are very numerous. I will therefore content myself with giving a few of them here.

Mā dāṇiṃ mama ohasa. Svapna p. 20.
Mā bhāāhi, mā bhāāhi Pra. p. 43.
Mā khu, vaḍḍhāvehi Car. p. 9.
Mā vārehi. Pañca. p. 54.
Mā khu mā khu amaṅgalaṃ bhaṇāhi. Dūta. p. 54.
Mā khu mā khu ajjautto amaṅgalaṃ bhaṇādu p. 16.

If this were all, it would be enough to show that there is greater freedom in the use of mā in these dramas than in the rest of Prākṛta literature. But it is its association with the gerund and infinitive which has to be particularly remarked. The following examples might be cited.

With the gerund.

Mā dāṇim aññam cintia	Sva.	page 27.
Mā mā bhūyo avaiṇia	Sva.	p. 35.
Mā dāṇiṃ bhavam anartthaṃ cintia		p. 67.
Mā ṇibbandhia	Pañca.	p. 37.

Here the meaning is distinctly that of prohibtion. This usuge began probably on the analogy of alam in Sanskrit. Ma with the gerund has never been seen in Sanskrit.

With the Infinitive.

Mā dāṇiṃ bhavam attāṇam ohasiaṃ Kādum. Sva. p. 67.
Mā dāṇiṃ bhaṭṭā adimattaṃ santappidum. p. 77.
Mā khu mā khu maṃ śavidum. Pratijñā. p. 45.

Mā khu mā khu bhaṭṭā edaṃ jalāsaaṃ pavisidum.
Pratijñā p. 48.

Mā khu mā khu evaṃ bhaṇiduṃ Pratijñā p. 108.

Here also the meaning is that of prohibition. It is not clear how this usage arose, considering that even with alam, the infinitive is very rarely used. We have not come across any instance of it in prākṛta and as pointed above, it is extremely rare even in Sanskrit.

We also find in one of these dramas 'mā' used with a word in tavya, *i. e.* the future passive participle. The following instances might be cited.

mā Khu ettha bhaṃsaidavvā Cāru. p. 16.

This seems almost a revival of the usage of the Aśokan inscriptions !

Still more surprising is the association of the present participle with mā. There is one instance of it in Bālacarita p. 9.

"tā mā khu edaṃ duḥkhaṃ govajaṇehi *armhūamāṇam ti* mae ekkāiṇā ṇigalagulucalaṇena imaṃ dāliāṃ gaṇhia ṇiggadohiṃ."

I have not come across any other instance of this usage in Prakṛta literature, or for the matter, even in Sanskrit. There is however a passage in the Mahābhāṣya which seems to offer a parallel to this in Sanskrit. The Sūtra which is being explained is : Lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyaḥ (P. 3. 2. 126)

"The affixes Śatṛ and Śānac (present participles) are the substitutes of 'laṭ' and come after a root in expressing an attendant circumstances or characteristic and the cause of an action." Kātyāyana adds some Vārttikas

to this Sūtra, pointing out other occasions when the affixes of the present participle might be used. Finally he says : māṅyākrośe. Pātañjali explains this as follows : māṅyākrośa iti vaktavyam *mā pacan* ! mā pacamānaḥ ! Here the affixes of the present participle are used with mā in the sense of ākrośa or lamentation. In the Bālacarita passage quoted above, the meaning is not quite that of ākrośā, but the usage is the same.

Some of peculiarities were first noticed by the late Pt. Gaṇapati Śāstrin who regarded them as evidence of the high antiquity of these dramas. In fact he placed them and their author whom he identified with the celebrated Bhāsa before Pāṇini. Wilhelm Printz also considered irregularities as peculiar to Bhāsa. But the publication of the Mattavilāsaprahasana of Mahendravikramavarman (T. S. S. no) of the Bhagavadajjukīyaṁ of Bodhāyana by Mr. Anujan Achan and of the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi of Śaktibhadra, has put a new complexion to the whole thing. Some of these so called irregularities are found in these dramas. The following might be cited as examples.

mā with the instrumental case in Sanskrit.

Mā Saṃśayena

Āścarya, p. 187.

Mā with the present tense

bhaṭṭiṇi mā māṇusaeṇa Siviṇāṇaṁ bahūṁ kāraṇāṁ bajjā upadisanti.

Āścarya. p. 145.

Mā with instrumental in Prākṛta.

Ajja mā mā saṃrambhakkameṇa

Āścarya. p. 95.

Mā with the Infinitive

Mā mā evvaṃ ajjeṇa bhaṇidum

Āścarya. p. 50.

Bhagovadajjukīyam—

Mā with the infinitive

Mā Mā dāṇi āmissidum

p. 74.

Mattavilāsaprakaraṇa.

Mā with the Infinitive

Mā mā mama kālaṇādo vadabhaṅgaeṇa tavo khaṇḍedum

p. 6.

These three works have been published on the basis of manuscripts found in the Malayalam speaking portion of South India. It has also been suggested that their authors were also South Indians. In the same way the so called dramas of Bhāsa were also discovered in the same area. The question therefore naturally arises whether those peculiarities are regional or whether they are characteristics of individual writers. If they are regional, we expect to find them in other works belonging to the same area. Well, now, three other dramas had been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series before the so called dramas of Bhāsa : The Subhadrādhanañjaya and Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa of Kulaśekhara Varman and the Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarmabhūpa. The writers of these works belonged to Kerala or the Malayalam-speaking portion of South India. In none of these dramas do we find Mā used in an unusual manner. In Prākṛta, it is always used with the Imperative, as elsewhere in literary Prākṛta. In Sanskrit, it is used chiefly with the aorist and once with the Imperative.

It would be interesting here to see what happens in South Indian versions of works admittedly in Northern India. Nāgānanda of Harśa is one such and it had been published by Pt. Gaṇapati in the T.S.S. before the Bhāsa plays. In it mā is always used with the Imperative, at least in the published text. Once, however, a different reading is noted in the foot notes and that is interesting. The. published text is : mā mā bhavadiṃ gorim abikkhiva. Whereas the reading of one manuscript, recorded in the footnotes is : mā mā bhavadiṃ gorim *abikkhivia, i. e.* Gerund is used with mā in one of the manuscripts.

Another circumstance which makes one think that it is not regional is that the Gerund is found used with mā in an edition of the Śākuntalam, published by Prof. Chowdhury in Calcutta. On page 314 of this edition, we read : mā khu, mā khu edam avalambia, which the editor translates as : don't touch it ! It must be said however that other Bengal editions read differently. Mā khu mā khu edam (vilokya). Even if the Infinitive is not supported by the majority of Bengali manuscripts, one wonders how the Infinitive appeared even once !

The conclusion therefore is that while these peculiarities are not special to the plays ascribed to Bhāsa and that they appear in other dramas found in Kerala, we have not sufficient evidence yet to believe that they are peculiar to Kerala. We can only say that so far they are found chiefly in Kerala.

BHARTṚHARI: A CRITICAL STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO THE VĀKAYAPADĪYA AND ITS COMMENTARIES.

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For the right understanding of a text, the correctness of it is minimum that is needed. As it is, it is denied to us in the case of so many of our Sanskrit texts. It is hardly necessary for me to say that the Benares edition of the Vākyapadīya denies us this minimum. This work is so ill-done that it does not deserve to be called an edition, much less a critical one. A critical edition of the Vākyapadīya, therefore, has been a long-felt want. But the unavailability of sufficient manuscripts deterred many a keen scholar from undertaking one. Burnell tells us that Dr. Kielhorn cherished the idea of editing the Vākyapadīya ; but it appears, he had to give it up for want of sufficient materials. However, encouraged by my friend P. Bhagavaddatta, I undertook to work at the Vākyapadīya and its commentaries about four years back and I have been fortunate to avail myself of more than thirty Mss. and still hope to examine some more.

Of the subject-matter dealt with in the Vākyapadīya, I shall not speak on this occasion. I mean to analyse it in the introduction to my edition. I shall here speak not on the Vākyapadīya but about it, of things which are of interest and importance not only to the grammarian and the philosopher but also to scholars in general.

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1. Burnell's catalogue of Tanjore Palace Liberary (1879) Part I, P. 43, column 1.

The name Vākakyapadīya used with references to the first two Kāṇḍas.

If we understand It-sing aright, it is clear that he gives the name Vākyapadīya to the first two chapters and not to the entire work, the Trikāṇḍī. Talking of the Vākya-discourse (the Vākyapadīya), he says : this contains 700 Ślokas and its commentary-portion has 7,000 Ślokas. This is also Bhartṛhari's work. That the text of the Vākyapadīya contains 700 Ślokas can never be true of the whole work which is immensely bigger. It can only be said of the first two chapters which contain about 646 verses which may be put down as 700 in round numbers.

Helārāja, the commentator on Kāṇḍa III, speaks of the first two Kāṇḍas as the Vākyapadīya. Commenting on III. 154, he says इति 'निर्णीतं वाक्यपदीये' Similarly commenting on III. 46, he says 'विस्तरेणागमप्रामाण्यं वाक्यपदीयेस्माभिः प्रथमकाण्डे शब्दप्रभायां निर्णीतम् '

Vardhamāna is more explicit on this point. Says he भर्तृहरिर्वाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कर्ता महाभाष्यात्रिपाद्या व्याख्याता च'

The Berlin Ms of the Vākyapadīya has, at the close of Kāṇḍa II, the colophon which runs as—

इति भगवद्भर्तृहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये द्वितीयः काण्डः। समाप्ता वाक्यपदीयकारिका'

But all Mss. of the text include the third Kāṇḍa in the Vākyapadīya, and doubtless, it was a part of the Vākyapadīya, even to Bhartṛhari ; for he could not name his work the Vākyapadīya, unless he treated Kāṇḍa III, (the Pada-Kāṇḍa) as a part of the whole. It may be reasonably believed that the third Kāṇḍa, coupled with a comprehensive, learned commentary assumed an importance of its own, and came to be referred to independently not long after Bhartṛhari.

Last portion of the text.

We know it from Puṇyarāja, the Commentator on Kāṇḍa II that the text of Vākyapadīya has not been preserved intact. Commenting on verses II, 79—85, he says 'एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम्। आगमभ्रंशाल्लेखप्रमादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः' This means that a complete section treating of lakṣaṇa referred to by Bhartṛhari himself had been dropped from the Pada-Kāṇḍa by Puṇyarāja's time. Again commenting on II. 77, he quotes from the Vṛtti of Bhartṛhari as follows. सेयमपरिमाणविकल्पा बाधाविस्तरेण बाधासमुद्देशे समर्थयिष्यत इति—
This means that Bhartṛhari read a section on *badhā* in Kāṇḍa III. Now Puṇyarāja is silent. And his silence can only mean that this section had been lost by his time, otherwise he would have added a note.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita reads the following two Kārikās in his śabda kaustubha p. 527 with the introductory line

उक्तं च हरिणा प्रकीर्णकाण्डे

अपाये यदुदासीनं चलं वा यदि वाचलम्।
ध्रुवमेवातदावेशात्तदपादानमुच्यते ॥१॥
पततो ध्रुव एवाश्वो यस्मादश्वात्पतत्यसौ।
तस्याप्यश्वस्य पतने कुड्यादि ध्रुवमिष्यते ॥२॥

Koṇḍabhaṭṭa in his Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa, while explaining Kārikā 24 quotes these lines with the remark उक्तं च वाक्यपदीये No Ms. whether of the text or of the commentary reads these verses.

Improvements made in the text and the commentaries.

Improvements that I have been able to make in the text and the commentaries as printed in the Benares edition are too many to be noticed here. I shall note only a few striking instances.

The verse I. 42 in the Benares edition reads as

हस्तस्पर्शादिबाधेन विषमेप्याभिधावता ।
अनुमानप्रधानेन विनिपातो न दुर्लभः ॥

The Mss. with me have enabled me to change it to

हस्तस्पर्शादिवान्धेन विषमे पथि धावता ।
अनुमानप्रधानेन विनिपातो न दुर्लभः ॥

In the case of the former reading of the verse, it is not known what appropriateness the words हस्तस्पर्शादिबाधेन have. In fact it is very difficult to make sense out of the whole śloka. As soon as we adopt the latter reading, it becomes lucid and yields a very beautiful sense.

The Benares edition does not read the second half of II. 328, the first half of which runs as

वाक्यं तदपि मन्यन्ते यत्पदं चरितक्रियम् ।

It treats it as the hemistich for the following Kārikā. I have supplied the second half as

अन्तरेण क्रियाशब्दं वाक्यादिव निदर्शनात् ॥

It is noteworthy that the text which Puṇyarāja seems to have used, did not contain the second half, for he neither reads it nor refers to it in his comments.

The Kārikā

शक्तिः प्रमाणसंख्यादेर्द्रव्यधर्माद्विशिष्यते ।
क्रियासु कालयोगात्तु प्राग्योगो द्रव्यकर्मणा ॥

although not read in any of the mss. of the text was originally a verse of the text; for Helārāja, while commenting on III. 315, refers to it as—यदुच्यते शक्तिः प्रमाणेत्यादिश्लोकेन. The verse is read in the commentary after III. 316 and seems to have been explained. It may be further noted that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita reads it in his śabda kaustubha with the introductory line 'उक्तं च हरिणा'.

Verses I. 71, 72, 73 and I. 75—78 are not followed by any commentary in the Benares edition. A Ms. of the commentary in the possession of the Benares Sanskrit College has a marginal note on I. 75—78 एषु टीका भ्रष्टा. Fortunately I have been able to secure Mss. which supply full commentary on all these verses.

Bhartṛhari himself wrote a commentary on his work.

A careful study of It-sing tells us that Bhartṛhari himself wrote a commentary on Kāṇḍas I and II of his work. After telling us that the text of the Vākyapadīya contains 700 ślokas and its commentary-portion has 7,000 ślokas, he adds that this is also Bhartṛhari's work. This evidently means that It-sing regards Bhartṛhari as the author of the text as well as of the commentary. He does not know of a commentator other than Bhartṛhari whom he could mention.

Puṇyarāja, commenting on II. 77 says एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ सा च तुल्यबलेष्वसंभवादित्यादिना बहुप्रकारा दर्शिता. The Vṛtti referre l to and quoted here seems to be a commentary on Kāṇḍa II by Bhartṛhari.

In his commentary on II. I, 2, he says यत्पुनरनेन वृत्तावुक्तम्—उदाहरणमात्रमेतत्। अन्यान्यपि वाक्यलक्षणानि दर्शयिष्यतीति। तद्वार्तिककारीयवाक्यलक्षणादेरन्तर्भावमनपेक्ष्येति मन्तव्यम्। Now this cannot be said to have belonged to the Bhāṣya-Ṭikā. For, Puṇyarāja says that there are only eight kāṇḍas of Vākyas (these comprehending also the Vākya-definitions of Kātyāyana and others) but that Bhartṛhari, in his Vṛtti says that his Vākya-definititions are only illustrative and not exhaustive. This remark is due to his treating the Vākya-definitions of Kātyāyana and others as separate.

If it were a reference to the Bhāṣya-Ṭīkā, the words of Puṇyarāja—

तद्वार्तिककारीयवाक्यलक्षणादेरन्तर्भावमनपेक्ष्येति मन्तव्यम् would have no meaning.

Helārāja, in the introductory verses of his commentary, tells us that he explained Kāṇḍas I and II also in keeping with the spirit of the Vṛtti. Says he :

काण्डद्वये यथावृत्ति सिद्धान्तार्थसतत्त्वतः ।
प्रबन्धो विहितोऽस्माभिरागमार्थानुसारिभिः ॥ ७॥

He actually quotes this Vṛtti twice. In his comments on III. 152, he quotes the words of the Ṭīka but says that they occur in the Brahma-Kāṇḍa. अत एव हि—'पुरा कल्पेऽनृतादिभिरिवापभ्रंशैरपि रहिता वागासीत्' इति ब्रह्मकाण्ड उक्तम् ।

While commenting on III. S, he says:
यदुक्तं वाक्यकाण्डे—'यश्च जातिसमुद्देशे प्रतिनिधिः प्रत्ययपरो दर्शनभेदः' सोयमिह व्याख्यातः ।
Surely he is quoting here Bhartṛhari's commentary on Kāṇḍa II.

The Bengal Mss. of the commentary on Kāṇḍa I have the colophon :—

इति श्रीहरिवृषभमहावैयाकरणविरचिते वाक्यपदीये आगमसमुच्चयो नाम ब्रह्मकाण्डं समाप्तम्।

It is significant that the colophon has no word for commentary and speaks of both the text and the commentary as Brahma-Kāṇḍa. It also identifies, though not expressly, the author of the text with that of the commentary. According to it, the author is Harivṛṣabha. Now Harivṛṣabha can be no other than Bhartṛhari. Some of the Mss. of the text have the colophon इति भगवद्भर्तृहरिवृषभमहावैयाकरणविरचिते against the very common इति श्रीभर्तृहरिकृते or इति भगवद्भर्तृहरिकृते Bhartṛhari is often called simply Hari and vṛṣabha is a पूजावचन.

Mammaṭa, in his Kāvyaprakāśa gives the following prose-quotation from the Vākyapadiya—

उक्तं च वाक्यपदीये—न हि गौः स्वरूपेण गौः, नाप्यगौः, गौः गोत्वाभिसम्बन्धात्तु गौः

He repeats this quotation in his gloss on Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā by Bhaṭṭamukula and his sabdavyāpāra. The conclusion that forces itself upon us, is that Mammaṭa knew of Bhartṛhari's commentary on the Vākyapadīya from which he quoted these lines.

The commentary on Kāṇḍa I as we have it in the Bengal Mss. does not notice a single variant reading in the Kārikās. This is an index to the fact that it was the author of the Vākyapadīya who wrote it.

The Ms. of Vṛṣabha's gloss on the commentary on Kāṇḍa I in the possession of the Government Oriental Library, Madraṣ, confirms the conclusion already arrived at.

Vṛṣabha, in his introductory verses states that he is commenting on the Vākyapadīya as so many others did before him and not merely explaining a commentary on Kāṇḍa I. To him, the text and the commentary are both the Vākyapadiya, the work of Bhartṛhari. Says he:

क्रियते पद्धतिरेषा वाक्यपदीयोदधेः सुगमा ॥
यद्यपि टीका बह्वयः पूर्वाचार्यैः सुनिर्मला रचिताः ।
सन्तः परिश्रमज्ञास्तथापि चैनां ग्रहीष्यन्ति ॥

Bhartṛhari's Commentary on Kāṇḍa I.

The Longer and Shorter Versions.

That Bhartṛhari wrote a commentary on his work we have already shown. His commentary on Kāṇḍa I only has been preserved. It comes down to us in two versions, the longer and the shorter. The Bengal Mss. represent the longer Version and the Benares edition, the shorter.

The longer version is the original work of Bhartṛhari. The shorter is an abridgment with such modifications as are incidental to an attempt at compression and simplification. To support this view, we have two-fold evidence: exetrnal and internal.

External evidence.

Vṛṣabha takes the longer version of the commentary as the text for his gloss and regards it as the Vākyapadīya. He does not know of the shorter. He speaks of previous commentators who explained this longer version and notices a pretty large number of variations in readings of the commentary as adopted by them. This shows that the commentary as the longer version gives it, existed long before Vṛṣabha and is a genuine work.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, author of the Nyāyamañjarī, knows only of the longer version. After quoting the first verse of the Vākyapadiya अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् । विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥ He goes on to say यत्तु नित्यं वा किञ्चिदुच्यते तच्छब्दतत्त्वमित्यत्र का युक्तिः । आह—शब्दोपग्राह्यतया च शब्दतत्त्वम् । Nyāya-mañjarī, on Nyāya I. 1. 2, chap. 9. From the way in which he quotes this line of the commentary (longer version), he seems to identify the author of the Kārikā with that of the commentary.

Vādī Devasūri, author of the Syādvāda-ratnākara, is familiar with the commentary on Kāṇḍa I as given in the longer version. He utilized this commentary in his explanations of the verses of the Vākyapadīya which he quoted so profusely. Writing on Sphoṭa (p. 651) he says यथा ज्ञानस्याभिन्नस्यावबोधमात्रात्मकस्य नीरूपस्यानवयवत्वेऽपि सर्वज्ञेयरूपोपग्राहित्वाद्भेदरूपेण-

वभासः पञ्च वृत्ता विंशतिर्गाव इति । Here he has only adopted the following lines of the commentary on I. 87—

अभिन्नमपि ज्ञानमरूपं सर्वज्ञेयरूपोपग्राहित्वाद्भेदरूपतया प्रत्यवभासते पञ्च वृत्ता विंशतिर्गाव इति ।

Both the versions read a number of quotations in the the commentary on I. 144, but the longer version reads there one quotation in addition. Now this additional quotation along with others is read in six Mss. of the text coming from different parts of the country. This means that to these Mss. the shorter version was not known.

Internal Evidence.

We have ample internal evidence to show that the shorter version is an abridgment prepared to facilitate the study of the Vākyapadīya.

1. The commentary on I, 45 in the longer version is concluded with the words—

शब्दाकृतिभेदाभेदव्यपाश्रयो वा पूर्वेषामाचार्याणां दर्शनभेद इति परस्तादेतद्वस्तुगत एव प्रपञ्चो भविष्यति । They are suggestive of the identity of the author of the commentary with that of the text. They strikingly differ from the अवतरणिका in the shorter— इदमेव प्रपञ्चयति The words in the longer version speak like the author's own.

The avataraṇikās to śl. I. 65, 66, 70 and 142 in the shorter version, form, in a little different form, the beginnings of the commentary on these ślokas in the longer. The lengthy avataraṇikās to I, 96, 97, 98 and 100 in the S. V. form the पूर्वपक्ष of these ślokas in the L. V. They are then collocated with the commentary on these ślokas and not with the commentary of the preceding kārikās as is done in the S. V. All this means that the S. V. is, in this respect, an improvement upon the longer.

2. The shorter version gives logical order of the verses wherever it is not easily intelligible, *e. g.* in I. 3, 64, 87. But the longer version never gives it. This unmistakably shows that the S. V. is later and meant for the beginner. Had the longer version been an amplification of the shorter, it is hard to understand how it could have reasonably left out the अन्वय.

The S. V. splits up a single sentence of the longer version into two or three smaller sentences. The commentary on I, 89 in the L. V. reads—

'सामान्यमात्रया कयाचिदनुगतः प्रविविक्तकार्य्याणामपि शक्तीनामात्मा कुतश्चित् कार्यविशेषात् सङ्करेणै वावस्थित: which is split up thus in the S. V:—

कया चित्सामान्यमात्रयानुगतत्वात् । (said as a reason for the foregoing statement). न च सामान्यमात्राणां शक्तिरूपाणामप्याश्रयभेदेन कार्यभेदेन च भेद एव प्रविभक्तकार्य्याणामपि शक्तीनां कुतश्चित्कार्यविशेषात्सङ्करेणैव स्थितेः

Similarly, in the commentary on I. 103, one sentence of the L. V. is split up into three. This shows that the S. V. is the result of an attempt at simplification.

The S. V. gives meanings of single words considered as difficult. For instance, it renders अनुतन्त्रम् as वार्तिकम् in śl. I. 23, कायवताम् by मूर्तानाम् in I, 97, समाधानम् as चित्तस्यैकाग्रता in I. 80 and explains सोढत्वम् as एकबुद्धिविषयत्वम् and सन्निपातात् as प्रयत्नविशेषरूपकारणसम्बन्धात् in I, 83 and I. 110 respectively. The longer version never gives the meanings of single words. It is not easy to understand how the L. V. could omit these meanings of so important words, if it were a later compilation. It is Vṛṣabha's gloss on the commentary of Kāṇḍa I (longer version) which annotates single words also.

The S. V. sometimes seems to substitute less technical terms for those used in the longer. The concluding line in the commentary on I. 53 in the S. V. runs as तस्मात्प्राधान्यमनुभूय सर्वार्थयोनयः सर्वे शब्दा गुणभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते The longer version has, in stead, तस्माच्छेषिभावकाष्ठामनुभूय सर्वार्थयोनयः सर्वे शब्दाः शेषभावमर्थेषु प्रतिपद्यन्ते Now the longer version cannot be later; the compiler of the S. V. is, indeed, rendering the words शेषिन् and शेष of the longer by प्रधान and गुण which are decidedly simpler and less technical.

The shorter version sometimes paraphrases lines not touched in the longer. For instance, स्मृत्यर्थमनुगम्यन्ते third quadrant of I. 26, अर्थप्रत्यायनाभिदे third quadrant of I. 27 and the second half of I. 83 are paraphrased only in the S. V.

The shorter version sometimes adds a line or two by way of तात्पर्य or भाव as in I. 94, 97, 134, 143 etc. The L. V. does not give it. The commentary on these verses in both versions is, otherwise, almost, the same. Why the L. V. should omit तात्पर्य if it were later, is not easy to understand.

The S. V. concludes the commentry on a large number of the Kārikās with इत्यर्थः or इति भावः even when it differs very little from the commentary in the longer. Now it cannot be urged that the L. V. omits the words इत्यर्थः or इति भावः originally read in the S. V.; for there is no reason. why it should be omitted while the commentary is amplified. The word इत्यर्थः is, indeed, an addition in the S. V. which accords with the practice of compilers and commentators who happen to explain texts not of their composition.

Quotations in the shorter version introduced with तथा च श्रुतिः are often introduced with merely तथाचाहुः in

the longer. This we have instanced in I, 9 and I, 12. The quotations तदेकं च न चैकं च etc. and नामेदं रूपत्वेन etc. are thus treated. Why this difference in assigning the source of the quotations? It cannot be supposed that the words तथाचाहुः are a substitution for तथाच श्रुतिः for no compiler however learned can be so bold as to replace the words तथाच श्रुतिः of the original by तथाचाहुः. What is more plausible is that Bhartṛhari originally wrote तथाचाहुः and a compiler who perhaps came centuries after him, being unable to trace the quotation, put it down as a śruti.

There is something more interesting in this connection. The L. V. introduces certain quotations with एवं हि संग्रहे पठ्यते *e. g.* वाचक उपादानस्वरूपवान् in I, 44 and even a kārikā I, 77 with एवं हि संग्रहकारः पठति. The S. V. reads the former with the introductory remark उक्तं च and the latter without any introduction. Moreover, in the commentary on I, 65, both the versions quote the view of the संग्रहकार but read the quotation very much differently. The L. V. introduces the quotation with एवं हि संग्रह उक्तम् and the shorter with संग्रहकारस्तु, concluding with इत्याह. This disparity can be explained possibly by regarding the passage introduced with एवं हि संग्रहे उक्तम् as a quotation in the very words of the author of the Saṃgraha and the other as a result of the compiler's attempt at giving the main idea contained in the lines, in his own words. This consists with the L. V. being the original work of Bhartṛhari; for, although the Saṃgraha had been neglected even in his own time, he could quote from it, while writers after him very probably could not. Hence the compiler of the S. V. either left out the introductory line altogether as in I, 77 or chose to write उक्तं च for एवं हि संग्रहे पठ्यते, for the latter did not convey any meaning to him, the Saṃgraha having passed into oblivion long ago.

The inferiority of the Shorter Version also lends strength to the view that it is a later compilation and not the original work of Bhartṛhari.

The line concluding the commentary on I. 8 in shorter version runs as एवं दर्शनविकल्पाः. It is followed by the avataraṇikā— तत एव खल्वेवंप्रवादेषु किं सत्यं तत्राह. For all this, the longer version reads - यतश्चैते सर्वविकल्पातीत एकस्मिन्नर्थे सर्वशक्तियोगाद् द्रष्टृणां दर्शनविकल्पाः तत एव खलु. It is hard to understand what significance the words तत एव खलु have in the S. V.

The S. V. is at places misleading. The commentary on I. 10. explains अङ्गोपाङ्गनिबन्धना विद्याभेदाः प्रतायन्ते as तस्य वेदाख्यस्य प्रसिद्धस्य ब्रह्मणोऽङ्गेभ्यो ज्योतिषादय उपाङ्गेभ्यश्चिकित्सादयो विद्याभेदाः प्रभवन्ति. Now we know that Jyotiṣ is one of the aṅgas and cikitsā or āyurveda is one of the upavedas, not that they are further developments of the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*. In that case, we shall have to assume astronomy and medicine to be other than an *aṅga* and an *upaveda*, which is hardly tolerable. The L. V. reads the commentary as under:

वेदाख्यस्य तु प्रसिद्धस्य ब्रह्मणोऽङ्गेभ्यो ज्योतिषादिभ्यः शकुनज्ञानादय उपाङ्गेभ्यश्च स्वप्नविपाकयोनिज्ञानादयो विद्याभेदाः प्रसिद्धा लोके.

The commentary on I. 25 धर्मे ये प्रत्यये चाङ्गं सम्बन्धाः साध्वसाधुषु in the S. V. runs as--

तत्र साधोर्योर्थेन सम्बन्धः स ज्ञाने शास्त्रपूर्वकप्रयोगे वा धर्माभिव्यक्तौ अङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यते विशिष्टप्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ च । अपभ्रंशास्तु प्रत्ययमात्र एव ।

The L. V. gives the commentary as follows:—

तत्र साधोर्यः सम्बन्धोऽर्थेन स ज्ञाने शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगे वा धर्माभिव्यक्तौ अङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यते । विशिष्टप्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ च प्रत्यक्षपक्षेण व्यवस्थां प्रकल्पयति । अनुमानपक्षे तु सम्बन्धिसम्बन्धादक्षिनिकोचादिवदपभ्रंशाः प्रत्ययविशेषेष्वङ्गभावमुपगच्छन्ति ।

The idea given in the L. V. is decidedly more correct and comprehensive.

The S. V. introduces the verse I, 4) इदं पुण्यमिदं पापम् etc. with the words लोकान्तरभावीष्टानिष्टमपि आप्तवचनादेव निर्णीयत इत्याह, and adopts an unauthentic reading, namely समम् for अल्पम्. The verse originally belongs to the Mahābhārata as Kumārila and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa tell us. Both of them read the verse with the reading अल्पम्. Commenting on Mīmāṃsā I. 5, in his śloka-vārtika, Kumārila say—

प्रत्यक्षादौ निषिद्धेऽपि ननु लोकप्रसिद्धितः ।
धर्माधर्मौ प्रमास्येते ब्राह्मणादिविवेकवत् ॥
धार्मिकाधार्मिकत्वाभ्यां पीडानुग्रहकारिणौ ।
प्रसिद्धौ हि तथा चाह पाराशर्योऽत्र वस्तुनि ॥
इदं पुण्यमिदं पापमित्येतस्मिन्पदद्वये ।
आचण्डालं मनुष्याणामल्पं शास्त्रप्रयोजनम् ॥

The longer version reads अल्पम् and introduces the said kārikā with the words—

तथाहि कर्मणामिह कृतानामूर्ध्वं देहाद् इष्टानिष्टफलप्राप्तिराप्तवचनपरिग्रहेणैव प्रसिद्धा विनापि शास्त्रोपदेशेन प्रायेण मनुष्यैरनुगम्यते.

The avataraṇikā to I. 71, 72—'इदानीं शब्दाभिव्यक्तिप्रक्रियां प्रतिजानीते' is altogether misplaced.

It is really the line with a little change, which rightly forms the beginning of the commentary on I. 79 in the L. V.—'एतस्मिञ्श्लोके शब्दाभिव्यक्तिमात्रं प्रतिज्ञायते. The śl. I. 79 runs as

इन्द्रियस्यैव संस्कारः शब्दस्योभयस्य वा ।
क्रियते ध्वनिभिर्वादात्त्रयोऽभिव्यक्तिवादिनाम् ॥

In the shorter version, we have the avataraṇikā to śl. I. 118 तस्य प्राणे च या शक्तिः etc. in the words पुनः पक्षान्तरमाह which is most incomprehensive, if not misleading. For this, we have in the L. V.—

पक्षभेदा एवैते नायमनन्तरः प्रचयधर्मो ध्वनिरिह श्लोके निर्दिश्यते । शब्दस्तु पूर्वप्रकृतः प्रवादभेदैरन्वाख्यायते which forms the beginning of the same kārikā. It is the longer version which makes it clear that तस्य refers to शब्द the treatment of which is intercepted by so many intervening ślokas on ध्वनि. Now we understand that the words पुनः पक्षान्तरमाह of the S. V. are almost misleading.

In the shorter version, the commentary on I. 125 begins with यथान्तर्यामिणः प्रकाशत्वस्वरूपं चैतन्यं वान्तर्यामिणस्तथा ज्ञानमपि सर्वं वाग्रूपमात्रानुगतम् while the L. V. has, instead, the following— यथा प्रकाशकत्वमग्नेः स्वरूपं चैतन्यं वान्तर्यामिणस्तथा ज्ञानमपि सर्वं वाग्रूपमात्रानुगतम्.

The reading in the S. V. is the abridged form of the one in the L. V., but it has suffered by the loss of some of the necessary words and therefore it does not read well. The epithet प्रकाशत्वस्वरूपम् has but little significance, and the paraphrase of प्रकाश by ज्ञानम् is both unnecessary and unwarranted.

Inter-relation between the Mahābhāṣya Ṭīka and the Vākyapadīya.

Both the Vākyapadīya and the Ṭīkā are closely interrelated. There is a pretty large number of parallelisms of word and thought. At some places, the Ṭīkā expresses an idea comprehensively in a language corresponding to that of the Vākyapadīya and the Vākyapadīya puts the same compactly in a metrical form; at others, the Ṭīkā gives a less comprehensive idea and the Vākyapadīya amplifies it. In view of the limited space at my disposal, I shall note here only a few striking parallelisms.

We read in the Vākyapadīya the verse अम्बाम्बेति यथा बालः शिक्षमाणोऽपभाषते (I. 153). This corresponds to the line यथा अम्बाम्बेति शिक्षमाणो बालोऽन्यथोच्चारयति on page 15a of

the Ṭīka. The value of this line cannot be over-estimated for settling the reading of the verse. Now that we know that our author reads अम्बाम्बेति and अन्ययोच्चारयति (अपभाषते) in his Ṭīkā on the Bhāṣya, we reject the readings अम्ब्वम्बिवति given in the Southern Mss. and प्रभाषते in others, without hesitation.

On page 4a, we read गच्छति गदति गर्जति वा गौः. The derivations given here are found in a little amplified form in the *Vākyapadīya*—

कैश्चिन्निर्वचनं भिन्नं गिरतेर्गर्जतेर्गमः ।
गवतेर्गदतेर्वापि गौरित्यत्रानुदर्शितम् ॥ (II. 176).

The view held in *Vākyapadīya* II. 256 एको मन्त्रस्तथाध्यात्ममधिदैवमधिक्रतु is maintained and expanded in the Ṭīkā in the following words—

यथा । इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रम इत्यत्रैक एव विष्णुशब्दोऽनेकशक्तिः सन्नधिदैवतमध्यात्ममधियज्ञं चात्मनि नारायणे चषाले च स्वया शक्त्या प्रवर्तते ' p. 137a.

The idea contained in the verse यथा प्रणिहितं चक्षुर्दर्शनायोपकल्पते II. 407 is found beautifully explained in the Ṭīkā—

यथा सत्येव चक्षुषि सति च रूपे न चक्षुरप्रणिहितमनधिष्ठितं मनसा विषयालोचने समर्थं भवत्येवं शब्दो व्यवस्थितार्थोऽपि, प्रयोक्तुः प्रणिधानमन्तरेण प्रत्यायनेऽसमर्थः । p. 21a.

The view expressed in the verse अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामर्थवान् परिकल्पितः III. 707 which is introduced by the commentator with the words यद्वा is stated in the Ṭīkā as the view of others and is explained as follows—

अन्येषां दर्शनम् । शब्दस्यानेको धर्मः । यथाऽजित्ययं यदान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामर्थवानिति समधिगम्यते तदार्थवत्त्वाद्धातुत्वं प्रतिपद्यते । अयमेव यदार्थपरित्यागे एकाचो द्वे इति वर्णत्वेनाश्रीयते तदा तस्यार्थपदार्थकस्यायमेकोऽजिति व्यतिरेके अस्येति सम्बन्धमुपनीयते । p. 21a.

Bhartṛhari, a believer in Brahman and the Veda.

It-sing would have us believe that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist. But there is nothing, not even a distant hint, in

the kārikās of the Vākyapadīya to support it. A cursory glance at the following Kārikās shows unmistakably that their author was a believer in Brahman and the Veda.

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥
एकमेव यदाम्नातं भिन्नं शक्तिव्यपाश्रयात् ।
अपृथक्त्वेऽपि शक्तिभ्यः पृथक्त्वेनेव वर्तते ॥
अथर्वणामङ्गिरसां साम्नामृग्यजुषस्य च ।
यस्मिन्नुच्चावचा वर्णाः पृथक्स्थितपरिग्रहाः ॥
यदेकं प्रक्रियाभेदैर्बहुधा प्रविभज्यते ।
तद् व्याकरणमागम्य परं ब्रह्माधिगम्यते ॥

He holds the Smṛtis as authoritative for they are understood to be based upon the Veda.

स्मृतयो बहुरूपाश्च दृष्टादृष्टप्रयोजनाः ।
तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्यो वेदविद्भिः प्रकाशिताः ॥

To him, the final referee in matters of *Dharma* is not reason but the Scripture.

न चागमादृते धर्मस्तर्केण व्यवतिष्ठते ।
ऋषीणामपि यज्ज्ञानं तदप्यागमपूर्वकम् ॥
यत्नेनानुमितोऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यते ॥

He commends the use of reason as a help for the better understanding and exposition of the Veda and the Śāstras and not for an adverse criticism of them. This is exactly the view held by all followers of the Veda.

वेदशास्त्राविरोधी च तर्कश्चक्षुरपश्यताम् ।
आगमस्तमुपासीनो हेतुवादैर्न बाध्यते ॥

In the presence of these lines, it is absurd to hazard the conjecture that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist. The author of the Vākyapadīya, indeed, held a belief in the Veda as revelation.

To Vādi Devasūri (1088—1169 A. D.) also, Bhartṛhari was not a Buddhist. After having quoted profusely from the Vākyapadīya and repudiated Hari's views he concludes with saying—

यत्तावद्बुद्धशिष्यैर्निजसमयवशान्निर्विकल्पत्वमुक्तं
प्रत्यक्षे तत्पुरैव प्रतिहतिपदवीं प्रापितं सप्रपञ्चम् ।
शब्दानुस्यूतिरुक्ता मतिषु **तदपरै** र्यापि सापि व्यपास्ता
तस्माज्ज्ञानं समस्तु व्यवसितिसुभगं मानतासम्मतं यत् ॥

Syādvādaratnākara VII. 90.

Evidently, Devasūri shows Bhartṛhari as different from the Buddhists when he refers to him as अपर.

Bhartṛhari as a Vedantist.

The *Vivarta* theory which forms the basis of the non-dualistic philosophy of Śaṅkara is already known to Bhartṛhari. The Vākyapadīya opens with the verse.

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥

On this verse, Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita remarks—
तदेवं वराटिकान्वेषणाय प्रवृत्तश्चिन्तामणिं लब्धवानिति वासिष्ठरामायणोक्ताभाणकन्यायेन शब्दविचाराय प्रवृत्तः सन् प्रसङ्गादद्वैते औपनिषदे ब्रह्मण्यपि व्युत्पद्यतामित्यभिप्रायेण भगवान्भर्तृहरिर्विवर्तवादादिकमपि प्रसङ्गाद् व्युदपादयत् । Śabdakaustubha p. 12.

That Brahman is the only reality, and this manifold existence, being the product of nescience is only illusory is given in the following kārikā (III. 192)—

यत्र द्रष्टा च दृश्यं च दर्शनं च विकल्पितम् ।
तस्यैवार्थस्य सत्यत्वं श्रितास्त्रय्यन्तवेदिनः ॥

How the one Reality, the immutable universal self appears as this manifold existence is explained by means of an illustration in the following two kārikās (III. 123, 124)—

आत्मा परः प्रियो द्वेष्यो वक्ता वाच्यं प्रयोजनम् ।
विरुद्धानि यथैकस्य स्वप्ने रूपाणि चेतसः ॥

अजन्मनि तथा नित्ये पौर्वापर्यविवर्जिते ।
तत्त्वे जन्मादिरूपत्वं विरुद्धमुपलभ्यते ॥

After postulating the various views regarding द्रव्य according to different schools of thought, Bhartṛhari goes on to say that the ultimate sense of all words is the one absolute Reality, says he.

सत्यं वस्तु तदाकारैरसत्यैरवधार्यते ।
असत्योपाधिभिः शब्दैः सत्यमेवाभिधीयते ॥ III. 108.

Helārāja also holds our author to be a Vedantist. Commenting on III. 35, he says.

एष च सर्वत्रैवास्य ग्रन्थकारस्याभिप्रायः । पदार्थचर्चाविषये ब्रह्मदर्शननयेनैव संबन्धादिविचारे विनिगमनात् ।

If more evidence were needed, the following verses of the Vākyapadīya might be advantageously referred to.

शास्त्रेषु प्रक्रियाभेदैरविद्यैवोपवर्ण्यते ! II, 235.

(with this compare Śaṅkara (Vedanta I. 1.)—

तस्मादविद्यावद्विषयाण्येव प्रमाणानि शास्त्राणि च) ।

उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।
असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ॥ II. 240.

This verse is repeatedly quoted in the later Vedantic literature.

It is interesting to note that Bhartṛhari was not only a Vedantic philosopher but also an exponent of the Brahma-sūtras. Yāmunā-cārya in his Siddhi-trya (p. 5) mentions him as an exponent of the Brahma-sūtras along with Bhartṛ-prapañca, Bhartṛmitra, Brahmadatta and Śaṅkara. I have noticed a verse in the commentary on the Spanda kārikā by Utpalācārya, which is attributed to Bhartṛhari. The verse runs thus:—

नच्छादितस्य तमसा रज्जुखण्डस्य विक्रिया।
नाशो वा क्रियते यद्वत्तद्वन्नाविद्ययात्मनः ॥

Bhartṛhari, a Vedic Scholar.

Bhartṛhari seems to have had a thorough study of the Vedic literature. His exhaustive treatment of Ūha in the Bhāṣya Ṭīkā shows him to be a man of vast reading and deep insight. Kaiyaṭa is content with giving a single illustration of Ūha and refers his readers to Hari's Ṭīkā for a fuller treatment in the words विस्तरेण तु भर्तृहरिणा प्रदर्शित ऊहः

Our author has a perfect command over the Vedic usage and can, therefore, make ready reference to particular forms in the Veda. He has so free and easy an access to the Veda that he would quote from the Veda to show that a certain well-known idiom of Sanskrit is not without support, but is already established by a similar usage in the Vedic literature.

To show that disagreement in number between the standard of comparison and the object compared is sometimes no fault, he refers to the Vedic usage:

गवेधुके चरौ दृष्टा गोविकर्तास्त्ववापयोः ।
पशू रुद्र इव श्वेताविदे कवचनश्रुतिः ॥

Daṇḍin while treating of the same thing could say no more than

न लिङ्गवचने भिन्ने न हीनाधिकतापि वा ।
उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्वेगो न धीमताम् ॥

On page 121a of the Bhāṣya Ṭīkā, when explaining the word आत्वभूत and आत्वप्राप्त. he says — कश्चित् प्राप्तिवचनोऽप्यस्तीत्याह and then quotes from the Veda to show that the root means to obtain. The quotation runs as—तद्यथा । 'एनेन वै भारद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं दैवोदासिं समनह्यत् स्वराष्ट्रमभवत् । यं कामयेत राष्ट्रियमयं? राष्ट्रीयः स्यादिति तमेतेन संनह्येत राष्ट्रमेव भवति' इति ।

This is peculiar to him and speaks very high of him. Generally writers, when explaining certain formations in

Sanskrit are never found quoting the Veda in support of their explanations, unless they happen to be commenting on the Veda.

In order to show that इव expresses the relation of the standard of comparison and the object compared, even when one and the same thing is assumed as two, he instances a Vedic usage in the following kārikā—

दस्युहेन्द्र इवेत्येतदैन्द्रे मन्त्रे प्रयुज्यते ।
अन्यत्रदृष्टकर्मैन्द्रो यथेत्यस्मिन्विवक्षिते ॥

The Vedic passage referred to here is—
इन्द्र इव द्युपस्तूयसे, इन्द्र इव दस्युहा भव क्षेत्राणि सृज. The deity of the mantra is Indra. It means: O Indra, you are praised like Indra; be you like Indra, the slayer of demons. The given mantra is an illustration of the figure of speech called अनन्वय. No Rhetorician is known to have given a Vedic illustration. They could not give a better illustration than the well-known line of the Rāmāyaṇa—

गगनं गगनाकारं सागरः सागरोपमः ।
रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ॥

Bhartṛhari, it may be remarked in passing, has also given an illustration from common speech—सदृशस्त्वं तवैवेति

The Vākyapadiya Kārikās.

The Kārikās embodied in the Vākyapadīya are mainly Bhartṛhari's composition. He has, however, drawn upon grammatical and other works and borrowed some of the verses with and without acknowledgment. The verse वर्णस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः I. 77 is from the Saṃgraha, as our author himself acknowledges with the words तथाच संग्रहकारः पठति. The verses शुद्धस्योच्चारणे स्वार्थः II. 267 and यस्त्वन्यस्य प्रयोगेण II. 268 belong to the Saṃgraha according to Puṇyarāja. The verses

यथायसंख्याग्रहणम् I. 88 and असतश्चान्तराले यान् I. 86 also belong to the Saṃgraha according to Devasūri. The verses इदं पुण्यमिदं पापम् I. 40 and तलवद्दृश्यते व्योम II. 142 are from the Mahābhārata. Besides these, there are a number of kārikās which do not seem to be Bhartṛhari's composition. In the author's own commentary on Kāṇḍa I, the śl. I. 73 is introduced with 'अपर आह'; śl. 109 and 110 are introduced with तत्र वायोस्तावच्छब्दभावापत्तिमाचक्षते'; śl. 111 and 112 are introduced with 'अणूनां शब्दत्वापत्तिमपरे प्रतिपन्नास्त एवमाहु:' and śl. 113, 114, 115 and 116 are introduced with 'ज्ञानस्य खल्वपि शब्दत्वापत्तिमपरे वर्णयन्ति'. These kārikās are not commented upon. They are merely followed by the words इत्यादि सर्वमनुगन्तव्यम्. From the manner in which these kārikās are introduced and concluded, it is not difficult to see that they not only embody different views of others, but are also expressions of them in their very words. The verse द्वावभ्युपायौ शब्दानाम् II. 465 is found embedded in the prose of the Bhāṣya Ṭīkā (p. 30a) without any introductory line. From Bhartṛhari's comment on I. 83—इति संहितासूत्रभाष्यविवरणे बहुधा विचारितम्, we know that he took to the composition of the Vākyapadīya after he had explained the Bhāṣya If it is true, then he cannot be said to be citing his own verse from the Vākyapadīya. It follows therefore that the verse in question is not Bhartṛhari's composition. There is every likelihood that it may be a verse of the Saṃgraha.

THE COMMENTATORS HELĀRĀJA AND PUṆYARĀJA.

Helārāja's commentary is the only extant commentary on Kāṇḍa III. From references to previous commentators we know that there were other commentaries which are now lost to us. Even the commentary by Helārāja has

not been preserved intact. At the beginning of the commentary on III. 282, 313, we have the scribe's statements to this effect इतो ग्रन्थपातसन्धानाय फुल्लराजकृतिर्लिख्यते and इहापि पतितग्रन्था हेलाराजकृतिः फुल्लराजकृत्या सन्धीयते.

In the concluding verses of his commentary, Helārāja says a little about himself. He is descended from the family of Lakṣmaṇa, a minister of king Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir. His father's name is भूतिराज. It is not known by what distance, he is removed from Lakṣmaṇa.

We know from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Bhagavad Gita (Buhler's K. Report CXVIII), that his guru (teacher) was Bhaṭṭendurāja whose father was Bhūtirāja. Now if this Bhūtirāja be identical with the father of Helārāja, which seems probable, Helārāja and Bhaṭṭandurāja are real brothers. Helārāja may therefore belong to the early half of the 10th century.

Besides commenting on Kāṇḍa III, Helārāja explained Kāṇḍas I and II also. Of this he speaks in the introductory verses of his commentary—

काण्डद्वये यथावृत्ति सिद्धान्तार्थसतत्त्वतः ।
प्रबन्धा विहितोऽस्माभिरागमार्थानुसारिभिः ॥

His commentary on Kāṇḍa I was known as Śabdaprabhā. This we know from his statement in the commentary on III. 46—

विस्तरेणागमप्रामाण्यं वाक्यपदीयेऽस्माभिः प्रथमकाण्डे शब्दप्रभायां निर्णीतमिति तत एवावधार्यम्.
He also wrote two other grammatical works, the क्रियाविवेक and वार्तिकोन्मेष to which he refers in his commentary. The reference to the former is made in the commentary on III. 50 and to the latter towards the close of the Liṅga samuddeśa. Helārāja also wrote a chronicle of Kashmir in 1200 verses. *cf.* Rājataraṅgiṇī :—

बद्धा द्वादशभिर्ग्रन्थसहस्रैः पार्थिवावलिः ।
प्राङ् महाव्रतिना येन हेलाराजद्विजन्मना ॥

We presume that Kalhaṇa means Helārāja, the commentator of the Vākyapadiya. We do not know any other Kashmirian writer who is a namesake of Helārāja.

Of Puṇyarāja we know very little. The only reference to him is made in so late a work as Nāgeśa's mañjūṣā. At the close of his commentary, he tells us that he learnt the second Kāṇḍa from a pupil of Śaśāṅka. Now who is this Saśāṇka? Sahadeva, the earliest known commentator on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti tells us that he was a pupil of Śaśāṅka-dhara, a famed scholar who had mastered all the fourteen sciences and that he learnt the Pāṇinean grammar from him, before he left Kashmir.

चतुर्दशानामपि प्रसिद्धो विद्यास्थितानां परपारदृश्वा ।
शशाङ्कपूर्वं धर इत्युदारं यन्नाम लोके नितरां प्रसिद्धम् ॥
तदीय शिष्यःसहदेवनामा कुलेभिजातः खलु तोमराणाम् ।
व्याख्यामिमां काव्यविचारशास्त्रे व्यधत्त लघ्वीमिह वामनीये ॥
काश्मीरदेशादपसर्पतो मे शब्दानुशुद्धिं त्रिमुनिं निशम्य ।

May it not be that Śaśāṅka spoken of by Puṇyarāja is the same as Śaśāṅka-dhara, the teacher of Sahadeva (a part of the name being used for the whole, as दत्त for देवदत्त, भामा for सत्यभामा etc.). This seems to be very likely. Puṇyārāja is surely a Kashmirian, as his popular name, Rājānaka Śūra Varma shows. Sahadeva explicitly says that he is a Kashmirian. From his particular wanton of his study of Sanskrit grammar, it follows that he specialized in this branch of knowledge. Sahadeva might have been known in Kashmir as शशाङ्कशिष्य as he professes to be. In the light of all what we have said, we feel inclined to believe that the Śaśāṅka-Śiṣya referred to as his teacher

by Puṇyrāja is no other than Sahadeva. We do not posses more definite information at the present stage of our knowledge.

Quotations from the Saṃgraha.

The Vākyapadīya has a unique importance. As an authoritative work on grammar, it ranks next only to the Mahābhāṣya in the entire domain of Sanskrit grammatical literature. Besides, this is the only work which has preserved a number of quotations from the Saṃgraha of Vyāḍi, which, even in Bhartṛhari's time, had passed into oblivion. I have been able to notice the following quotations—

१ शब्दप्रकृतिरपभ्रंशः ।

२ वाचक उपादानस्वरूपवान् ।

३ नहि किंचित्पदं नाम रूपेण नियतं क्वचित् ।
पदानामर्थरूपं च वाक्यार्थादेव जायते ॥

४ शब्दार्थयोरसम्भेदे व्यवहारे पृथक् क्रिया ।
यतः शब्दार्थयोस्तत्त्वमेकं तत्समवस्थितम् ॥

५ सम्बन्धस्य न कर्तास्ति शब्दानां लोकवेदयोः ।
शब्दैरेव हि शब्दानां सम्बन्धः स्यात्कृतः कथम् ॥

६ नहि स्वरूपं शब्दानां गोपिण्डादिवत्कारणे सन्निविशते,
तत्तु नित्यमभिधेयमेव, अभिधानसन्निवेशे सति तुल्यरूपत्वादसंनिविष्टमपि समुच्चार्य-
माणत्वेनावसीयते ।

७ वर्णस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते ।
वृत्तिभेदे निमित्तत्वं वैकृतः प्रतिपद्यते ॥

८ यथाद्यसंख्याग्रहणमुपायः प्रतिपत्तये ।
संख्यान्तराणामभेदेपि तथा शब्दान्तरश्रुतिः ॥

९ असतश्चान्तराले यच्छब्दोनास्तीति मन्यते ।
प्रतिपत्तुरशक्तिः सा तद्ग्रहणोपाय एव सः ॥

१० शुद्धस्योच्चारणे स्वार्थः प्रसिद्धो यस्य गम्यते ।
स मुख्य इति विज्ञेयो रूपमात्रनिबन्धनः ॥

११ यस्त्वन्यस्य प्रयोगेण यत्नादिव नियुज्यते ।
तमप्रसिद्धं मन्यन्ते गौणार्थाभिनिवेशिनम् ॥

From the quotations Nos. 1, 2 and 6 it is clear that the Saṃgraha was not entirely metrical as is generally supposed.

"THE SETUTATVACANDRIKĀ OR A NEWLY-DISCOVERED SANSKRIT COMMENTARY ON THE PRAKRITA EPIC, THE *DAHAMUHAVAHA* OR THE *RĀVAṆAVAHA*."

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Importance of finding out "noticed" Mss. and discovering new ones.

Sir George A. Grierson in his most interesting and informative article on "the Eastern School of Prakrit grammarians and Paiśācī Prakrit", published in the Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Volume III Orientalia, Part 2 (pp. 119 ff), while referring to Rāmaśarman's mention of the works of Laṅkeśvara, the author of the Prakrit grammar entitled *Prākṛta-Kāmadhenu* and of a commentary thereon called *Prākṛta-laṅkeśvara*, notices only of the manuscripts of which are found in Rājendralāl Mitra's "Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts" (Vol. IX, Nos. 3157, 3158) wrote in a foot-note (p. 120) thus:—

"It is greatly to be regretted that these manuscripts, of which full descriptions are given in the *Notices*, cannot now be traced. They are of importance for the history of Prakrit studies in Bengal, and I would urge that those who are more fortunately situated than I am should endeavour to find their present possessors."

But the discovery of a manuscript, though not of a Prakrit grammar or of a commentary thereon, but of the very well-known Prakrit epic (written in Māhārāṣṭrī), the *Dahamuhavaha*, also otherwise called the *Rāvaṇavaha* or

the *Setubandha* with a hitherto unknown Sanskrit commentary on the same, will certainly, it may be expected, throw some light on Prākṛta scholarship in Bengal during the 17th century A. D.

The study of Prākṛta in the 17th century A. D.

A brief notice of this newly discovered manuscript is being placed to-day before this learned assembly of oriental scholars. We have learnt that by command of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar, Rāmadāsa composed in 1596 A. D. the Sanskrit commentary, *Rāmasetupradīpa* on the *Setubandha* and that Śivanārāyaṇadāsa brought out a Sanskrit rendering in metrical verses of the same Prakrit epic by command of the next Emperor, Jahāngir. During, however, the next Moghul Emperor, Shāhjahān's time when persecution on Hindu temples was not uncommon, we could not very much expect royal encouragement of the cultivation of Hindu literature written in Sanskrit and Prakrit. But yet we know that numerous Hindi poets like Tulsī Dās and Bihārị Lāl flourished during that time. So it may not appear to us a matter of great wonder that in Bengal there were scholars at the time who seriously studied the Sanskrit and Prakrit literature of India. According to the opinion of Sir George A. Grierson the two Eastern Prakrit grammarians, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya, belonged probably to the 17th century A. D., and as these grammarians of the Vararuci School quoted, amongst other works, from Pravarasena's *Setubandha* also, there can be no doubt that this Pārkṛta epic (though composed earlier than the 7th century A. D.) was not at all forgotten but largely studied by Eastern Indian and specially Bengali scholars of the 17th century A. D. Our discovery of this manuscript will aptly bear out this view.

Description of the Ms. Its contents.

This new manuscript written on country-made paper is just 282 years old. Its size is about $15\frac{1}{4}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. It has altogether 113 folia. The character in which it is written is Bengali. Its appearance is worn-out and except in the first few pages where the writing is partly effaced and the corners of the pages here and there torn off, it is, to our good luck, well preserved. The hand-writing is excellent. It contains on every page, in the middle, in four lines of uniformly larger script the original Prakrit text of the *Dahamuhavaha* with occasional insertion of different readings on the top and bottom sides, but without any *chāyā* in Sanskrit. Above and below the text, generally, we find written in smaller script (apparently in the same ink and by the same person) a commentary in Sanskrit prose, composed or compiled by an anonymous commentator, complete up to verse 80 (wrongly counted as 79 as in the Ms.) of Canto XV at folio 111, where the poet finished describing the death of Rāvaṇa. The last two folio *viz* 112 and 113 contain, therefore, only the text of the last verse 81—94 of Canto XV and the Ms. closes with a colophon which runs thus:—

‘ इअ चाहुआण-राअ-सिरि-पमरसेनस्स दहमुहवहे महाकव्वे
रावणवहसणो पणरहो आसासओ परिसमत्तो ॥
राअसिरि-पवरसेण-विरइए रावणवहे महाकव्वाम्मे दसमुहवहसणो
पणरहो आसासओ परिसमत्तो ॥ श्रीदुर्गा ॥
वसु-रिउ-सर-विहु-साए बाहुल-मासम्मि सिरि-षीसणाहेण ।
लिहिअं सोमदिनाम्मि पुणं रावणवह-सणाअं कव्वं ॥”

“ Here ends the 15th Canto called the Rāvaṇavaha in the *Mahākāvya*, the Dahamuhavadha, of Śrī-Pavarasena, a Cāhuāna King. (or) Here ends the 15th Canto entitled

the Dasamuhavaha in the *Mahākāvya,* the Rāvaṇavaha, composed by King, Śrī-Pavarasena. (And) the auspicious (or the complete) *kāvya,* called the Rāvaṇavaha was written (or copied) on (*a*) Monday in the month of Bāhula (Kārttika) in the Śaka year marked by the Vasus (8), the seasons (6), the arrows (5) and the moon (1) *i. e.* in 1568 Śaka by Vīsaṇāha (Viśvanātha)". The scribe begins the copy of the text with the words, " ओं नमः शिवाय " "Salutation to Śiva", but the beginning of the commentary contains no such invocation, nor does it have any description or even the name of the commentator.

Its discovery. The Ms. now a property of the Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi.

This Ms. was found along with many Sanskrit Mss. in the house of a Brahman Pandit in the Tangail Sub-division of the District of Mymensingh in the Presidency of Bengal. Himself not being able to indentify it, probably because the language of the text was Prakrit, the Pandit requested a fellow Pandit, a relative of his, either to indentify it himself, or to get it identified by any other scholar. Fortunately the latter brought it down, sometime in 1916, to Dacca to my friend Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M. A., Curator of the Dacca Museum, who was successful in identifying it and on his sending information to me and his offering as to whether I could purchase it on behalf of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, I unhesitatingly did so, becauee I thought that this excellent and valuable Ms. would certainly be an acquisition to the Mss. Library of that Society. I am at present engaged in a serious study of both the Prakrit text and the most important but unfortunately anonymous Sanskrit commentary.

Viśvanātha—the scribe and his date. Is he author of the Setutatvacandrikā? Probably not. The date of this ṭīkā, in our opinion, to be plaeed before 1596 A.D.—the date of Rāmadāsa's ṭīkā.

From the colophon stated above we learn that the scribe's name was Viśvanātha who finished preparing the Ms. in 1568 Śaka *i. e.* 1649 A. D. The invocation to Śiva at the commencement of the text and the mention of the name of Durgā at its end make us believe that the scribe was a devotee of Śiva and Durgā. I have not yet found it possible to identify this Bengali scribe, Viśvanātha. But from an examination of his composition in Prākṛta of a very correct use mentioning his own name and date, it appears certain that he was himself a Prakrit scholar. In this connection a question may arise as to whether Viśvanātha himself was the author of the Sanskrit *ṭikā* found in this Ms., which seems to be almost a compilation made with the help of a number of Sanskrit commentaries (named or referred to in it) which the author could collect for his consultation at the time. The extreme correctness of the copy (with very slight omission of a letter or two in some places) both of the text and the *ṭikā* lends weight to such a suggestion, and I may add that such a view may, to some extent, appear evidently true from the fact that Viśvanātha mentions no where in the Ms. the name of the commentator, who only concludes the commentary on Canto VII at folio 42 with the name of the *ṭikā* in the colophon, "इतिरावणवध-सेतुतत्त्वचन्द्रिकायां सप्तमः आश्वासः"—"here ends the seventh Canto of the commentary, *Setutatvacandrikā*, on the *Rāvaṇavadha.*" This is, by the way, the only place where occurs the name of the *ṭikā.* A glance, moreover, at the Ms. may prove that Viśvanātha first copied the original Prakrit text noting down occasional side-words showing different *variae lectiones* and

afterwards copied the *ṭīkā* making it fit in with the spaces already occupied by the text and the different readings. The length of the commentary was not, as it cauld not be, everywhere uniform, some verses requiring more elaborate explanation than others. These arguments may lead one to believe that probably Viśvanātha himself compiled the *Setutatvacandrikā.* His later date (1646 A. D.) and his want of knowledge of the earlier Sanskrit commentary of Rāmadāsa who himself stated its date of composition to be 1596 A. D., but which is not found mentioned or referred to in this new commentary, stand in the way of our accepting such a theory. But has not the commentator quoted from at least five other previous commentators by name and referred to the opinion of some others by such expressions as इति केचित्, इति एके, इति अपरे, इति, प्राञ्चः and इति नव्याः ? What can, then, be the cause of his omitting the name of Rāmadāsa? My learned friend Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee of the Calcutta University was once arguing with me stating that the omission of Rāmadāsa's name by Viśvanātha was probably due to the fact that he himself composed this *ṭīkā* before the advent of Rāmadāsa's commentary into Bengal. But Bengal was very intimately connected at that time with the central government at Delhi and Agra. Neither did the composer of the new *ṭīkā* mention by name Kṛṣṇa who, we know, wrote a Sanskrit commentary called *Setuvivaraṇa.* This was probably because Kṛṣṇa was a Southerner or was posterior to him. He has not also drawn anything from the *Setusaraṇī* of Śivanārāyaṇadāsa of Jahāngīr's time. I, therefore, hold the view that the composition of this new commentary must be dated long before 1596 A. D. the date of Rāmadāsa, who, we believe, made use of it while composing his own.

Pravarasena, the author of the epic—a cāuhāna (?) King (?)

I am unable to understand another point mentioned in the colophon of the text, *viz.*, that king Pravarasena was a Cāuhāṇa. Pravarasena, the author of the *Rāvaṇavaha* is known by historians to be a king of Kashmere. There were kings of the same name in the Vākaṭaka dynasty also. But have we ever heard of any king of this name as belonging to the Cauhāna dynasty ? I don't know if historians can trace any king of that dynasty before the 12th century A. D. We know, on the contrary, that the author of the epic must have been anterior to King Harṣa's time, as the latter's court poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers clearly to this work in one of the introductory verses (v. 14) of the Harṣacarita.

The two printed editions of the epic—(a) a German edition of Goldschmidt, and (b) the Bombay edition of Śivadatta and Kāśināth.

It is known to scholara that this Prakrit epic was first edited in 1880 –84 at Srassburg by the great German Orientalist, Goldschmidt, who in his learned introduction made mention of several Mss. both of the text and the *ṭīkās* then existing in different Indian and European libraries which he used for his edition. In that edition he has largely drawn from the northern recension of Rāmadāsa and the southern of Kṛṣṇa and also from the Sanskrit metrical rendering called *Setusaraṇī* of Śivanārāyaṇadāsa The book was afterwards edited with Rāmadāsa's commentary and published at Bombay in the Kāvyamālā series by Pandit Śivadatta and Kāśinātha in 1895.

Some important literary features of this new Ms.

We have stated above that Goldschmidt referred to two recensions, northern and southern, of the Prakrit original, the first followed in Rāmadāsa's commentary adn

the second in Kṛṣṇā's. Although our Ms. in its *ṭīkā* portion does not quote from either Rāmadāsa or Kṛṣṇa, yet almost all the different readings that can possibly be had from their recensions are found in it which, besides, contains many novel readings incorporated either in the body of the text as prepared by Viśvanātha or in his marginal notes and they have also been explained or discussed in the *Setutatvacandrikā*. It will be clear to scholars on comparison of the texts as published both in the German and Bombay editions with the text of the Tangail Ms., that Viśvanātha, or any of his predecessors in all probability, made use of the Southern recension as the basis of his text, but his acquaintance with the Northern recension can also be inferred from the marginally noted readings which can only be had from that recension. The *ṭīkā*, however appears to have been based largely on the Northern recension with discussion of many readings obtainable from the Southern. We cannot enter at this stage of our study of this Ms. into details on this point. This is one of the most important features of this Ms. The words of the text are found punctuated throughout by dots and bars marked on the top of the words to the great advantage of the readers. It also mentions in the colophon at the end of each canto the subject-matter or topic treated in it. Let us now close this small paper by recording the names of the several commentators flourishing in Indian scholarly circle before Viśvanātha's time, hitherto unknown to scholars of modern days, which have either been mentioned or referred to in this commentary. The commentator who has been most largely and repeatedly quoted in this *ṭīkā* is **Kulanātha;** the second in order of largeness and repitition of quotations comes **Lokanātha,** the

third being **Śrīnivāsa**. The fourth and the fifth previous commentators discovered upto now in the *ṭīkā* (for I have not yet finished deciphering the whole of its text are Sāhasāṅka and **Harṣapāla**. The names of the commentaries composed by these five *ṭīkākāras* do not, however, occur in our Ms. We have mentioned before that this new commentary, besides quoting from these five has referred to the views of a host of other recent and old commentators without mentioning their names.

Previous commentators named in the Setutatvacandrikā.

From Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum three commentators only *viz.* Kulanātha, Rāmadāsa and Kṛṣṇa and a translator in Sanskrit verse of the text *viz.* Śivanārāyaṇdāsa could be known. But out of these, excepting Kulanātha, our Ms. makes no mention of the last three, though it mentions four other names *viz.* Śrīnivāsa, Lokanātha, Sāhasāṅka and Harṣapāla. Of these eight names, Srīnivāsa appears to us to be the earliest commentator, for we know from Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri's Report (p. 19) on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. (1895—1900) that a copy of this *ṭīkā* named *Setudarpaṇa* was made by one Ratneśvara in L. S. 321 *i. e.*, 1440 A. D. during the reign of Dhīrasiṃha of Mithilā (*vide* p. 33 of my friend Mr. B. K. Chatterji, M. A's article on Vidyāpati in the Calcutta University Journal of Letters, Vol. XVI). Kulanātha also is an old commentator, for the copy of his *ṭīkā* named *Dasamukhavadha?—Vivaraṇa*, in Bengali character noticed by Rājendralal Mitra (No. 1978, Vol. V., pp. 300—301) is dated 1457 Śaka *i. e.*, 1535 A. D. We know of no date for Kṛṣṇa's *ṭīkā* named *Setuvivaraṇa*, but Kṛṣṇa must be late commentator and he mentions in an introductory verse the fact that Pravarasena's work has previously

been commented upon by many a scholar, but yet the true meaning could not be made out in all cases.

Some months ago while engaged in studying this Ms. I was at first surprised to learn from the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College, Vol. VI, Kāvya Mss. (1903), p. 109 that No. 160 of this Catalogue was an anonymous Sanskrit commentary on the Prakrit epic, the *Setubandha* and that it was named *Setucandrikā*. By the courtesy of the Principal of that College I got a copy of a few pages of that work, but on examination of the same I find that unfortunately this *Setucandrikā* and our *Setucandrikā* are not identical, though the latter also is anonymous.

Conclusion.

So altogether we have the following list of commentators and commentaries on the *Rāvaṇavaha*:—

	(Authors' names).	(Names of commentaries.)	
1.	Śrīnivāsa	—*Setudarpaṇa*.	mentioned in the new Ms. (No. 6).
2.	Lokanātha	—name not known.	
3.	Sāhasāṅka	— " " "	
4.	Harṣapāla	— " " "	
5.	Kulanātha	—*Dasamukhavadha (?) vivaraṇa*.	
6.	Anonymous	– *Setutatvcandrikā*.	
7.	Rāmadāsa	—*Rāmasetupradīpa*.	Not mentioned in the new Ms. (No. 6.)
8.	Śivanārayaṇadasā	—*Setusaraṇī* (versified Sanskrit translation).	
9.	Kṛṣṇā	—*Setuvivaraṇa*.	
10.	Anonymous	—*Setucandrikā*.	

This is all that I can say for the present on the importance of this new Tangail Ms., containing a full Prakrit text of the *Dahamuhavaha* and a unique Sanskrit commentary named the *Setutatvacandrikā*, both of which I desire, by your blessings, to edit at a future date.

WIT AND HUMOUR IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

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In this paper it is porposed to deal with the comic element in general. In the earliest period the literature is tinged with devotion. There is hardly any scope or propriety for the writer to depict the lighter side of human life. If we turn our attention to the sacred books belonging to different religions, it will be discovered that they are singularly free from comic sentiments.

The reason is obvious : when people begin to think of God, Soul and immortality, laughter melts away automatically. Men grow serious whenever they are engaged in search of first principles. We laugh heartily when we witness a person falling flat on the ground (along with the chair that is unsteady) immediately after taking seat. Our laugh would be pure if we did not know that the chair had no equilibrium : it would be tainted if we knew it before. But if a person considers the incident simply on a theoretic basis, he will find in it a demonstration of the law of gravity. Humour, therefore, arises from looking at a thing from a particular angle of vision which is more or less external. The moment we dive deep into the matter the thing loses most of its charm. The Eastern mind being more synthetic is prone to judge things in a more serious vein, while the analytical mentality of the West is naturally favourable to the growth of the comic. Both the ancient Greeks and Indians were equally religious. They belonged to the same stock, spoke allied languages, yet how different is their respective contribution to this sentiment ?

During the period of Ṛg-Veda people were by no

means pessimistic. Their very prayer is pregnant with worldly interest. In spite of this we meet with little genuine humour. They are rather free with their deities and occasionally give us a few witty remarks. In the dialogue between the King and Urva´ī, the latter remarks न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता. Here undobtedly there is a sly humour, still there is an element of gravity and straightforwardness in it. A Grecian poet would have either put these words in the mouth of the King or modified the expression to mean, 'only fools would trust that the guiles of women are faithful representation of their hearts'. Comic sentiment is, at times, produced by twisting a simple statement into something awkward or unusual. In this Vedic people were deficient.

The description of sages performing a sacrifice represents another variety of humour in which the association of widely divergent things produces mirth. Ordinarily no one would compare a frog with a priest. One is the symbol of ugliness and impurity, the other represents stateliness and purity ; one is looked down with contempt, the other is looked upon with feelings of reverence. Even their croakings produce diametrically different thoughts. The resemblance is only outward or physical, *viz.* the monotony and continuity of the sound. Indra's career is full of humourous incidents, for instance, while he is in the womb of the mother he thinks of issuing out through the unusual channel just to show his supernatural quality. With great difficulty he is dissuaded from the resolve by his elders. When he gets exhilarated with some drink he prattles like a tipsy fellow.

Then again there is a long dialogue between Vṛṣā-

kapāyī, Indra and his wife, rich with fantastic ideas. He being a popular deity the sages took liberty with him. This is not the case with Varuṇa or Śūrya.

During Brahmanic period we get more information about the life and customs of the people through several anecdotes that are quoted in support of some ritual or dogma. As materialism becomes rank we miss the fresh and wholesome atmosphere of the earlier epoch. Life was made more artificial and machine-like than ever. This had a vital reaction on the literature of those days. The comic sentiment suffered. The authors of Brāhmaṇa's appear to us to be extremely narrow-visioned, cunning and inactive in comparison with their predecessors. The story of Indra assuming sovereignty and the consequent approach of Gods to Indra and his wife is full of fun. Here the comic element would have been heightened by introducing some changes ; but the author is not composing the narrative with a view to amuse people. In another place Aśvins the celetial physicians want to learn the secrets of sacrifice. The lore is known only to one sage. Indra as usual threatens to cut off his head in case he reveals the sacred knowledge to them. The cunning Horsemen remove the human head and substitute one of the horse. He communicates the lore with that head on and then his original head is restored to him. The trick played is highly ingenious. Its value is reduced on account of its support and demand on the marvellous sentiment अद्‌भुतरस. More interesting still is the story of Cyavana and Aśvins. He asks his wife to tell them that they were imperfect and unprosperous. They could not guess the meaning. Their curiosity grew so strong that they agreed to rejuvenate her husband

in return for the solution of the enigmatic expression. The pledge was observed faithfully by Aśvins who played the same trick on Gods and won a place for themselves in sacrifice. The interest is purely human. It typefies the quest of knowledge which is deeply implanted in human nature. No wonder therefore that foolish people are often beguiled by rogues in this fashion. Sometimes clever people fall victim to this method of deception. Curiosity is nothing but indiscreet and immoderate hankering after knowledge. Generally it is a mild vice. Its consequences are sometimes disastrous. This incident reminds us of Eve, Paradise and the tree of knowledge. The serpent is simply the projection of a certain attitude or habit of human heart. It is stronger in women, that is why Eve succumbed to it. It is the folly or inferiority of one party to the other that raises laughter and signifies the conquest of ignorance by wit. Humour might be divided into three groups. In one we laugh, our laughter being tainted with fear, malice, hatred or disgust. In the second group we laugh but learn little or nothing. In the last we not only laugh but learn something that makes us wiser, better. The deception of Aśvins by Cyavana and that of the Gods by Aśvins are illustrations of the last group. Our mirth is untainted and wholesome. It points to a moral.

The writings of those whose profession is to scoff at religion, philosophy and social conventions fall under either the first or second group. The Dramas of Ibsen, Diderot's Ramue's nephew, and the versified texts of Cārvāka school are examples of this type. The first and third are positively dangerous to the society, while the 'Nephew' will make us laugh till our sides ache, with the mannerisms

and mimicries, but in the end the good part is swallowed up by the evil one, leaving behind utter moral blank. It is harmless A man who is not committed to any dogma or doxy is far better than one having definitely hostile views concerning all current doxies. Raillery is a good weapon to pull down one's opponent. Founders and propagators of religions and different schools of thought in fine arts and politics often depend upon it. The worst and bitterest satires are either political or religious, because the devil in man reigns supreme when his worldly or spiritual interest is affected. Whenever people having different civilizations begin to read the literature of each other, they find much that is plain and simple to others becoming quite amusing for themselves. The description of the Gods of Hindu pantheon, their birth, personal appearance and activities might supply a European with abundant material for joking The conception of God that he has is quite different. He naturally looks at them without any reverence. He judges them as one would do one's ancient predecessors about whom very little is known. An orthodox Hindu would not be able to appreciate the humour, on the contrary he would get angry and feel he is injured. It is a dangerous game as the example of 'Raṅgīlā Rasūl' clearly shows. This variety is based upon the ignorance and want of sympathy of one party for the beliefs of others.

In Upaniṣadic days also we meet with certain dialogues and situations that are amusing. Take the case of Jānaśruti and the swans passing over his balcony. In order to satisfy his thirst of knowledge he is willing to part with any thing, but the shrewd Raikva would not accept anything less than the hand of the King's daughter in

return for the secret knowledge. Here is a curiosity directed to good purpose and therefore exhalted in its nature. The finest stroke of genius is that Raikva, who may be a Sūdra, dares address the King as अहहारेत्वाशूद्र (?).

Coming down to the epic period we find that the human interest has grown by leaps and bounds. Supernatural worlds recede into background. The divine element gets inextricably mixed up with the human. Man's life gets more complicated and varied. The wealth and diversity of legends in the Mahābhārata bear testimony to this fact. Let us take a few concrete cases of genial humour. Kaca, the son of the preceptor of the Gods approaches Śukra, the tutor of the Demons, as a disciple with a view to learn the secret of immoratality. He finds that the best way to wring out the secret from Śukra is to win the heart (not as a lover) of his only daughter Devayānī. The Demons foresee the result and try to prevent it. In the end however he accomplishes his object. Then comes the parting scene and Devayānī implores Kaca not to desert her, reminding him of the obligations she had bestowed upon him. The comedy is that all attempts to destroy him prove in the end so many steps helping him onwards in the task. Conversely each attempt of the maiden to save the life of her lover ultimately leads her to keen disappointment. She is befooled by her own actions. We laugh and at the same time sympathise with her lot. In this she may be compared with Malvolio in Twelfth Night. It is the pure type of humour. We admire the many sterling qualities of Kaca in spite of the little trick he plays. The deception is so perfect that we forget its ethical value and have no heart to condemn him. Human nature is so constituted that it is impossible to

conceive any society free from such harmless tricks. A sane moralist will wisely wink at it. The relation of brother and sister that Kaca establishes between himself and the máiden shows his wit. The West might declare him 'callous' and dub him 'unchivalrous', its outlook being different. Supernatural element in the story is quite appropriate to the 'setting'.

The anecdote of the ram having for its parallel the conjugal life of King Yayāti is also funny. The King has his counter part Cyavana of the earlier period so far as rejuvenation is concerned. Both may be ultimately traced back to the sun growing decrepit in winter at the end of every year. One can enjoy the story better if he is ignorant of its origin. This is a sort of 'Pathetic fallacy' in the province of humour. The career of Śikhaṇḍin may be compared with that of Kaca. Both are humourous on account of the situation : dialogue is subordinated to it. We might believe full well that 'She-he' did not know what the consummation of marriage meant. Under these circumstances Śikhaṇḍin meets his spouse on the first night. What a mock tragi-comedy is here ! How wonderfully worked by the intrigue of the queen ! The riddle of she marrying another she was solved with the help of the supernatural and the logical tragic consequences were averted. This is certainly a drawback. Poor Yakṣa had to keep himself indoors for shame till Śikhaṇḍin's death.

The early boyhood of Aśvatthāman presents to us a simple picture of a child's jolly life and ignorance which is a real bliss. His spirit becomes buoyant and he begins to dance with wild glee on drinking the mixture of rice powder and water believing it to be milk. The

humour is innocent with a touch of the pathetic. Both are blended together with the greatest artistic skill. Little does he suspect that his mother had cheated him. He has no idea of the effects of poverty on daily life. Here also there is an element of harmless deception. We pass on to the ichneumon half of whose body was of gold as a result of staying in the house of a pious and poor sage. In the course of Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Dharma it makes its appearance and mocks at the grand pageant. It is all a farce, a mere show, hollow and unsubstantial at bottom. Our laughter is mixed with surprise, bitterness and disappointment. It makes us uneasy. An unexpected shock is given to our feelings because our normal standard of measuring the value of things is dislocated. Rājasūya entails such a vast displacement and labour that we think its merit must be the greatest. The result is quite different. There are a number of invectives hurled by Duryodhana at Dharma and Kṛṣṇa. We might quote one

यस्य धर्मध्वजो नित्यं सुराध्वज इवोत्थितः ;
प्रच्छन्नानि च पापानि वैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ।

The two banners (emblems) one of the religion and the other of the wine shop, are cleverly brought together. A virtuous man would be the last person to make a show of his piety and attract the attention of the public. It is only possible in a fraudulent person who makes piety a regular trade with a view to earn money. He must catch the guileless people with external symbols : ashes, rosary, kuśā grass etc. What about the life of such a person ! His sins are to be as carefully covered as his piety is exposed. He must put on the garb of perfect innocence. This attitude is well represented in the silent

and still posture of the cat waiting for its prey.

Nahuṣa and Indrāṇī episode is another example of humour due to situation. It is tragic. The newly appointed Indra is eager to meet old Indrāṇī. He violently orders the sage to quicken his pace, kicking him at the head. Such is his intrepid and burning lust! Headlong he rushes to his doom. He gets the wages of sin. We are reminded of the Biblical phrase. 'He shall hurl down the mighty from their seats and exalt them of low degree.' Birth of Karṇa is due to the same indiscriminate curiosity that prompted Eve to pluck the fruit. The Indian Eve had to suffer a good deal for it. The raillery of Draupadī and Bhīma in Maya-Sabhā is ingenious and full of wit. The bewildered and confused movements of Duryodhana through the various parts of the building suggest the course of his whole life. It is strewn with pit-falls all over. Now his head would meet a stone wall or a pillar, at another time he would plunge himself in a bogus pond only to fall flat on the ground. There is a series of accidents each closely following the other. His rivals taunt him with choice words (son of a blind man etc.) and laugh without restraint. There is a malice in it. If Duryodhana were their friend it would have been all right. We cannot be so free, for it is painful. The intimations of ugly future hover round our mind in a faint manner. We are more grave than jolly. The murder of Kīcaka in the capital of the King of Virāṭa gives a combination of the terrible and the humourous. This stands on a higher level than the fall of Nahuṣa inasmuch as the supernatural interest is totally absent. There is pathos in the incident. The place and time of the rendezvous are cunningly selected. The approach and

the wooing of the passionate and haughty lover send through us an extraordinary thrill. Our laughter is smothered, choked within us. Then follows a struggle grim and great at dead of night. How silently is the whole plot worked up ! We owe the wonderful situation to patience and meekness on the part of the heroine. Mock wooing tends to produce mock humour. If Kīcaka were simply a Sir Toby he would have given us a less serious comedy. It will be noted that almost every type of humour displayed in the epic carries a moral with it. In fact the moralistic vein is more marked. Life is looked upon as a tiny fragment in infinite series. The West on the contrary has a different outlook. They can look upon the short span of humon course as one complete whole, detached from the past and future. This is due to their analytical bent. That is why Carlyle is awfully serious to the average mind in the West.

Let us now examine the works of Sanskrit Dramatistsa. Kālidāsa is at his best in Mālavikāgnimitra. It is a pure comedy tending towards farce. The dialogue in the first Act is a master piece. Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta the royal musicians are apparently goaded on to quarrel by Vidūṣaka. Both are chafing and fretting. The elder queen when called upon to adjudicate their claims becomes nervous and full of jealous thoughts. Her womanly instincts at once smell something nauseous. She tries to sound the female ascetic who is in the camp of the queen's rivals. She dare not speak out her own mind to the king and put a check to the procedure. Even Gaṇadāsa, her protege, does not understand her and gets excited. The fool, the king and the ascetic feign

ignorance and act like simple-minded beings. She is caught unawares. She wriggles hard to escape but in vain. All retreats are rigorously blocked. She has to yield at last. It is her desperate resistance that heightens the comic, even as it does the tragic under the different circumstances. The fool's contention, that the musicians are paid fat salaries with a view to give the Court occasional fight shows, is humorous and at the same time logical. Not a word is there without any significance. The younger queen is haughty, vain, intelligent and full of wits. Her position in the Drama is such that we get sharp satire from her. Under more favourable conditions her performance would have been genial and mild.

Owing to Indian conception of womanhood current in those days it was difficult for a maiden to show the flash of genius. Hence we notice little vivacity of spirit, sportfulness and gaiety in a heroine, who is awaiting her match. She is like a doll managed by the owner. Her companions are endowed with all these qualities in abundance. A virtuous maiden was expected to cultivate the supreme quality of shyness which was looked upon as her greatest ornament. Fortunately married women were allowed greater liberty. Compare Śakuntalā of first three Acts with that of the fifth. Irāvatī uses her freedom with a vengeance. When the king enquires whether Mālavikā's soul is aching she remarks अहो णादिकप्पाहिआओ अज्जउत्तो. The king tries to propitiate her, but such is her fury that she ridicules him and is on the point of giving him a graceful beating with her displaced girdle इअ पिहदासा तुम एव्व अणुसरदि. Owing to this violence the proposal of the fool to take recourse to जइघावल has no scope. The irony is, Irāvatī accepts it.

The trick of serpent-bite is executed with masterly skill by the fool who solemnly requests the king to take care of his mother after death. Nipuṇikā is not behind the fool in point of wit, she seeing him dosing while on duty as a sentinel remarks

भट्टिनि एसो दुवारुद्देसे समुद्दघरअस्स विपणिगदो विअ बलीवद्दो अज्जगोदमो आसीणो एव्व णिद्दाअदि

The smile excellently portrays the posture of the fool giving us at the same time a vivid idea of his idle and easy life at the court. It must be admitted in his defence however, that he was earning his bread by exercising his nimble brains on behalf of the king and at times his person was molested while he was discharging his duties. Not altogether an envious position! She conceives a capital joke to frighten the fool. The serpentine rod is thrown upon his body. It creates such a ferment and confusion that the secret of serpent-bite leaks out unconsciously from him. We wish the dramatist had given us a pitched battle of words between Nipuṇikā and the fool. It would have been a feast right royal. She outfools the fool here. When at last her elder queen hands over Mālavikā to the king, he shows signs of shyness. On this the fool remarks

भोदि एसो लोअव्ववहारो सव्वो णववरो लज्जादुरो होदि

This last touch is fascinating. The king is a new bridegroom indeed, every time that he marries a new star. The whole piece from end to end is profusely enriched with such light bubbles.

In Vikramorvaśīya and Śakuntalā the plot does not allow him to keep in the same strain. He becomes more serious. Lear's tragic suffering and the subsequent derangement may be fitly compared with that of

Purūravas. Both are fully conscious of their dignity *cf.* वृथा खलु मया मनसः संतापवृद्धिरुपेक्ष्यते यदा मुनयोऽपि एवं व्याहरन्ति राजा कालस्य कारणम्'... अथवा न प्रत्यादिशामि यत्प्रावृषेण्यैरेव चिह्नैर्मम राजोपचारः संप्रति. Both have brought upon their heads the misfortune by their own folly. Both are more sinned against their sinning. The mock trial in Lear has its counterpart in the deception of the king. In both sanity projects itself into insanity, producing an effect half comic, half tragic. Above all this is in perfect harmony with the laws of psychology. If the fool had attended the king and thrown in a few words by way of comment as is done in Lear the dramatic effect would have been marvellous. The want is partly supplied by Prākṛta songs. His very voice mockingly lures him on to disappointment and misery *cf.* सर्वक्षितिभृतां नाथ दृष्टा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी . रामा रम्ये वनान्तेऽस्मिन्मया विरहिता त्वया

The last act, however, comes in as a sudden surprise. Nothing can be more dragging and dreary than it. This is due to the shackles of convention that disfigure Art everywhere.

Ratnāvalī belongs to the same class as Mālavikāgnimitra. Its humour is pretty. The fool is somewhat dull-witted. Vāsavadattā is a replica of Irāvatī. The chatter of Sārikā is likened by the fool to the chant of vedic verses sung by a learned Brāhmaṇa, an improvement on the vedic simile of frogs. We might be sure that with the progress of the science of music there was a change in the method of singing holy Mantras. Kings, accustomed to listen to soft and delicate voice of the courtezans during the classical period, must have dispensed with the services of croaking and droning priests. The fool like an orthodox Brāhmaṇa that he is, becomes angry at the encroachment upon the

privileges of his clan committed by the bird who is doubly incompetent being a women of an out-caste tribe. Susaṅgatā the friend of Ratnāvalī befools completely the king and the fool. This is the converse of the fool frightening Mālavikā with the object of pleasing his master. The disguise intrigue hatched by Sāgarikā is cleverly frustrated by the queen. The king thinking he is courting his fiance unreservedly pours out his heart before Vāsavadattā, the queen. The fool being off his guard, takes to mud slinging *cf.*

भोदि साअरिए वीसद्धा भविअ पिअवअस्सं आलावेहि । अज्जविदाव से णिच्चरुट्ठाए देवीए वासवदत्ताए दुव्वअणेहिं कडुइदाइं सोत्ताइं संपदं सुहावेदु तुह महुरवअणवअणासो

This wanton assault brings the nemesis. The king is indeed above the law. He can only be punished indirectly. So his fiance is carried off to the harem jail along with the fool. Mṛcchakaṭika covers a wider field. It introduces us to the gamblers, thieves, ambitious soldiers, hangers-on at the Court, merchants and public women. Farce, tragedy and comedy are all rolled into one in this play. We are glad to see ourselves moving amongst common people. Our interest in their fortune is naturally vital. The play abounds with wits and puns of all sorts. The pathos of innocent childhood is vividly painted with a few strokes. Rohasena is crying for a gold cart to play with, seeing the same in the house of a rich neighbour. On looking at Vasantasenā, he asks

रदणिए का एसा । रदनिका-जाद अज्जआ दे जणणी भोदि रोह रदणिए अलिअं तुमं भणासि जह अम्हाणं अज्जआ। जणणी ता कीस अलंकिदा । वसन्त० जाद मुद्धेण मुहेण अदिकरुणं मन्तोसि......रोह० अवेहि णगोह्रिस्सं रोदसि तुमं.

The dialogue shows his power of observation. He has the good sense to understand that there is something

awkward with regard to the gift of ornaments made by the heroine, who was shedding tears. Straight-way he rejects it. What splendid sacrifice is here! In a way his obstinacy and weeping lead us to Aśvatthāman crying for milk The fool is not a mere hanger-on but a devoted friend as in King Lear. Saṃvāhaka the gambler installs himself in a statueless temple in the place of the deity marching into it with feet turned the other way to elude the pursuit of his creditors. But with the first tinkle of dice his gambling spirit is up and he cannot help crying ग्ग मम पाठ. Such is the force of habit. Śakāra with his mock heroic expressions supplies sufficient material for horse laughter which is easy to invoke. The dramatist has simply to put certain facts and statements which are obviously incongrucous into the mouth of aridiculous character. This kind of laughter is mainly intended to placate the groundings who form the bulk of the audience. It is his duty to see that they do not go away from the theatre sullen and discontented. Kuntī running away from Rāvaṇa and the monkey god forcibly carrying off Subhadrā illustrate this. Note that Śakārā's courtship in the first Act is quite regular. He complains of the burning sensation in the heart caused by passion. He talks of sleepless nights. He describes her manifold charms and excellences to his companion. The jingling noise of her anklets in the course of her flight captivates his heart. Finally as a noble lover he offers the best thing he possesses to the heroine in exchange for the pleasure of her company. How excellent is the parody! So vain and empty-headed is he that he has the audacity to identify himself with god Vāsudeva. This must have suggested to Bāṇa the following expression when discours-

ing on the evils of wealth and power मनसा दैवताध्यारोपणा-प्रतारणाद्सद्भूतसंभावनोपहताश्चान्तःप्रविष्टापरभुजद्वयमिवात्मबाहुयुगलं संभावयन्ति। He becomes grim and cruel when his wooing falls flat. The garden scene in the 8th Act is the continuation of the same type of courtship. It is conventional for the hero to brood on his lady love in the company of his confidante after the first interview. Vasantasenā is enshrined in his heart. He forgets, however, to allude to his emaciated form, sleepless nights, the southern breeze loaded with exciting fragrance and the five flowery arrows of cupid. Probably he is incapable of subtle hypocrisy. We wish, however, that he should have given less of plain foolery and added something to our knowledge of the love sick condition of his heart. He, doubtless, gives us new information about the method of improving our vocal music, but then he does not sing of the afflictions due to love. He is not altogether without understanding. When Viṭa brings the report of a demoness after talking with the heroine he exclaims:

भावे भावे जइ लक्खशी पडिवशादि ता कीशगा तुमं भूशेदि अथ धोले सा किं तुमं ग भक्खिखदे

When he sees her, he behaves like a genuine lover. Prostration and declaration of voluntary servitude are duly executed. He displays simple cunning by advising his servant to kill her having covered her body with a sheet in order to escape the notice of divine witnesses. This is perfectly in keeping with his purely physical conception of the Universe. Pseudo religion resorts to such mean tricks to deceive the gods and friends. He can be matched against Cloten in 'Cymbeline'. He will certainly emerge victorious in the contest. Both are spurned and insulted by their fiances ; both are haughty, vain and cowardly.

Greatness is thrust upon both as a result of their royal connection which they vaunt in an out of season ; both resolve to take revenge on their fiances in different ways ; both are made of gross earth. But Cloten is simple foolish, nothing while Śakāra is something more. He has a Protean mind that assumes countless forms and a wayward fancy that mystifies. There is something infinite, transcendental in him, which makes him a cousin of Hamlet. Cloten lacks this and therefore fails. Śakāra is a through cynic mocking and rediculing everything in the world not excluding himself *e. g.* शुदं अ मए ने वि किल शत्तु वावाद अन्तं पेक्खदि तश्श अग्गिश्शिं जम्मन्तले अक्खिलोगे न होदि

Obviously a nice fling at the superstious beliefs of the people espicially of the Brahmana period as the word शुदं signifies. When he seeing a huge procession gathered to witnesss the execution of Cārudatta wonders. हॅा हॅा एदाह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह वज्झं णीअमाणाह एवड्ढे जणशम्मद्दे जं वेलं अम्लीलशे पवले नलमणुश्शे वज्झं णीअदि तं मेलं कीदिशं भवे

A rare faculty is this of looking upon one self objectively ! Such novel jokes endear him to the reader as well as the audience.

The somnambulistic activity of the fool is unique in its conception. The coolness and ready wit of Sharvilaka, the robber, are admirable. Note how he warms his palm and quietly accepts the gift from the pious Brahmana. The fool has also some witty remarks exclusively reserved for the satisfaction of the groundlings. The sight of Vasantasenā's mother provokes his fancy. Observes he अहो से कडह डाइणीए पोट्टवित्थारो ता किं एदं पवेसिअ महादेवं विअ दुआरसोहा इह घरे णिम्मिदा On learning that the venerable mother is suffering from periodic fever he prays

भअवं चाउत्थिअ एविणा उवआरेण मं पि बम्हणं आलोएहि

The mother's death would be the gala-day for a thousand jackals says he hinting that she deserves early death. They must have enjoyed this immensely and roared at the top of their voice For the cultured he displays a subtle type of humour. When Cārudatta and the heroine are engaged in offering mutual apology for committing imaginary offences, he promptly interrupts them, preventing their further indulgence in euphemistic and courtly phrases for which he has no patience. भो दुवेवि तुम्हे सुखं पणमिश्र कलमकेदारा श्रयणोणं सीसेण सीसं समाश्रदा श्रहं पि इमिणा करह जाणुसरिसेण दुवेवि तुम्हे पसादेमि उठेध त्ति

Śūdraka can be fitly called the prince of iaughter He easily surpasses all Sanskrit dramatists and can claim kinship with Shakespere. We pass on to Mudrā—Rākṣasa a serious play. The interest in the play would have been greatly improved if the same theme had been handled by Śūdraka.

Here is an example of a drama spoiled by rigidty and terseness. It is too logical and polemic in its tone. Didactic element is too prominent and direct. He has apparently an axe to grind. This propaganda is always a serious handicap to the highest form of art. The moment an author becomes a moralist or a party to some propaganda he loses the sympathy of the reader and becomes a positive nuisance and a bore, if he carries his mission too far. That is why Browning palls on the mind of his readers. Viśākhadatta belongs to the same category. In the mass of grim political intrigues there are occasional flashes of light. When reporting how he came by the ring the spy observes. तस्साए करादो......विश्रलिश्रा इश्र अङ्गलिमुद्दिश्रा देहलीबन्धाम्मि पाडश्रा उद्दिदा ताए श्रणवबुद्धाँ एव्व मम चलणपासं समागच्छिश्र पणामीणहुदा कुलवहुविवाणच्चला संवुत्ता

The simile is supremely felicitous. The noiseless motion, timidity and coyness of a young bride are effectively superimposed upon the behaviour of the ring. The spy carpenter decorates the outer arch and informs Cāṇakya of it. The latter showers praise upon him assuring him दारुवर्मन् अचिरादस्य दाक्ष्यस्य फलमनुभविष्यसि The beauty of this ironical expression is half lost as it is reported. The dialogue between Kṣapaṇaka and Siddhārthaka is an attempt at humour. The lovely passage सावगा मुण्डिअमुण्डो णक्खत्ताइं पुच्छासि makes the failure not dishonourable. In other places it is dismal. His imagination retreats like the bashful bride when confronted with a comic situation.

Bhavabhūti who competes with Kālidās as a Dramatist, stands very low as a humourist. He is a great psychologist but shuns the province of humour. Naturally his scholarship becomes oppressive, his scientific dissection of the inner motives, intolerable. Nothing would have been lost if he had made Lava and Kuśa more childish instead of making them talk like scholars. This would have positively improved our interest in the play. There is only one oasis in the whole desert. When venerable Vasiṣṭha enters Vālmīki's hermitage with his wife and the queen dowager there is a stir in the student circle. Soudhātaki is struck at the awful majesty and the long beard of the old sage. His companion administers to him a sharp rebuke for using profane language. But Soudhātaki's childish curiosity is not to be so easily suppressed. Says he मए उण जाणिदं वग्घो वा विओ वा एसो गितेण पराविडदेण जेव सा वराइआ कल्लोडिआ मडमडाइदा

In Mālatī Mādhava he is not handicapped by a serious theme. The plot is imaginary ; but Mālatī is as stiff as Sītā. The hero is a veritable drone. She is so much

obsessed with the idea of maidenly etiquette that her youthful vivacity is completely killed. He seems to have taken an over dose of Logic and Philosophy. He proves by his actions and words that too much learning is also a dangerous thing. The scene in the 7th Act is full of great possibilities. The situation is quite humourous, yet the dramatist has mishandled it. Madayantikā's portrait is revolting. The vulgarity is sickening. This proves his inaptitude to delight the audience with innocent fun.

The supernatural element is too unwieldy. It does not add anything to our interest unlike Garbha-Nāṭaka in Uttararāmcarita. The play is like a puppet show with Kāmandakī as the wire-puller. It is exactly this wire-pulling that has made Mudrārākṣasa flat.

Veṇī-Saṃhāra stands on a higher level than the last two plays. The dialogue between Bhānumatī and her maid is being overheard by Duryodhana. The misinterpretation of the dream of the queen by Duryodhana is tragi-comic. The dialogue in the last Act between Dharma and Rākṣasa is based on misunderstanding and ignorance of the former. The time was critical. The whole issue was to be decided by the single combat between Bhīma and Duryodhana, who were equally matched. The result of the contest was of tremendous concern to Dharma. His anxiety was highly strung. No wonder therefore that he blindly gulps down with zeal the information brought by an eye witness. The spy's machiavellian craft succeeds too well with pious Dharma. The pair can be fairly matched with Iago and the Moor. Rākṣasa has all subtle and malicious cunning possessed by the villain of Shakespere. Dharma believes like Athello that all people

are like himself simple and straight. Both the villains pose as friends and benefactors of their victims. The spy artfully paves the ground प्रतिदिनसुलभस्वजनविनाशनेषु संग्रामेषु युष्मत्तो नादेयं सलिलादिकम् and then lays the trap अद्य तु बलवत्तया शरदातपस्य अपर्याप्तमेवावलोक्य गदायुद्धमर्जुनसुयोधनयोरागतोऽस्मि

After this follows the lamentation of Draupadī and Dharma. What an excellent mockery! The obsequies are sharply followed by the fierce embrace that Drama gives to his own brother in his mad fury. It is a just consummation to the whole show. The idea no doubt suggests a different type of embrace *viz.* Dhṛtarāṣṭra hugging the iron statue of Bhīma taking it to be the living personage. Compare Posthumous striking down Imogen his wedded lady in Cymbeline with this incident.

Bālarāmāyaṇa is an example of tinsel art, belonging to the period of decay in Sanskrit literature. The puns and jokes have nothing original in them. They are childish and ludicrous. The dramatic situations are borrowed from Bhavabhūti. Garbha-Nāṭaka is a sheer nonsence and the mechanical figure of Sitā is disgusting. Rāvaṇa's wailings, faints and deceptions are all to no purpose. He copies only the defects of Bhavabhūti in their worst form. There is plenty of Ābhāsa Śṛṅgāra which spoils the whole drama. In point of style he may be compared with Marlowe. There is reason to believe that the play was not meant for representation on the stage.

The shorter plays Prahasana, Bhāṇa and others are coarse and vulgar. Their obscenity is well known. They were written for the amusement of low people.

Sanskrit Dramatists had to follow certain rules and conventions. The result was they had to report many a

fascinating scenes and actions instead of showing them on the stage. This want of action is responsible for the loss of pretty wits and jokes. The play becomes more dignified but the interest wanes. For example Nandana courting his newly married wife, Makaranda personating Mālatī and the stout bride kicking him back in response at the first interview would be immensely delightful on the stage.

Mahākāvyas are stately and grave. The dialogue is rare, the major portion being in the form of a narrative. The form is too stiff and wooden to allow scope for light-heartedness. Their main purpose is description of seasons, sports, battles, cities and marriage festivals. The picnics and watersports with ladies are conventionally set forth. Genuine humour cannot be found there. Equally important are the moral and philosophic precepts with which the work is strewn all over. Out of 1600 verses of Śiśupālavadha we get a fine joke in one verse only, omitting of course the inferior pranks and phrases of the lovers

किमहो नृपाः सममभीभिरुपपतिसुतैर्न पञ्चभिः ।
वध्यमभिहतभुजिष्यममुं सह चानया स्थविरराजकन्यया ॥

Old royal maid is wonderfully suggestive and superb. Other Kāvyas show the same tendency.

Sanskrit literature has an inexhaustible fund of stray verses bearing on different topics. Owing to the flexible nature of words and their sense we have countless puns. Subtle and pure type of humour is not wanting. A particular mood is finely delineated under given circumstances. *cf.*

यथोर्ध्वाक्षः पिबत्यम्बु पथिको विरलाङ्गुलिः ।
तथा प्रपापालिकापि धारां वितनुते तनुम् ॥

In prose Bāṇa stands on a high pedestal. In subtle wit he is a match for any writer in the world's literature. It can be only enjoyed by the cultured. Let us see यस्मिन्ननवरतमृगयानिहतशेषवनहारिणप्रोत्साहितकृतसीताविप्रलम्भः कनकमृगो रात्रमतिदूरं जहार In Harṣa Carita he describes the mares rolling on saffrom fields with a view to win the love of the hors es of the Sun. The toilette is undertaken of course to enhance their beauty and power of attraction. This Coquetry raises the whole feminine world before our vision wiih all its blandishments, petty tricks, jealousies and nimble activities to hoodwink and capture the opposite sex.

The description of the old man in the temple of Caṇḍikā is a masterpiece of humour. To quote the most powerful phrase गृहीततुरगब्रह्मचर्यतयान्यदेशागतोषितासु जरत्प्रव्राजिकासु बहुकृत्वः संप्रयुक्तस्त्रीवशीकरणचूर्णेन The horse bachelorship is an excellent conception. This shows beyond doubt that deep and profound study of human nature is essential to create pure joy. Bāṇa is never boisterous or vulgar. The force of his humour and wit lies in the extraordinary calmness and tranquility of his writings silently working on our minds. His serenity is undisturbed. At the time of his first visit to the court of Harṣa he reveals this peculiar trait in his character. He levels down all malicious and wicked attacks on his gay and youthful conduct by one light stroke कामे भुजगंता.

Writers on dramaturgy and poetics have relegated Hāsya Rasa to an obscure place. It is no doubt subdivided into six kinds each depending upon the special physical reaction manifested by the face, hands and feet. Then again it is either caused by looking at others or oneself. These may be good, middling or low persons. This sort of theory is mathematical but of little practical utility. One can easily see that too much study of

grammatical science has made many a scholar unfit to appreciate what genuine humour is. In fact grammar dominates and warps their outlook giving rise to erroneous judgment in all departments of poetic criticism. They have lost sight of the fact that the sphere of grammar is strictly limited. They wax eloquent while treating the erotic and heroic sentiments, but for the humorous they have little interest. Mammaṭa cites the following illustration of Hāsya Rasa आकुञ्च्य पाणिमशुभं मम मूर्ध्नि वेश्या मन्त्राम्भसां प्रतिपदं पृषतैः पवित्रे । तारस्वनं प्रथितथूत्कमदात्प्रहारं हाहा हतोऽहमिति रोदिति विष्णुशर्मा ॥
We pity him for the blindness of vision, Jagannātha the greatest modern critic fares no better.

श्रीतातपादैर्विहिते निबन्धे निरूपिता नूतनयुक्तिरेषा ।
अङ्गं गवां पूर्वमहो पवित्रं न वा कथं रासभधर्मपत्न्याः ॥

The second example that he gives is superior अलेले सद्दः समुप्पाडिअ हरियकुसग्गन्धिमयाच्छमालापइवेत्तिविस्सम्मिअबालीचहवन्दः कअणा वम्हणा

Generally Hāsya comes in as a minor in the erotic or heroic. The reason is that the bulk of classical literature is written under royal patronage. The rigidity of the institution of caste must have surely narrowed the vision of the authors after the composition of the 'Clay Cart.' A humorist ought to possess breadth of outlook This can be acquired by a free intercourse with sundry grades of people following various pursuits in life. The. freshness, originality of description, vigour and human interests: these traits in Bāṇa's writing can be directly traced to the wide field of social contact that he enjoyed during his youthful days. We might make a similar remark about Śūdraka.

On the other hand those authors who remained aloof from the general public could give us nothing but conven-

tional and monotonous puns and jokes which were dubbed literary but were life-less and without any fragrance.

The sentiment of humour is very subtle in its nature. The qualities of head and heart are needed. It is easy to write a philosophic sermon. It is not difficult to rouse the feelings of love and mercy. Heroic spirit may be infused by using catchwords. But to produce pure and hearty laugh one must have a rare combination of virtues.

A humorist is a great social worker. He makes men wiser by his gentle and quiet ways while cheering and reviving their spirits. He purges their hearts of all that is base and unclean. He teaches them the art of life in this world. Humanity owes him much.

ŚAṄKARA AND THE UPNIṢADS.

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ॐ तत्सत् ॥

यदज्ञानान्महान्तोऽपि मोहिता अहितेहिताः ।
तत्प्रकाश-विधातारं तं वन्दे परमं गुरुम् ॥

Principal Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya of the Viśva-Bhārati has, during the last several years, made certain contributions[2] regarding the present subject. He holds such views as promise to shake the very foundations of the tradition. Other scholars[3], to most of whom he owes a good deal, have also expressed similar views, but not so profusely.

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1. प्रकाशोऽतिप्रसिद्धेऽपि ज्ञाने घोतप्रहासयोः ।

2. (a) "Sankara's commentaries on the Upanisads": Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol. III. ii. pp. 101—110;

 (b) "The Gaudapada-Karika on the Mandukya Upanisad": Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta (1922). pp. 439—461;

 (c) "The Mandukya Upanisad and Gaudapada Karikas": The Indian Historical quarterly, Calcutta, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1925 and No. 2, June 1925.

I have known nothing of his "Agamasastra of Gaudapada" so very often referred to in these three papers.

3. (a) Dr. Paul Deussen's "Philosophy of the Upanisads" (1908) and.

 (b) His "System of the Vedanta" (1912), both in English Translations;

 (c) Von Max Walleser's "Der Altere Vedanta" (My access has been confined to Dr. L. D. Barnett's note on it in the J. R. A. S. 1910, pp. 1361—1365, owing to my ignorance of any European language other than English).

 (d) Louis De La Vallee Paussin's "Buddhist Notes: Vedanta and Buddhism", *Ibid*, pp. 129—140.

 (e) Pandit Sridhara Sastri Pathaka's Sanskrit Summary of his paper on "The pada and Vakya Bhasyas of Kenopanisad": Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference. Poona (1919), Vol. I, pp. XCVIII—XCIX;

 (f) Sanskrit preface to the Svetasvataropanisad by the Anandasrama Sastris;

 (g) Surendranath Dasguptas "History of Indian Philosophy (1922), Vol. I, ch. X; etc.

In the sequel I will try to lay down, as literally as possible, the divergent ideas of these several scholars and mainly of the learned Principal, in so far as they are opposed to traditional or popular belief, and to assign their respective value according to the evidence available and accessible to me.

Part I.—Commentaries.

1. Let us start with "Śaṅkara's commentaries on the Upaniṣads." Mr. Bhaṭṭācārya says, — ......We have *strong reasons* to believe that some of the commentaries of the Upaniṣads which are said to be the works of the great Śaṅkara are really not so, as will be evident in the course of this paper.'"[1] This statement is to be examined in what follows.

A Peep into the Principles of Criticism.

2. Dr. Deussen has laid down the criticism for judging Śaṅkara's authorship of a particular work as follows:—

"His master piece is the commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras...... ......a safe standard by which the genuineness of the other works attributed to Śaṅkara, the minor writings, as well as the commentaries to the Upaniṣads, may subsequently be tested...... ......The commentaries published in the Bibl. Ind. (Vol. II., III, VII , VIII) *to Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Śvetāśvatara, Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya,* are handed down under Śaṅkara's name; it is remarkable that Kauśītaki is not among them [25 According to Weber he also commented on Kauśītakī; yet this statement must be erroneous]. Besides these he is said to have commented on *Atharvaśikhā Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya* and Atharvaśiras,'"[2]

1. p. 101, *vide cit supra* note 2 (a).
2. p. 37, *vide* n. 3 (b).

In another place he says, "The commentaries, however, on the eleven Upaniṣads named are to be attributed in part probably not to Śaṅkara himself, but merely to his school, since the explanations given in the Upaniṣad commentaries *often fail to agree* with those in the commentary on the Sūtras."[1]

From these quotations it is clear that, in Deussen's opinion, Śaṅkara's authorship of certain Upaniṣad commentaries may be discredited merely on the basis of their failure to agree with the Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya. But the latter which he styles as a "safe standard" is, according to his own view, not genuine, as would appear from his following words:—

"Śaṅkara's commentary has, there is reason to believe suffered many interpolations, particularly in the first part ....additions from a foreign hand..................commenting on Praśna 5, 5."[2]

That such verdicts, based as they are on subjective grounds more than on objective ones, are bound to be arbitrary will be illustrated by Professor Deussen's criticism on Śaṅkara's double interpretation of the Ānandamayādhikaraṇa.[3] It will not be here out of place to quote, in its connection, the last paragraph of the fifth section under Chapter IX of the same book, where he says:—

"Either the latter interpretation is due to a later interpolator, not to Śaṅkara, in which case the commentary to the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad also must not be attributed to

1. p. 30, *vide* n.3(a).
2. pp. 28—29, *vide* n. 3(b).
3. *Brahmasutras I. i. 12—19.*

him, or it is Sañkara's: in the latter case, we may suppose that he copied the first interpretation given to the separate Sūtras from an earlier commentator (a possiblity, which would be of great importance for the character of his whole work, cf. notes 17, 45), or we can also suppose, that Śañkara disagrees with Bādarāyaṇa here, that he therefore interprets the Sūtras first in Bādrāyaṇa's sense, and then rejects this interpretation, in order to give another in its place in the sense of which he finally interprets the Sūtras as the standard authority of the school consciously changing their original meaning.[1]

These are in part, the details of the very first of the many cases of interpolations[2] suggected by him. His own examination of this single case proposes no less than three possible alternatives; and if we incline the second alone with the traditional view or even the third, to the conclusion of the first due to the last two open courses which have a greater probability, there will hardly remain any ground to prove it to be a case of interpolation at all. Grave criticism can be similarly raised against Deussen's hypothesis of interpolations in the Śārīraka-Bhāṣya; and we have graver reasons to think against a reconstruction of Śañkara's *original* work than of the Mahābharata in the words of Dr. M. Winternitz, who observes:—

"Every endeavour to reconstruct ....in its original shape will always be attended by so great an element of arbitrariness that it can only have a purely subjective value."[3]

1. pp. 139—140, *vide* no. 3(b).
2. *Ibid*, pp. 28—29.
3. "A history of Indian Literature", Vol. I, translated by Mrs. ....Ketkar, Calcutta University (1927), p. 328.

If, however, the argument for interpolations be pressed hard, then it cannot be said that the genuineness of other works associated with Śaṅkara's name can be tested by his Śārīraka-Bhāṣya, unless and until the original shape or the nucleus of the latter is finally fixed or decided by an agreement of all scholars traditional as well as critical, which is practically quite hopeless.

Therefore, little weight ought to be attached to the so-called *strong reasons* doubting Śaṅkara's authorship of any one of these commentaries, if those reasons happen to be decidedly of an arbitrary character.

Kenopaniṣad-Bhāṣyas.

3. Now we should turn back to the learned Principal's first paper.

In the first place he says that the *Pada-Bhāṣya* alone and not the *Vākya-Bhāṣya* on the Kenopaniṣad is by Śaṅkara. His view is not original in so far as it was already suggested[1] by Paṇḍita Śrīdhara Pāṭhaka, Śāstrī of Poona. Only the summary of the latter's Sanskrit paper appeared in the proceedings of the First Oriental Conference (1919), where he says that the style of the commentary (व्याख्यानशैली) quotations (अवतरितवाक्य) and vigorous

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1. See Mr. Vidhu-Sekhara's first paper, p. 102, (n. 2(a).), where he is misstating the fact in saying that the Sastri has shown further that the 'sentence commentary' is by one विद्यालङ्कार who ascended Sankara's seat, where as the Sastri has merely thrown a conjecture to that effect, but has proved nothing further, as will be clear from his following words:

वाक्यभाष्यं त्वन्यस्य कस्यचित् ।..........प्रायो वाक्यभाष्यस्य सम्पादकस्तत्पीठस्था एव स्युः शङ्करेति नाम्ना भ्रमजन्यतायाः सुलभत्वात् । आचार्यपाठमधिरूढानां विद्याशंकरेति विद्यानृसिंहेति द्वे एव नामनी यथाक्रमं वर्तेते तेन पश्चात्तनैः कैश्चिद् विद्याशंकरेति नामवद्भिरेवेदं भाष्यमकारि ।"

This, however, amounts to nothing beyond a mere speculation.

array of arguments of either side (उद्भटपूर्वोत्तरपक्षशास्त्रीयोपोद्वलकानि) are adduced by him as the chief among the internal reasons (अन्तर्वर्त्तिकारणेषु मुख्यतया प्रदर्शितानि) and that the non-reference, in the two commentaries of each other (अन्यतरभाष्यस्यान्यस्मिन्नानिर्देशः) the non-mention of the terms *Pada-bhāṣya* and *Vākya-bhāṣya, etc.* (स्वयं पदभाष्य-वाक्यभाष्येतिपदानुल्लेख इत्यादि) are exhibited to be the chief of the external reasons (बहिः कारणेषु मुख्यतया प्रदर्शितम्). The worthlessness of the Sāstrī's reasoning so far is too obvious to require any discussion by way of separate refutation, and clearly shows that he has hardly established anything on such a flimsy foundation.

4. Mr. Bhaṭṭācarya has almost repeated the same story in saying, "..........Nobody seems to have any explanation to offer as to why one of them should be called 'Word commentary' and the other 'Sentence commentary.' Both the works bear the same author's name, and as it is *'absurd'* to believe that one and the same person should indulge in the *'pleasure'* of writing two commentaries on the same work, as explanation has been sought for, in vain, in the assumption that it was owing to the *'desire'* of the author for *'dealing'* with the text in two different ways. But the internal evidence is *'strongly'* against 'it',[1] for not only is

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1. It cannot be made out here as to how the difference, if any, of language and argument goes against the so called 'explanation' (for the pronoun 'it' can stand only for the word 'explanation' in the above sentence) and nor against the common authorship of the two Bhasyas, provided that such an internal evidence were cogent enough to lay aside the popular belief.

The difference of style or language or argument, too, unless it shows a wide gulf counts never as a serious argument for the different authorship of two works, and may be due to their production by the same author at different periods of life or in different moods or under different circumstances.

My own conclusion after a thorough and comparative study of both has been as follows:—

The two Bhasyas are not complementary to each other, nor is the latter a supplement of the former; but both are self-sufficient and more or less independent of each other. In places, however, one answers the other in words, ideas and even style to some length. *Differences may be treated as optional explanations from one and the same exponent as also found in other commentaries of sankara.*

I used the third edition (1909) of the Anandasrama, and found that the text of both requires revision after the collation of all available Mss.

the language in the two commentaries different but also the argument."

5. Further, he says, "*even the great Śaṅkara's well-known views are misrepresented in the 'Sentence Commentary'*," and, as an illustration to prove his point, he quotes only in one solitary case[1], the explanation[2] of the two commentaries. But we are quite at a loss to understand as to how and what *well-known views* of Śaṅkara are misrepresented in the *vākya-bhāṣya* on the disputed passage or elsewhere.

6. He, however, reads their mutual contradiction from the different treatment of the textual words ब्राह्मीम् and अब्रूम as ब्रह्मणः परमात्मन इयं ताम् "relating to Brahma, the supreme self" and उक्तामेव परमात्मविद्यामुपनिषदम् अब्रूमेत्यवधारयत्युत्तरार्थम् "we have told etc." in the *Pada-Bhāṣya*, and as ब्रह्मणो ब्राह्मणजातेरुपनिषदम् "concerning the philosopher caste" and वक्ष्याम इत्यर्थः । वक्ष्यति हि । ब्राह्मी नोक्ता । उक्ता त्वामोपनिषत् । तस्मान्न भूताभिप्रायोऽब्रूमेत्ययं शब्दः "We will tell thee, etc."

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1. उपनिषदं ब्रूहीत्युक्ता त उपनिषद् ब्राह्मीं वाव उपनिषदमब्रूमेति (IV, 7=32).

2. The *Pada-bhāṣya* on IV, 7 reads as follows:—

एवमनुशिष्टः शिष्य आचार्यमुवाच–उपनिषदं यच्चिन्त्यं, भो भगवन् ब्रूहीति । एवमुक्तवति शिष्ये आहाचार्यः । उक्ताऽभिहिता ते तवोपनिषत् । का पुनः सेत्याह– ब्राह्मीं ब्रह्मणः परमात्मन इयं तां **परमात्मविषयत्वादतीतविज्ञानस्य,** वावैव त उपनिषदमब्रूम । इत्युक्तामेव परमात्मविद्याम् उपनिषदमब्रूम इत्यवधारयति, उत्तरार्थम् परमरहस्यं 'श्रोत्रस्य श्रोत्रम्' इत्यादिनोक्तमेव, 'उत्तरार्थम्' इत्युत्तरग्रन्थेन विद्याप्राप्त्युपायविधानार्थम्, उक्ता विद्या निरपेक्षैवेति, इत्यवधारयति ।

परमात्मविषयामुपनिषदं श्रुतवत उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीति पृच्छतः शिष्यस्य कोऽभिप्रायः ? ....

............**एतदुपपन्नमाचार्यस्यावधारणवचनम् 'उक्ता त उपनिषद्'** इति ।

ननु नावधारणमिदं, यतोऽन्यद्वक्तव्यमाह 'तस्यै तपो दम' इत्यादि । सत्यं वक्तव्यमुच्यत आचार्येण । **न तूक्तोपनिषच्छेषतया तत्सहकारिसाधनान्तराभिप्रायेण वा, किन्तु ब्रह्मविद्याप्राप्त्युपायाभिप्रायेण, 'वेदैस्तदङ्गैश्च सह पाठेन समीकरणात्तपः प्रभृतीनाम्** । न हि वेदानां शिक्षाद्यङ्गानां च साक्षाद् ब्रह्मविद्याशेषत्व वा संभवति । ....तस्मादवधारणार्थैव प्रश्नानप्रतिवचनस्योपपद्यते । एतावत्येवेयमुपनिषदुक्ता ऽन्यानिरपेक्षाऽमृतत्वाय ॥

in the *vākya-bhāṣya*[1] respectively. Saying that the two commentaries are diametrically opposed to each other, he further remarks that *the explanation in the former is 'evidently correct' and 'far better' than in the other.* To all this I should frankly say that it is just the example of what is called पल्लवग्राहि पाण्डित्यम् in Sanskrit.

In the first place, we do not find any contradiction; because in spite of the two different yet equally possible and legitimate ways of explaining the verbal construction and the context of the passage, the central idea and the Vedantic point of view of Śaṅkara remain essentially identical in both. The *Pada-Bhāṣya* says that the secret knowledge concerning the supreme self has been already imparted (in the forgoing sections) and that the emphasis is for (enjoining *the means* of attainining that knowledge, *i. e.*, penance, etc.) what follows in the subsequent passage.[2] The *Vākya-bhāṣya* also means the same thing, in that the self-contemplation and secret knowledge of the self have been imparted, but not the 'Brāhmī Upaniṣad' or the

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1. The *Vākya-bhāṣya* on the same runs as follows:—

उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीति, **उक्तायामप्युपनिषदि**, शिष्येणोक्त आचार्य आह—उक्ता कथिता ते तुभ्यमुपनिषदात्मोपासनं च। **अधुना ब्राह्मीं वाव** ते तुभ्यं, ब्रह्मणो **ब्राह्मणजातेः** [ब्राह्मणजात्यनुष्ठेयां विद्यामात्मज्ञानसाधनभूतामित्यर्थः–Anand.] **उपनिषदम् अब्रूम** वक्ष्याम इत्यर्थः। **वक्ष्यति हि। ब्राह्मी नोक्ता, उक्ता त्वात्मोपनिषत्। तस्मान्न भूताभिप्रायोऽब्रूमेत्ययं शब्दः।**

On IV. 8=33. तस्या **वक्ष्यमाणाया** उपनिषदः———इत्येतानि प्रतिष्ठाऽश्रयः। एतेषु हि सत्सु ब्राह्म्युपनिषत् प्रतिष्ठिता भवति।

2. On IV. 9=34. तामेतां **तपआद्यङ्गां** तत्प्रतिष्ठां ब्राह्मीमुपनिषदं सा (सत्या ?) **यतनामात्मज्ञानहेतुभूताम्।**

तस्य तपो दमः कर्मेति प्रतिष्ठा वेदाः सर्वाङ्गाणि सत्यमायतनम्। IV. 8=33.

Upaniṣad of the Brāhmaṇa class, i.e. the *knowledge of secret practices conducive to Brahmahood*, the constituents of which are 'penance', etc., which are, according to both the Bhāṣyas, neither part of self-knowledge nor auxiliary to it. (*i. e.* to be practised concurrently with it), but are merely the antecedental means of attaining knowledge through effecting spiritual purification and therefore rightly said to be the secret practices of the Brāhmaṇas in the *Vākya-bhāṣya*. And this kind of Brāhmī Upaniṣad is yet to be related, hence the word अब्रूम, according to the *Vākya-bhāṣya*, does not ultimately restrict itself to the sense of the past. Thus it will be obvious that there is no actual difference but rather a consonance about the meaning of अब्रूम in both the Bhāṣyas.

Thus, far from any contradiction, we clearly see at least a virtual agreement between the two. Ānandajñāna, who has explained both, says nothing to suggest any such incongruity. Paṇḍita Vidhuśekhara has really missed the drift of the two Bhāṣyas altogether. 'उत्तरार्थेम" of the Pada-Bhāṣya and Ānandagiri's note on it, and the words of the same Bhāṣya on the next *mantra*, on one side, and the expression "आत्मज्ञानहेतुभूताम्" in the *Vākya-bhāṣya* to the last mantra, on the other, show a perfect agreement between them. Hence the 'odious' comparison of the two is quite unreasonable.

Here an agreement may be anticipated. It may be said, even with reference to the Kena-vākya-bhāṣya as it will be argued against the Śvetāśvatara-bhāṣya, that Nārāyaṇa's Dīpikā on the Kenopaniṣad takes no cognizance of it but makes use of only the *pada-bhāṣya*. From this it is to be concluded that in Nārāyaṇa's view the *pada-bhāṣya*, alone, was held as the genuine composition of

Śaṅkara and that the *Vākya-bhāṣya* was neither taken by him to be authentic nor, perhaps, did it exist before him. But it may be replied that the clear testimony, of Ānandagiri (Ānandajñāna) and his predecessor Śaṅkarānanda[1] who has most beautifully blended both the bhāṣyas[2] into his Dīpikā, prevents all possibility of such conjectures as well as of any inconsistency between them.

7. The only point of difference now left is the meaning of the word ब्राह्मीम् in the two places. But the two meanings

1. Sankaranand, who was the pupil of Anandatma and was the teacher of Bharatitirtha and grand-teacher of Vidyaranya, was the greatest commentator on the Prasthanatraya on the three paths of the Vedanta, viz., the Upanisads, the Bhagavagita and the Brahma Sutras after the Adi Sankaracarya. His Dipikas on the various Upanisads being mainly the *Pada commentaries* seem to be an attempt to popularise Sankara Vedanta. His learned exposition of Upanisads in the Atma purana and his commentary on the Bhagavadgita is a monumental work in the direction of Nididhyasana.

He preceded Anandajnana popularly known as Anandagiri, who writes in his Tika on the word एकमात्रम् under Prasnopanisad V. 3, as follows:—

'एकमात्राप्रधानम् अप्रधानीभूतमात्राद्वयं कृत्स्नमोङ्कारमिति केचिद् व्याचक्षते । **दीपिकायां वाचस्पत्ये चाऽकारमात्रमित्येव व्याख्यातम् ।**'

The दीपिका here referred to is invariably of Sankarananda, who says, 'एकमात्राकालम् **अकारमात्रं**' Anandagiri also suggests that the great Vacaspati, too, wrote commentaries on Upanisads, and at any rate, on the Prasnopanisad. Thus he may be one of the different old commentators on the Sankara bhasya of the Mandukyopanisad, whom Anandagiri means in his verse on पूर्वं यद्यपि विद्वांसो व्याख्यानमिह चक्रिरे । तथापि मन्दबुद्धीनामुपकाराय यत्यते ।

2. *Mark the following expressions in his Kenopanisad-Dipika:*—

(IV. 7=32) ....शिष्यप्रश्नमवतारयति–उपनिषदं .....भो......कथय किमु ब्रह्मविद्याऽहोस्विदन्यापीति प्रश्नार्थः । .... ब्रह्मविद्याचेदुक्तैव । **तस्याः साधनानि चेत् तप आदीनि, 'वक्ष्यामी'** त्यनेनाभिप्रायेण गुरुराह... . ब्रह्मणा सत्त्वज्ञानलक्षणेन संबद्धा ब्राह्मी **तामेव, न तु तत्संबद्धां तप आदिकाम् अब्रूमोक्तवन्तः, अतोऽन्यां 'कथयिष्याम' इत्यभिप्रायः ॥**

(IV. 8=33) ....इदानी**मस्या उपनिषदः सब्राह्म्युपनिनिषद** उपासनमाह–प्रतिष्ठा तत्राद्युपनिषत्कामधेनुर्ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषद्वत्सा चतुष्पादित्यर्थः ।......... पादाः ....।

(IV. 9=34) यो मुमुक्षुः .... **एतां तपआदिकामधेनुं ब्रह्मविद्यावत्सामेव वेद** .... ॥

may be severally taken as alternate explanations that are similarly met with even in the Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya. The readers of Śaṅkara are well acquainted with his variant explanations of the same words or passages in different places or contexts, with or without the expressions of some reason to treat or construe them in different ways. Most glaring instances[1] of either kind of such cases are to be found in the Chāndogya commentary itself, the authorship of which can be least disputed.

8. If, however, the other party is not prepared to accept my view of the above two explanations as 'optional' in the two Bhāṣyas but insists on examining their comparative merit on the basis of the words 'अब्रूम and ब्राह्मीम I will say as follows:—

To me it appears that at the time when Śaṅkara wrote the Pada-Bhāṣya on this portion his view was limited to the Upaniṣad proper practically for his interpretation notwithstanding his own pronouncement at the outset, that the Kena was the ninth Adhyāya of the Brāhmaṇa which is the 10th Anuvāka of the 4th Adhyāya of the Jaiminiya (or Talava-kāra) Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa as edited and translated by Hauns Oertel (American Oriental Society Publication, 1894), and of the late published by the Research Department, D.-A. V. College, Lahore. But later on, when he wrote the Vākya-Bhāṣya क्षुद्र-गण-'वाक्य'-विवरण or ("an elucidation of the 'short', *i. e.* individual and class sentences"), he took a broader view in the interpretation of the Upaniṣad and could not overlook the parallel, at least in style if not in subject-matter or even ideas, of the present

1. 1. ओमित्येतदक्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीत तस्योपव्याख्यानम् (Ch. I. i. 1) [S. B.— ओमित्येतदक्षरं परमात्मनोऽभिधानं नेदिष्ठम् । तदेतदक्षरं वर्णात्मक**मुद्गीथभक्त्यवयवत्वात्**

(Continued).

passage met with in the next *i. e.* the eleventh Anuvāka, Khaṇḍa 11, running as follows:—

उपनिषदं भो ब्रूहीति । उक्ता त उपनिषद् यस्य ते धातव उक्ताः । त्रिधातु त्रिषु वाव उपनिषदमब्रूमेति ॥६॥

"Sir, tell the *Upaniṣad.*" The *Upaniṣad* has been told thee, since the elements have been told thee. With three elements separately? Verily we told thee the *Upaniṣad.*

The tense of 'अब्रूम' here is significant for deciding the meaning of the same in the previous Anuvāka (*i. e.* the Kenopaniṣad), though in a different context. A reference to the original Brāhamaṇa shall evidently show that *these elements* (धातव.) *that are asserted to have been told are mentioned nowhere in the previous sections, but are spoken of immediately after this 'mantra' in the next two 'mantras'. And yet the 'past tense' is used here. It is, therefore, to be explained as standing for the future.'*

उद्गीथशब्दवाच्यमुपासीत । कर्माङ्गावयवभूत ॐ कारे परमात्मप्रतीके दृढामैकाग्र्यलक्षणां मतिं संतनुयात् । एवमुपासनमेवं विभूत्येवफलमित्यादिकथनमुपव्याख्यानम् ।]

२ देवासुरा ह्वै तद्ध देवा उदगीथमाजह्रुरि ति (Ch. I. ii. 1) [S. B.— उद्गीथमुद्गीथ-भक्त्युपलक्षितमौदगात्रं कर्माऽऽजह्रुराहृतवन्तः ज्योतिष्टोमाद्याहृतवन्त इत्यभिप्रायः ।]

3. On ch. I. ii. 2 [S. B. I. : उद्गीथकर्मण्येव हि तत्कर्तृप्राणदेवतादृष्ट्योद्गीथभक्त्यवयवश्चोङ्कार उपास्यत्वेन विवक्षितो न स्वतन्त्रऽतस्मादर्थेन कर्माऽऽहृतवन्त इति युक्तमेवोक्तम् ।]

But against this inferior treatment or interpretation of the syllable 'Om' constrained by the context of उद्गीथॐकार, see the following passages where it is exalted to its pinnacle assigned by the Katha or Mandukya.

1. On ch. II. XXIII. [S. B.—ओङ्कारस्योपासनविध्यर्थं त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा इत्याद्यारभ्यते । नैवं मन्तव्यं सामावयवभूतस्यैवोद्गीथादिलक्षणस्योकारस्योपासनात् फलं प्राप्यत इति । किं तर्हि । यत्सर्वैरपि सामोपासनैः कर्मभिश्चाप्राप्यं तत् फलममृतत्वं केवलात् *i.e.* स्वतन्त्राधिकार-गोचरात्) ओङ्कारोपासनात् प्राप्यत इति । अत्र चाश्रमधर्मफलोपन्यासः प्रणवसेवास्तुत्यर्थं न तत्फलविध्यर्थम् । प्रणवसेवाफलममृतत्वं ब्रुवन् प्रणवसेवां स्तौति । यथा पूर्णवर्मणः सेवा भक्तपरिधानमात्रफला राजवर्मणस्तु सेवा राजतुल्यफलेति तद्वत् । प्रणवश्च तत्सत्यं परं ब्रह्म तत्प्रतीकत्वात् । 'एतद्ध्येवाक्षरं ब्रह्म ह्येतदेवाक्षरं परम्' इत्याद्याम्नायात् काठके युक्तंतत्सेवातोऽमृतम् । (*Continued.*)

Since the style of the Brāhmaṇa text is the same in both the places (in Anuvāka X, *i. e.*, the Upaniṣad proper as well as XI), it is only just to explain the word अब्रम in the manner of the *vākyabhāṣya*.

Again, Anuvāka XI, Khaṇḍa IV, mantra 3 runs as follows:—

वेदो ब्रह्म, तस्य सत्यमायतनं शमः प्रतिष्ठा दमश्च ॥३॥

The affinity of this with the last but one (*i.e.*, 33rd) *mantra* of the Kenopaniṣad can hardly be gainsaid. Here the '*aṅgī*' (whole) which has got its '*aṅgas*' (parts) in the shape of '*truth*' as its '*abode*' and '*tranquility and restraint*' as its *foundation*, is the *Veda* itself which along with the '*vedāṅgas*' and '*penance*', '*restraint*' and '*actions*', constitutes the *foundation*, or without the last three, which are to be treated *as feet* प्रतिष्ठा stands for the various other *limbs*,

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2. This contemplation of ओङ्कार which is केवल (i. e. स्वतन्त्राधिकारगोचर) as contrasted with the above उद्गीथभक्त्यवयवोङ्कार is treated in ch. II. xxiii. 3.

These are instances where Saṅkara explains the reason of his different treatment of the same thing. But not so in the following:—

अस्मिन् ह्यमे प्राणाः प्रतिष्ठिताः (Ch. III. xii. 4) [S. B.—'अहिंसन् सर्वभूतानि' इति चे श्रुतेर्भूतशब्दवाच्याः प्राणाः) against अहिंसन् सर्वभूतानि, अन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः Ch. VIII. XV .I.) (S. B.—सर्वभूतानि स्थावरजङ्गमानि भूतानि ।) In the latter he neither makes any mention of प्राणाः in the meaning of भूतानि, nor gives any reason for this departure.

Mark also the points of difference in the Bhasya to Brhad IV. iv. 10—11 and V. XV. on one side, and to Isa. 9 and 15—18, on the other, respectively.

Sankara's discussion on Brahma Sutra III. ii. 21 fully explained his position as to why texts of apparently similar or identical import should be explained differently, under different Adhikaras, or, where there they are viewed from different points. This affords an explanation for the avowal of departure by the Bhasyakara from the Mandukya-Bhasya in his Nrsimhatapaniya commentary (Vide p. 46 Anandasrama edition, 1895), where, in course of his full vindication, he also refers to Brahma-Sutras III. iiii. 69, as explaining all the same thing,

i. e., in either ways, is a part (अङ्ग) of the "Brāhmī Upaniṣad" (अङ्गी). The *abode* is the same in both places; and तपः '*penance*' is recognised a *digit* of this Brahma or Veda, above in XI VI. 1.

Hence also the "Brāhmī Upaniṣad" is *better* taken as one pertaining to the 'Brāhmaṇa class', the custodians of Veda or Brahma XI. IV. 3, in the *Vākyabhāṣya*.

9. I will close the discussion about the *Kenopaniṣad Bhāṣyas* after a consideration of the terms 'Pada' and 'Vākya' in the present section. The popular idiom of 'Pada-VākyaPramāṇa' in expressions like 'पद्वाक्यप्र माणज्ञः[1] represents the three Śāstras or sciences, *viz.* Vyākaraṇa (Grammar) Mīmānsā (Interpretation) and Nyāya (Dialectics). Nārāyaṇa, in the concluding stanzas of his Dīpikās uses the words[2] 'Pada and Vākya' in the simple sense of 'words' and 'sentences' bereft of the popular technique, but his use suggests the two modes of the text. Śaṅkarānanda[3] in his Dipikās, uses these two words exactly in the same sense as is attached to them in connection with the twofold Kena-commentary by Śaṅkarācārya, as will be clear from the following quotations from his three different Dīpikās.

"केनेषितोपनिषद[4] **व्याकरिष्ये 'पदाऽध्वना** ।'

'माण्डूक्योपनिषद्**व्याख्यां करिष्ये पद-चारिणीम्** ।'

'वक्ष्येऽधुना **शङ्करविश्वरूप**-वाचा [5]**विनिर्णीत**-समस्त-**वाक्याम्** ।'

कृष्णां यजुस्तित्तिरिनामचिह्नं '**पदार्थ**'शुद्धयर्थमतीव सार्थम् ।'

The idea of these two kinds of commentaries and ways of dealing with a particular text is very old, as the title

1. Prologue to the Uttararamacarita.
2. *i. e.*, in the expression अस्पष्टपदवाक्यानाम्
3. See note 1 page 700
4. It has been already shown in No. 2 page 700 above that Sankarananda drew upon both the Bhasyas of Sankara on the Kenopanisad.
5. This points most definitely to the authenticity of both the Sankara-Bhasaya and the Suresvara's Vartika, on the Taittiriyopanisad.

Bhartṛhariś '*Vākya-padīya*' and partly the words '*Pada-Pāṭha*' and 'saṃhitā-Pāṭha' would suggest. On the words 'संहिताया उपनिषदम् "and महासंहिताः"' used in the Taittiriyopaniṣad (I. *ii*. 1). Śaṅkarānanda in his Dipikā, writes नियतक्रम-**पद्-वाक्य**रूपाया उपनिषदम् and **पद्-वाक्य**संहितासु चिन्त्यमाना महत्यः संहिता महासंहिताः" respectively. Even the great Śaṅkara himself, in the second of the stanzas introductory to his तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्-भाष्य says,

'यैरिमे गुरुभिः पूर्वं **पद्-वाक्य**-प्रमाणतः [1]।
व्याख्याताः सर्ववेदान्ताः तान्नित्यं प्रणतोऽस्म्यहम् ॥

If, in any case, the composition of this stanza is not attributed to Śaṅkara, but to one of his successors[2] as the learned Principal would have it, then Śaṅkara himself is to be meant here to have explained all the Vedāntas (Upaniṣads) with reference to Pada, Vākya, and Pramāṇa[3].

In either case, Śaṅkara's acquaintance with and proneness to the two ways of explaining the Vedānta texts is proved, beyond doubt, by this stanza. This fact lends some strength to the great probability of Śaṅkara's authorship of both the commentaries on the Kenopaniṣad as also signified by Śaṅkarānanda (see the concluding portion of sections above) and *traditionally* believed by Ānandagiri[4] or the writer of अद्वैतराज्यलक्ष्मीटीका on Mādhava's Saṃkṣepa-Śaṅkara-Jaya[5].

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1. पदानि च वाक्यानि च प्रमाणं चानुमानादि, तद्विवेचनेन व्याख्याताः—Anandagiri.

2. Say, Suresvaracarya who seems to be the author of the third stanza found also in his Vartika.

3 Here, these three words do not of course mean the three sciences, as is evident from Anandagiri's note (No 1 above)

4. He begins his Tika on the *Vakya-bhasya* with the following sentence :—

केनेषितमित्यादिकां सामवेदशाखाभेदब्राह्मणोपनिषदं पदशो व्याख्यायापि न तुतोष भगवान् भाष्यकारः शारीरकैर्न्यायैरनिर्णीतार्थत्वादिति न्यायप्रधानश्रुत्यर्थसंग्राहकैर्वाक्यैर्व्याचिख्यासुः पूर्वकाण्डेन सम्बन्धमभिधित्सुः पूर्वकाण्डार्थं संक्षेपतो दर्शयति समासामीति ।

5. VI. 61. [भाष्यं केनोपनिषदि पदवाक्यभेदेन भाष्यद्वयसत्वाद् एकादशभेदभिन्नमित्यर्थः।

A comparison of the forms of the two Bhāṣyas shall amply justify their names. Since, we know that the *Pada-bhāṣya*, generally after giving the word-meaning of passages partly or entirely, plunges, as even in the single case instanced by Mr. Bhaṭṭācārya for showing difference, into long discussions generally raised by a particular word phrase ; while the *Vākya-Bhāṣya* mainly shows their context and import besides partly giving the word-meaning, but sometimes omitting it altogether[1]—thus always confining itself to the business of penetrating into essentials on which the individual discussions are based. I, however, believe that the *Vākya-Bhaṣya*, are more properly the 'क्षुद्र-गण-वाक्य-विवरण' is a Vākya-bhāṣya in the strictest sense of the term, because it was written purely from that point of view ; but the name of the *Pada-bhāṣya*, which seems to have been given to the older commentary not essentially differing in form from other Upaniṣad commentaries, later on perhaps, only in order to distinguish it from the other, is used in somewhat a loose sense. As Bhāṣyas[2] both are similar with the pointed difference that the *pada bhāṣya* leaves no textual word untouched or unrecognised. Omitted words are, here, as well as in other Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas specified by remarks like समानमन्यत्, व्याख्यातमन्यत्, etc. in cases where they are explained under previous passages and स्पष्टमन्यत्, etc. where they are left for being too easy to need any explanation. But the Vākya-bhāṣya is never particular about such words. This will suffice to show as to why one of the commentaries is called *pada-Bhāṣya* and the other *vākya-Bhāṣya*.

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1. Compare both the Bhasyas on Kena. I. 5—8 ; III. 3—11 (16—21) ; IV. 1—3 (26=28).

2. *cf.* सूत्रस्थपदमादाय वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभः। स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः॥

Śvetāśvataropaniṣad-Bhāṣya.

10. The reasons advanced against Saṅkara's authorship of the commentary on the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad are very meagre and inconclusive.

It is said that the style and the mode of interpretation are far different from and inferior to those in the commentary of the *Brahma Sūtras*. But, in my opinion, there ought to be no comparison between the two because of their originals (texts) presenting no homogeneity.

The long extracts from Purāṇas which are almost absent in his other commentaries are held [1] as vitiating Śaṅkara's authorship of this Bhāṣya. But the very fact that the text itself shows a considerable departure of sectarianness[2] in its form from other standard Upaniṣads, and, therefore, necessitates long quotations is forgotten by these critics.

Nevertheless, the long quotations made here from Purāṇic and collateral literature are, in their contents Vedāntic and not so Purāṇic as alleged to be. Even purely Purāṇic quotations are not altogether absent in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya to other Upaniṣads.[3] Therefore, all that can be fairly said is this that their amount increases in the Śvetāśvatara Bhāṣya quite proportionately to the form and subject of the orginal text.

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1. (*a*) p. 102. *Vide ut supra* N. 2 (*a*) ;
   (*b*) T. S. Narayana Sastri : The age of Sankara, Part I. A. p. 73, n. 80.
2. (*a*) Deussen, p. 94, l. 25 Vide U. 3 (*a*) ;
   (*b*) Radhakrishna : Indian Philosophy, Vol. I. (1923) pp. 276, 510—15, etc.;
   (*c*) Winternitz. A history of Indian literature, Vol. I. (1927), p. 237 n 2;
   (*d*) Belvalkar and Ranade. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. VI (1928) pp. 119—112.
3. Chandogya III. 1 etc. and elucidation of Saṇkara's references Anandagiri,

Next it is urged that Śaṅkara would never had used the expression तथा शुकशिष्यो गौडपादाचार्यः[1] but would have either appended an honorific epithet like भगवान् to his name or quoted him in some other words without mentioning his name. But who has, it may be asked, fixed these two ways as the only possible ways of making reference to spiritual ancestors ? Because we see that while Vyāsa and Gauḍapāda are said to have been referred to by Śaṅkara invariably in the above two ways respectively. Śuka, who comes between the two is mentioned by him in a third way.[2] Śaṅkara quotes two passages, one in prose and the other in verse, from some one Smṛti giving Śuka's bare name ; while he himself seems to be too frugal, rather quite indifferent, in referring to that famous transmitter of Vedāntic lore fr m Vyāsa to Gauḍapada. So much so that he himself uses for him neither any honorific epithet, nor any other particular word, not even his bare name as given in the Smṛti text, and yet makes a definite reference to him only as if he were a stranger to him.

Further, again, we learn from, a note of Winternitz,[3] corroborated by the evidence of Vidyāraṇya's Dīpikā[4] that

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1. Bhasya on Svet. I. 8. p. 38 (Anandasrama 1890 *ed.*).
2. Brahma-Sutra-Bhasya (IV. *iii*. 14).
3. Indian literature, p .590., n. 1,
4. Nrsimhut Up., Anandasrama edition (1896) :—

P. 70, तथा ह्युक्तं वार्तिककृद्भिः—"नृसिंहब्रह्मविद्येषा व्याख्याता ज्ञानसिद्धये ।" इति ।

P. „ तदुक्तम्-"तुरीयावसिता विद्या साक्षादत्र प्रदर्श्यते" इति ॥

P. 90, उक्तं च "मीति हिंसाकरं नाम तमोज्ञानादिलक्षणम् " इति ॥

P. 111, अत एव च वार्तिककृद्भिः प्रतिपदार्थं व्याख्यानमेवकारार्थो दर्शितः—

"उग्रता क्रूरताऽन्यत्र प्रतीचो ब्रह्मणो न हि ।" इत्यादिना ।

P. 112, उक्तं च—"ओतत्वाच्च तुरीयस्य वश्यानुज्ञातृतोऽपराम् ।

अनुज्ञैकरसत्वाच्च संहृत्यैव द्वयाकृतिः ॥" इत्यादिना ॥

P. 119, उक्तं च वार्तिककृद्भिः "उक्तं कल्पितमेव स्यात्समानाधिकृतेस्तु वा ।" इति ॥

the Nṛsiṃha—(Uttara)—Tāpanīya-Upaniṣad was already commented on by Gauḍapāda about whom the late Paṇḍita T. S. Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī[1] wrote as follows:—

Gauḍapādācārya, one of the greatest of Śuka's disciples always refers to himself in the following terms श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमच्छुक्रमुनीन्द्रशिष्य as "the disciple of the Revered Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya Śrī Śukra-munīndra" Compare the colophon at the end of his *Vārtika* on the Nṛsiṃhottara tāpanīyopaniṣad which runs as follows:—

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य**श्रीमच्छुक्रमुनीन्द्रशिष्यश्रीमद्गौडपादविरचिते उत्तरतापनीयविवरणे** प्रथमः खण्डः ।

Now it will be evident that it is this autobiographic account of Gauḍapāda, in terms of which a reference is made in the Śvetāśvatara commentary, with the addition of the epithet आचार्य, after his name to show reverence, as after Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa, who are older teachers than

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P. 123, उक्तं च-"विक्षेपविनिवृत्त्यर्थं तदेतद् भण्यते मया ।" इति ॥

P. 134, उक्तं च वार्तिककृद्भिः'अथवाऽकारमात्मानमकारं च जगद्गुरुम् ।
अवधारणसंयुक्तमेकीकुर्यादथोमिति ॥
अहं शब्दैकदेशत्वाद् ब्रह्मशब्दैकदेशतः ।
अतत्याद्येकदेशत्वाद् ब्रह्माकारेण च स्मरेत् ॥
साक्षित्वान्मन आदीनां मकारेण तु साक्षिणम् ।
सावधारणमैकात्म्यमेवमोमिति पश्यति ॥" इति ॥

P 140, उक्तं च-"गुरूक्तविद्यया छिन्नसर्वाविद्यस्य या स्थितिः ।
तां प्रवक्तुमुपेत्याद्य प्रारब्धैषोत्तरा श्रुतिः ॥' इति ॥

P. 145, अङ्कुरस्य बहुरूपत्वमुक्तं वार्तिककृद्भिः—'सर्वज्ञकरुणानुन्ना विचारज्ञानकामना ।
ईक्षणोपचयान्नादिरूपेणाथ विवर्त्तते ॥ इति,

1 The Age of Sankara I A, p 45, N. 30 ; also p. 8.

Gauḍapāda, in the Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya.[1] This leaves nothing for Mr. Bhaṭṭacārya to doubt the authenticity of the Śvetāśvatara commentary.

4. The discordant note of the Ānandāśrama Śāstrīs in their preface to this Upaniṣad is manely based upon the *negative evidence* (*a*) of Dhanapati Sūri's. Diṇḍima,[2] on noticing that Śaṅkara commented on the ten Upaniṣads[3] and (*b*) of Nārāyaṇa's Dīpikā[4] : where, firstly, its author supports his second interpretation by Śaṅkara's testimony, not with a reference to the Śvetāśvatara Bhāṣya (VI 20) but to the Gītā-Bhāṣya (XVIII 66), secondly, at the end of which he uses for himself the phrase and श्रुतिमत्रोपजीविना, similarly as after his Dīpikā on many other (minor) Upaniṣads not commented on by Śaṅkara, and not शङ्करोक्त्युपजीविना, as actually said by him in his Dīpikās on the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads which are already commented on by Śaṅkara. From such evidence they have concluded that the *Bhāṣya* did not exist before Nārāyaṇa and also that it was never written by Śaṅkara.

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1. On I. ii, 30 ; iii, 26 ; 33 ; III, i, 11, iii, 41 ; iv. 1, 19 IV, iii, 15 ; IV, 7, 10, 12.

2. On Madhava's Samksepa-Sankara jaya VI. 61 "उपनिषदामयमुज्जहार भाष्यम्"

3. उपनिषद् ब्रह्मविद्या तत्प्रतिपादकानाम् ईशकेनकठप्रश्नमुण्डकमाण्डूक्यतैत्तिरीयैतरेयच्छान्दोग्य-बृहदारण्यकाख्यानां वेदान्तानां भाष्यमुज्जहार कृतवान् ।

4. On Svet. VI. 20— "यदा चर्मवदाकाशं वेष्टयिष्यन्ति मानवाः । तदा देवमविज्ञाय दुःखस्यान्तो भविष्यति ॥ [यद्वा यथाऽमूर्तस्याकाशस्य चर्मवत्परिधानासम्भव तथादेवाज्ञानं मोक्षासम्भव इत्येवंपरमेतत् ; यदुक्तम् तमेव विदित्वेति । तेन देवाराधने यत्न आस्थेय इति भावः । अयमर्थ आचार्यसमेतः 'चर्मवदाकाशवेष्टनासंभववदविदुषो मोक्षासंभवश्रुतेः ।" इति "सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य"-इति श्लोके शाङ्करगीताभाष्य उक्तत्वात् ॥२०॥—Narayanas Dipikas 44, VI. 62— ततो महाभारतसारभूताः स व्याकरोद् भागवतीश्च गीताः । सनत्सुजातीयम-त्सुयं ततो नृसिंहस्य च तापनीयम् ॥"

The 'Diṇḍima' however, faithfully reproduces the names of the first Upaniṣads of the Muktikā[1] list, and the Advaitarājya-lakṣmī-Ṭīkā, counts them as eleven by observing the two, the Pada and the Vākya—Bhāṣyas on the Kenopaniṣad.[2] As such they can hardly be taken as intending any reflection on a trustworthy tradition. More-ever, since we find no marked difference, but rather a verbal and material agreement, between Bhāṣyas of a number of *Mantras*[3] common to Śvetāśvatara and Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka etc., and since the ***style and phraseology*** met with in the Śvetāśvatara-Bhāṣya is strikingly of Śaṅkara, the whole work must be accepted as his composition. We also know that Śaṅkarānanda in his Dīpikā on this Upaniṣad, as on others, generally echoes briefly Śaṅkara's interpretation without saying that he is doing it. The strict accordance of his Dīpikā with the Bhāṣya on I, 4-5, VI. 20 ; etc. cannot fail to suggest that the former has utilised the latter. This shows that the Bhāṣya existed long before Śaṅkarānanda and consequently long before Nārāyaṇa.

Again, Nārāyaṇa has a departure even from the traditional text of this Upaniṣad as recognised by Śaṅkara, Vijñāna-Bhagavat, the disciple of Jñānottama, who was the fourth in succession from Śaṅkara, *vide* Professor M. Hiriyanna's Introduction to the Naiṣkarmya-

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1. I. 30 ईश-केन-कठ-प्रश्न-मुण्ड-माण्डूक्य-तित्तिरिः ।
ऐतरेयं च छान्दोग्यं बृहदारण्यकं तथा ॥

2. *Vide* N. 30 above.

3. Svet. III. 13 Katha II. iii, 17 (1st half)+9 (latter half),
S. III. 20=K. I. ii—20.
S. IV 17 (latter half)=K. II. 9 (latter half).
S. IV-20=K II. 9 (latter half).
S. IV 20=K. II. iii. compare VI. S. VI 12-13 with K. II. ii. 12-14.
S. VI. 14=K. II. ii 15=Mundaka II. ii 10.
S IV. 6—7=Mundaka III i. 1—2.

siddhi, p. XXXIV—Poona, 1925, etc. in so far as he, too, after the instance of his predecessor Śaṅkarānanda, explains Kaṭha II. ii, 13—14 between the two halves of Śvet. VI. 13, with this difference that he inserts the Kaṭha passage even within the body of his Dīpikā while the latter only explains it, as a matter of course, without attaching any further importance thereto. Nārāyaṇa would not say here even that the passage is an interpolation as he speaks of "न तत्र चन्द्रार्कवपुः प्रकाशते न वान्ति वाता न च यान्ति देवताः" under his Dīpikā on Muṇḍaka II. ii. 9; since he is not bound down by Śaṅkara's authority here as he is in the Muṇḍaka where he is strictly शङ्करोक्त्युपजीवी. The Muṇḍaka interpolation was not yet known to Śaṅkarānanda who preceded Nārāyaṇa. Similarly, therefore, the fact, that neither of the two (*i. e.* the Śvet. and the Muṇḍaka) interpolations was incorporated or even recognised in the Bhāṣyas on these two Upaniṣads, goes highly in favour of the considerable antiquity of the Bhāṣya to be admitted before Nārāyaṇa and Śaṅkarānanda.

Thus, when the precedence of the Bhāṣya to the Dīpikās is definitely certain, Nārāyaṇa's phrase श्रुतिमात्रोपजीविना must be due to some other reason amounting to either his intentional avoidance of it or to his inability to procure it when he wrote. Beyond this we need not enter into any wild speculations about the reason.

Next, Nārāyaṇa's reference to Śaṅkarācārya's incidental interpretation of Śvet. (VI. 20) as recorded in the Gītā—Bhāṣya (XVIII. 66) cannot conclusively prove the non-existence of the Śvet. Bhāṣya in his time. What it points to is merely the fact that he got a full support for his second interpretation[1] in the strong—clear and brief

1. As given above under page 710, n. 4.

exposition of the Śvet. passage in the Gītā Bhāṣya but not so in the Śvet.-Bhāṣya,[1] although the latter too existed before him. This may be clear from the following instance. If some commentator had a predilection for explaining the word भूतानि as meaning प्राणाः and if he wanted the support of Śaṅkara, he would like to refer to the Chāndogya-Bhāṣya (III. XII. 4) where Śaṅkara, has remarked "अहिंसन् सर्वभूतानि" इति च श्रुतेर्भूतशब्दवाच्याः प्राणा. and must naturally avoid a reference to the actual occurrence of the word in the Chāndogya (VIII. 15) where Śaṅkara explains सर्वभूतानि as स्थावरजङ्गमानि भूतानि. In this instance how fertile should it be to argue that Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the last portion of the Chāndogya was not existing before this supposed commentator, since he referred to the passage (VIII. 15) not in its proper place, but in III. X ii. 4 for quoting Śaṅkara's interpretation thereof? Saṅkara's habit of giving different interpretations in different places has already been observed.[2] But there is no such material difference of interpretation of the Śvetāśvatara passage in the two places referred to above. It was perhaps only on account of convenience and handiness of the Gītā-Bhāṣya reference, that Nārāyaṇa was inclined to quote it in his Dīpikā.

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1. किमिति तमेव विदित्वा मुच्यते नान्येनेति तत्राह-यदेति । यदा यद्वच्चर्म संकोचायिष्यति तद्वदाकाशममूर्तं व्यापिनं यदि वेष्टयिष्यन्ति संवेष्टयिष्यन्ति मानवास्तदा देवं ज्योतिर्मयमनुदितानस्तमितज्ञानात्मनावस्थितमशनायाद्यसंस्पृष्टं परमात्मानमविज्ञाय दुःखस्याध्यात्मिकस्याधिभौतिकस्याधिदैविकस्यान्तो विनाशो भविष्यति । आत्माज्ञाननिमित्तत्वात्संसारस्य यावत्परमात्मत्वेन न जानाति तावत्तापत्रयाभिभूतो मकरादिभिरिव रागादिभिरितस्ततः कृष्यमाणः प्रेततिर्यङ्मनुष्यादियोनिष्वज एव जीवभावमापन्नो मोमुह्यमानः संसरति । यदा पुनरपूर्वमनपरं नेति नेत्यादिलक्षणमशनायाद्यसंस्पृष्टमनुदितानस्तमितज्ञानात्मनावस्थितं पूर्णानन्दं परमात्मानमात्मत्वेन साक्षाज्जानाति तदा निरस्ताज्ञानतत्कार्यः पूर्णानन्दो भवतीत्यर्थः । उक्तं च "अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्ति जन्तवः.......... गच्छन्त्यपुनरावृत्तिं ज्ञाननिर्धूतकल्मषाः ॥ २० ॥

2. **In section 7 and note 20 above,**

12. The last argument is adduced under the vague pretext of style or language, etc.[1], but nothing definite has been said. Hence it need not be dilated upon.

Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad (and Kārikā)—Bhāṣya.

13. This brings us down to the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad. As is clear from the second footnote of the present paper, Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya has repeatedly written on this subject. The traditional view about the authorship of the Māṇḍūkya-Bhāṣya has already been defended[2] successfully by Mr. T. R. Cintāmaṇi, the present Librarian, Adyar Library, Madras, who alludes to Mr. Bhaṭṭacārya's second paper, which he has, however, not discussed in full, and who says that his first paper was not available to him. But he has anticipated its main points and has, in course, replied to them as well. In the following pages of my paper which has already grown unwieldy, I will like only to make some suggestions in order to make for the deficiency of Mr. Cintāmaṇi's short but nice paper. In the second and third parts, which are to follow I propose to discuss the multifarious points of Principal Bhaṭṭācārya's papers about the Māṇḍūkya problem from two points of view, *i. e.* (1) literary and historical, (2) philosophical. In course of the former I will also prove the existence of some more Upaniṣads in Śaṅkara's time, on the basis of the internal as well as the external evidence, than generally believed by most of the modern scholars.

14. It is to be noted in connection with Mr. Cintāmaṇi's reply to Professor Jacobi's argument

1. See section ii (middle) and note 13 above section 4.
2. Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference Madras, pp. 419—425, where the writer alludes also to Prof. Jacobi's note in the Journal of the American Society, Vol. XXXIII, p. 52.

against Śaṅkara's use of the five-membered syllogism of the Naiyāyikas, that at the very outset of his Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Bhāṣya IV. 5, Śaṅkara has used the words. "हेत्वपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम् ।"

This expression gives us, besides the निगमन defined here, the names of two more members of a Naiyāyika syllogism, *viz.* प्रतिज्ञा and हेतु. But these three are by no means corresponding with the *only three* members accepted by the Mīmāṃsakas and adopted by the Vedāntins, which are *either* उदाहरण, उपनय and निगमन *or* प्रतिज्ञा, हेतु and उदाहरण, *but never* प्रतिज्ञा, हेतु and निगमन. The last named three members, without the help of the remaining two to come in their proper places, cannot possibly constitute any form of syllogism whatsoever. Therefore the above quotation from Śaṅkara proves beyond doubt, his favourable attitude towards the *five-membered* syllogism, which he himself has occasionally used even in his Śārīraka Bhāṣya.

15. The keynote to the अस्पर्श-योग, which is mentioned in the Māṇḍūkya-kārikās III. 39 and IV. 2 and explained in Kārikās III. 32—46, is to be found as focussed in Kārikās III. 44—46. An exact and most graphic parallel is Kaṭha II. iii. 10—11, where also it is termed as योग with which the sence of अस्पर्श is implicitly associated in the context and general drift of the passage. The Pañcadaśī (I. 58—60; II. 28—29: XI 99—end) means to explain this अस्पर्शयोग as the निर्विकल्पसमाधि, and calls our attention to the Bhagavadgītā VI. 19—28 (especially 23 and 28) and to the Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad IV. iv 1—11 (Maitri-up. VI) on this subject. Bhagavadgītā which is generally based on the Upaniṣads is also called an

Upanisad; and its comparison[1] with the Maitri-up. shows that there are some points in the former apparently taken from the latter. The treatment of '*Om*' in this Upanisad has led scholars to believe it to be older than the Māṇḍūkya commented on by Śaṅkara. Therefore, Śaṅkara's remark 'नाम प्रसिद्धमुपनिषत्सु' on 'अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम' which shows no irrelevancy, proves nothing against his authorship of the Māṇḍūkya-Bhāṣya.

16. In reply to an anticipated objection based on the word तैत्तरीयकसार, Mr. Cintāmaṇi says that the three verses at the beginning of the Taittirīya-Bhāṣyā are undoubtedly of Śaṅkara's composition. I have some reason to humbly differ from him in so far as the third of these stanzas, *viz*.

तैत्तिरीयकसारस्य मया चर्याप्रसादतः ।
विस्पष्टार्थरुचीनां हि व्याख्येयं संप्रणीयते ॥

is found exactly, in the same place in the Taittirīya-Vārtika of Sureśvarācārya, the direct disciple and aged contemporary of Śaṅkara. For this reason alone it will be just to say that it was really composed by Sureśvara, commenting avowedly[2] on his teacher's Bhāṣya, and was

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1. Compare the Maitri-up. (Anandasrama Edition), pp. 408—409 (1) (१) तस्माद् भोक्ता पुरुषो भोज्या प्रकृतितस्तत्स्थो भुङ्क्ते इति, (२) कौमारं यौवनं जरा (३) एवं सर्वाणीन्द्रियकर्माणि, प्राणकर्माणि etc with the Gita (XIII. 21) (II. 13) (IV. 27), etc.

2. See the तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक (Anandasrama Edition), p. 2,—

यस्येदं सकलामलेन्दुकिरणप्रख्यैर्यशोरश्मिभि-
व्याप्तं यश्च कृपालुतापरवशश्चक्रे हितं दुःखिनाम् ।
यद्वाणीकुलिशावरुग्णमतयः पेतुर्दिशस्तार्किका
भक्त्या पूज्यतमं प्रणम्य तमहं **तद्भाष्यनीतौ यते** ॥२॥
तैत्तिरीयकसारस्य मया**चार्य**प्रसादतः ।
विस्पष्टार्थरुचीनां हि व्याख्येयं संप्रणीयते ॥३॥

And (on भृगुवल्ली, Khanda X), p. 212,—

तैत्तिरीयकसारस्य वार्तिकामृतमुत्तमम् । **मस्करीन्द्रप्रणीतस्य भाष्यस्यैतद्विवेचनम्** ॥ ८० ॥
मुमुक्षुसार्थवाहस्य 'भवनामभृतो' यतेः । शिष्यश्चकार तद्भक्त्या सुरेशाख्यो महार्थवत् ॥८१॥

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादपूज्यशिष्यस्य
श्रीमत्सुरेश्वराचार्यस्य कृतिषु **तैत्तिरीयकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिकं** सम्पूर्णम् ॥

later incorporated into the body of the Bhāṣya sometime before Ānandajñāna, who has explained it in both places without saying as to who was its originator.

If it is said of Ānandagiri[1] that he comments on the verse with the firm conviction that it was (a part of the Bhāṣya and hence) the genuine composition of Śaṅkara, the same thing can be said, and perhaps more emphatically as a perusal of his Ṭīkā on this Vārtika stanza should lead one to believe, of him even in connection with Sureśvara. Therefore until the contingency of this cross-quotation is explained satisfactorily[2] we can safely ascribe the authorship of only the first two stanzas of the Taittirīya-Bhāṣya to Śaṅkara.

17. Dr. Deussen's incidental suggestion that the Taittirīya-Bhāṣya, agreeing, as it does with the latter interpretation of the आनन्दमयाधिकरण (Brahmasūtra I. i. 12—19) which, again, in the Dr's opinion, may be due to a later interpolator, must not, under that alternative, be attributed to Śaṅkara (*vide* the quotation to n. 9 above), is untenable. Because besides Śaṅkarānanda's declaration about the genuineness of both the Bhāṣya and Vārtika on this Upaniṣad as shown above (in section 9 and n. 25). Sureśvara's Vārtika itself definitely proves (n. 55) that his guru, Śaṅkara, had written the Bhāṣya on which he wrote his Vārtika; while a comparison of both proves, beyond all

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1. Mr. Cintamani's paper, Madras or con. Proceed, p. 423 (middle).

2. As an explanation it might be suggested that Sankara composed it originally for his Bhasya and Suresvara adopted it since it could also serve his purpose; and that the silence of Anandagiri should be taken as significant for such a view. But it is hardly imaginable that Suresvara who composed many thousands of such verses should have committed what we call a '*literary forgery*' for one simple verse. Anandagiri's business, too, like that of almost all the mediaeval commentators was not to deal with the texts historically but merely to explain what he found in the particular 'grantha' Bhasya or Vartika before him. He made no intentional attempt to give history to his readers, but we deduce history from what he has unconsciously revealed to us.

doubt, that it is the very extant Taittirīya-Bhāṣya which he means to have commented upon.

18. In my view the beginning of three Upaniṣad commentaries, *i. e.*, on the Māṇḍūkya (including the Kārikās), Taittirīya and Nṛsiṃhapūrva-tāpanīya, alone, among others, with devotional verses peculiarly relevant to the subject of the individual Upaniṣads concerned, is due to the fact that Śaṅkara had a personal attachment to these three Upaniṣads as he had to none else. Inasmuch as the first of them, the be-all and the end-all of the Vedānta, is associated with the Vedāntic cult of Saṃnyāsins from amongst whom his grand-teacher, Gauḍapāda[1], (enlarged it into Kārikās and gave it the

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1. Dr Belvalkar and Professor Ranade, the authors of the "History of Indian Philosophy", Vol. II (Poona, 1927), have written on p. 96 of the volume as follows:—

" Further, seeing that even the author of the *Naiskarmyasiddhi*, Suresvaracarya, refers to these Karikas as expressing the views of the Gaudas as *contrasted* (?) with the views of the Dravidas (Nasik. IV, 41 ff.), a doubt can be, and has been, *legitimately* (?) expressed as to the authenticity of the tradition which makes an author by name Gaudapada (the pupil of Suka and the teacher of the great Sankaracarya) responsible for these so called Mandukya Karikas". The Karikas have been actually quoted by several early Buddhistic commentators of the eighth century, as Sankaracarya is usually taken to be."

All this remains to be contradicted by the editors in view of the unmistakeable testimony of Suresvara himself, the writer of the Naiskarmya-Siddhi, whose commentator Jnanottama, saying that the word गौडैः stands for गौडपादाचार्यैः and द्राविडैः for भगवत्पूज्यपादाचार्यैः (*i. e.* Sankara), is not believed by them. The same Suresvara writes in his बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक under Adh. IV, Br. IV;—

'श्लोकांश्च गौडपादाद्यैर्यथोक्तार्थस्य साक्षिणः । अधीयतेऽत्र यत्नेन सम्प्रदायविदः स्वयम् ॥८८६॥ तत्त्वे माध्यात्मिकं दृष्ट्वा तत्त्वं दृष्ट्वा तु बाह्यतः । तत्त्वीभूतस्तदारामस्तत्त्वादप्रच्युतो भवेत् ॥ ८८७ ॥ यदा न लीयते चित्तं न च विक्षिप्यते पुनः । अनिङ्गनमनाभासं निष्पन्नं ब्रह्म तत्तदा ॥ ८८८ ॥

The first of Gaudapada's verses in Mand. Kar II. 38 and the second III. 46.

The next two verses as follows are of '*others*' (said to be of Vyasa by Anandagiri) :—

"मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः । बन्धाय विषयासक्तं मुक्त्यै निर्विषयं यदा ॥८८९ ॥
तावदेव निरोद्धव्यं हृदि यावत्क्षयं गतम् । इदं ज्ञानं च मोक्षं च शेषास्तु ग्रन्थविस्तराः ॥ ८९० ॥

present shape, distributing it over four *Prakaraṇas* prescribed for the traditional study in his school[1] the second belonged to the Śākhā[2] of his family; and the third unfolded the true nature of that god (Lion-man) whose interventional appearance in the person of Padmapāda had once saved his life from the malignant operations of the wicked sorcerer, *Ugra-Bhairava*, the Kāpālika[3]. Again, the Bhāṣyas on the *Kaṭha* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* are opened with small prose salutation to the ancient teachers perhaps for the reason that the former belong to his own Veda, *i. e.* the Kṛṣṇa-yajuḥ, and the latter to the Kāṇva-Śākhā[4] of his mos favourite pupil, Sureśvara, who himself had to write a Vārtika on it, thus both being nearer than the rest of the Upaniṣads with which he had

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The first of these is Brahma-bindu 2; Maitrayani IV. iv. II; Maitri VI. 37 and the second 5; IV. iv. 8; VI 34 respectively of the same. These two verses which are also found in some other later Upanisads prove further that at least either of the Brahma-bindu and Maitr. Upanisads (which are here quoted similarly as authoritative श्लोक as Gaudapada's Karikas and not yet as Sruti) and more probably, the Maitr., must have existed in the times of Sankara whose contemporary and pupil, Suresvara included them in his Vartika. "सम्प्रदायविद्गोऽधीयते" is to be marked especially to determine the meaning of Sankara's expression " सम्प्रदायविद्भिराचार्यैः" where he quotes the Mandukya Karikas.

Sankara himself has quoted Karikas severally from the four *prakaranas* of Gaudapda in an uniform manner in his various Upanisad commentaries.

As far as chronological difficulties, I am sure that scholars shall have either to revise the now-settled date of Sankara or to believe in unusual longevity of the great yogi's like the spiritual ancestors of the great Sankaracanya.

1. See the concluding portion of Sankara's Bhasya on chandogya VIII. xii.

'तस्मादिदं त्यक्तसर्वबाह्यैषणैरनन्यशरणैः परमहंसपरिव्राजकैरत्याश्रमिभिर्वेदान्तविज्ञानपरैरेव वेदनीयं, पूज्यमैः प्राजापत्यं चेमं सम्प्रदायमनुसरद्भिरुपनिबद्धप्रकरणचतुष्टयेन । तथाऽनुशासत्यद्यापि त एव नान्य इति ॥'

I take this to be a direct reference to the '*most venerable*' Gaudapada, his work in *four prakaranas*, and its importance for his school in Sankara's eyes weighty enough to require his commentary to be written on it.

Compare with this also the latter half of Vartika 880 quoted under note page 718 n. 1 above.

2. Madhava's Samksepa-Sankara Jaya, XIII. 65 and also II. 6 with the Tika.
3. *Ibid*, XI. 37—44 and 55—77; *Sankara's* supplication to Nrsimha 59—73,
4. *Ibid*, XIII. 66.

no such special concern. The Gītā-Bhāṣya, too, was begun with a stanza; since its originator was Srīkṛṣṇa who was a personification of Nārāyaṇa, the first teacher, and the author of the poem was Vyāsa, the next important teacher, in the Guruparamparā[1] of his school of the Vedānta. These special features of the above mentioned books shall positively speak for the prosperity of a naturally devotional frame of mind of the commentators, when he had to set on his work.

अद्वैवेषा खण्डनाऽसन्मतानां
बुद्धेः शुद्ध्यै श्रद्धया चाप्यकारि ।
दुःखे किञ्चिद्वादिनां मास्तु यस्माद्
वादे वादे जायते तत्त्वबोधः ॥ १ ॥
येषां शुभा रघुवरस्य हृदब्जसंस्था ।
ध्यानैकतानमनसः प्रतिमा गुरूणाम् ।
संराजते, चरणयोर्निहितं स्वयोस्ते ।
पूजोपहारामिममाश्रुततां नयेयुः ॥ २ ॥[2]

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

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1. नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च ।
व्यासं शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥१॥
श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्मपादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यम् ।
तं त्रोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मद्गुरून् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥२॥

2. I undertook to write on this subject for the present occasion under the kind assent and generous patronage of my revered teacher Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, to whom I shall ever remain indebted both for my status and enlightment. My friend and colleague Professor Pandit Ksetresacandra Chattopadhyaya deserves my best gratitude for lending his journals and being kind to me in very many ways. I have to offer my cordial thanks to Professor R. D. Ranade of our Philosophy Department, whose interest in me has proved a direct encouragement to me in my present work. My pupil, Pandit Ramadhana Sharma of the M A. Final class has copied the major part of this paper from my rough copy during my ill-health even at the cost of his most precious time, and, therefore, deserves a special mention here. I must thank in anticipation Dr. L. Sarup, the Local Secretary, Lahore Conference, for the admission of this paper to the Conference, even when it reaches him at the eleventh hour.

THE STORY OF YAYĀTI AS FOUND IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND IN THE MATSYAPURĀṆA; A TEXTUAL COMPARISON.

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1. Abbreviations used in the paper.

MB.=Mahābhārata.

Matsya=Matsyapurāṇa.

Matsya (Part I)=The ययातिचरित portion of the Matsyapurāṇa.

Matsya (Part II)=The rest of the Matsyapurāṇa (omitting ययातिचरित portion).

MB. (Ādi—Part I—A)=The ययातिचरित version of the Mahābhārata (Ādi Parva).

Cae.=caesura.
p.=page.
pp.=pages.
l.=line.
st.=stanza.
syl.=syllable.

Introductory.

A student of Sanskrit, must sooner or later realise, along with the richness of the vast field of Sanskrit literature, the deplorable lack of reliable chronology in almost every branch of Indian thought. The difficulties resulting from the traditional drawback are not few. The one which makes itself continuously felt arises in connection with the use of extant texts as our authority and guide in matters of research. Not only is it difficult to arrive at exact chronology, but also to find out the exact and the genuine text.

The textual differences broadly viewed are seen to take the following forms:—

(*i*) Different recensions of one and the same text having additions, omissions and alterations.

(*ii*) Different works having some passages in common.

(*iii*) Minor differences in reading popularly styled पाठान्तर.

To the list of such works as have some or all of the above textual differences we may add the Mahābhārata and the Matsyapurāṇa, which come under the 2nd category than under the other two, presenting as they do, the following portions in common[1].

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1. Common stanzas found here and there have not been taken into consideration.

Mahabharata[1] (Adiparva).	Corresponding portion in the Matsyapurana[2]	General contents.
I, 18. 53—58 19. 1—33	251. 5—36.	अमृतमन्थनप्रकरणे देवानाममृतपानं देवरूपेणामृतं पिबतो राहोः शिरश्छेदनम्। देवदैत्ययोर्युद्धे दैत्यपराजयः।
69. 35—61	24. 55—71.	संक्षेपेण ययात्युपाख्यानम्।
70—87.	25—42.	सविस्तरं ययात्युपाख्यानम्।

A study of these common portions shows that some important differences, such as alterations, omissions or additions in one or the other text, are found among them which sometimes affect the metre[3] and the context[4] as well. The question, therefore, naturally arises which of the two texts is genuine ? Whether one is borrowing from the other or both borrow from a common source. In the following few pages an humble attempt is made to arrive at some solution to the above problem.

To handle cases like these the evidence of metre seems to be more cogent than that of context, language etc. We will, therefore, take up, first of all, the metrical differences, will examine and analyse them, and if possible, will show the relative position occupied by the metres of both the works in the development of metrical phenomena, we shall, then, if successful in our attempt, get a sound basis for the proper consideration of other textual differences and shall

1. All the references are made to the Mahabharata, edited and published by T. R. Krishnacharya, printed at the Nirnaya Sagara Press.

2. These references relate to the Matsyapurana, printed at the Anandasrama press (1907) under Anadasrama Sanskrit series (No. 54). Excepting references to these portions which are always made to the above edition other references are made to the Calcutta edition unless otherwise stated.

3. This happens almost always in the Trimeter stanzas.

4. These differences are more frequent among the dimeter stanzas than among the Trimeter ones.

in the end be in a position to decide on the ground afforded by the cumulative evidence available from all sides.

Section I.

Metrical comporisan of the Trimeter stanzas of the *Mahābhārata* and the Matsyapurāṇa.

Our Method of Metrical Analysis.

In order to facilitate comparison we have adopted the following method for analysing the Trimeter stanzas. All the Trimeter stanzas have been broadly divided into two main classes, namely, the symmetrical and the unsymmetrical. Under the symmetrical class we have put all such stanzas as are composed of rhythmically identical padas and include those whose any one pada is defective in its quantity of the initial syllable only.

In order to distinguish the different varieties of this class, the names[1] peculiar to the classical varieties to which they correspond have been given to them. The unsymmetrical class contains the rest of the stanzas which may be further subdivided as (*i*) non-classical stanzas of the Vṛtta (samavṛtta) type, (*ii*) non-classical stanzas of the Jāti and Ardhasama type and (*iii*) classical stanzas of the Jāti and Ardhasama type[2]. The stanzas coming under the first sub-division, if classified according to the degree to which they approach the classical metres, fall into three kinds. A very close appoach towards the classical metres (Samavṛtta type) is seen in those stanzas

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1. The upendravajra and the Indravamsa varieties have been included under Indravajra and Vamsastha respectively.

2. The Ardhasama metres as indicated by their name "semi-equal" are uneven in their padas. They have therefore not been put under symmetrical class, though treated by the Indian prosodists as Aksara metres. They could neither be put under the Jati metres, as they are not quite mora-metres, since the number and the quantity of their syllables, long or short, are regularly fixed. Hence they have been separately mentioned here. In future we include them among the Jati.

which are composed of, more or less different, classical pādas.[1] Then come those which have some classical and some non-classical pādas. In the last class we put those which contain non-classical pādas only. Whenever necessary the non-classical pādas only thus have been further analysed and put under different groups which are intended to show different varieties of non-classical rhythms.

Following the above method, we now give a comparative survey of the Trimeter[2] stanzas of the Mahābhārata and the Matsyapurāṇa.

First of all we give the actual number of occurrences of each classical metre of the Mahābhārata (Vṛtta and Jāti) according to the books (Parvas) in which they are found. Then we arrange the figures in the manner given above along with the approximate percentages, we do the same thing with the metres of the Matsyapurāṇa.

1. The padas defective in the initial quantity only are treated as classical.

2. The word 'Trimeter' has been used in a wider sense covering also those varieties of metres which go beyond the Vedic trimeter system from where the term is borrowed.

1						11
3						37
3					2	10½
4						11
						1
3½						4½
123½	45	17	3	......	2	2415½
265	98	12	32	10	......	3080
5						6
2						2
						28
9						36
						2
						6
16						80
404½	133	29	35	10	2	5575½

55. 13—14 is a repetition of XII 192. 73—74 (6 padas). In XII 291·46 one of these, namely XII

Table giving the analysis of the Trimeter* stanzas of the Matsyapurāṇa.
Total Trimeter stanzas of the Matsyapurāṇa=789½.

Symmetrical=565½ (72%)

Unsymmetrical=224 (28%)

- of Vṛtta type=158 (72%.)
  - of the 1st kind =41 (26·5%).
  - of the 2nd kind =117 (73·5%).
  - of the 3rd kind nil
  - classical pādas = 258 (54%).
  - non-classical pādas 218 (46%).
- of jāti type=66 (29%.)
  - classical=47 69%.
  - non-classical=19 30·3%.

आर्या=3 गीति=1 अपरवक्त्र=2 वैतालीय=2 पुष्पिताग्रा=25 औपच्छन्दसिक=11

N. B. The following varieties are found:—

इन्द्रवज्रा=356
शालिनी=11
रथोद्धता=4
दोधक=11
भ्रमरविलसित=1
वंशस्थ=42
भुजङ्गप्रयात=9
द्रुतविलम्बित=11
तोटक=13
प्रहर्षिणी=4
रुचिरा=32
वसन्ततिलका=47
मालिनी=13
पञ्चचामर=8½
स्रग्धरा=3

*The following stanzas have been omitted from this table:—
154·554—575 (Irregular Daṇḍaka rhythms predominate in these verses, the number of syllables in which varies from 20 to 115 syllables. The division to pādas is not clear at all and most of the verses are specimens of 'metrical prose').
159·40—43 (Irregular Gatha metres).
163. (About 19 verses—found only in MS. (*Vid.* Matsya. p. 353—Note.) The first 4 V. V. form one st, the last 4 are भुजङ्गप्रयात st., the rest have पञ्चचामर rhythms if ⏑ — are added in the end.

On the basis of facts given in the above tables we are entitled to make the following brief remarks regarding the relative position occupied by the metres of both the works.

The general increase in the number of the symmetrical stanzas in the Matsya (from 44 per cent in the MB. to 72 per cent in the Matsya), the emergence of four new symmetrical varieties (namely, दोधक, भ्रमरविलसित, पञ्चचामर and स्रग्धरा), the introduction of longer[1] pāda-rhythms like स्रग्धरा and the remarkable increase in the number of stanzas which cross the vedic trimeter limit,[2] besides an overflow of some of

1. The longest pada in the MB. is शार्दूलविक्रीडित having 19 syllables, while that in the Matsya is स्रग्धरा which has 21 syllables to a pada.

2. The following are such stanzas. The figures given for both the works illustrate the point.

Names of Metres.	No. of syls. to a pāda	MB. (out of 2415½ stanzas.)	Matsya (out of 565½ stanzas.)
प्रहर्षिणी	13	11(4·6 per 10,00)	4(7 per 10,00
रुचिरा	13	37(17·7 per 10,00)	32(56·6 per 10,00)
वसन्ततिलका	14	10½	47
मालिनी	15	11	13
पञ्चचामर	16	nil.	8½
स्रग्धरा	21	nil.	3

those which remain within the Trimeter system[1] in the Matsya, makes us think that the metres of the Matsya belong to a later period of development than those of the MB.

As a detailed examination of the unsymmetrical stanzas, especially of the Vṛtta type, is obviously beyond the range of our present attempt, we confine ourselves to mentioning one fact, namely, the total absence of the stanzas of the third kind in the matsya.

About the stanzas of the jāti type we have to speak in greater detail as the decrease by 22·8 per cent and the corresponding increase of the classical and the non-classical varieties respectively in the Matsya require explanation which we will try to give through a detailed examination of the jāti metres of both the works. To facilitate comparison we shall deal with the classical and non-classical varieties separately. We now begin with the classical varieties.

The first important fact we notice among the classical varieties is the emergence of the Vaitālīya stanza—form in the Matsya[2]—a form which is altogether absent from the MB. This we take to be a sure sign of the posteriority of the metres of the Matsya, because we regard the Vaitātiya form to be a later formation being directly derived from the Aupacchandasika[3] as we shall show now.

1. The following are such metres which increase considerably in Matsya.

	MB.	Matsya.
भुजङ्गप्रयात	3	9
द्रुतविलम्बित	2	11
तोटक	1	13
रथोद्धता	5½	4

2. The following are the two Vaitaliya stanzas—137·29; 137·36.

3. The Indian prosodists—Pingala and others—derive Aupacchandasika from the Vaitaliya form which they seem to regard as the original form (cf. Pin. 433.).

A comparison of the schemes of the Aupacchandasika and Vaitālīya shows that the Vaitālīya pāda is a catalectic Aupacchandasika pāda. This pair is essentially identical, as may be seen by comparing the posterior pāda. The posterior pāda for the Aupacchandasika is ⏑⏑ – – ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑ which when catalectic should have final syllaba anceps. But this happens only at the end of the stanza and never at the end of the first hemistich—an indication that Vaitālīya is a derived form.

We further notice that the Aupacchandasika is also very rare—there being only two stanzas[1] in the whole of the great epic. In the Matsya, on the other hand, we find eleven Aupacchandasika stanzas.[2]

After having mentioned these few important facts in connection with the classical jāti types, we pass on to the non-classical forms. A close examination of these forms of the MB[3]. shows that they are irregular combinations of Puṣpitāgrā and Aparavaktra pādas[4] in one and the same stanza as is shown in the following table:—

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1. The following are the two stanzas:—I. 251·34 and IV. 62·34.

2. The following is the list of the Aupacchandasika stanzas in the Matsya:—69·62, 63; 81·1, 2, 95·36, 134·32, 137·34, 138·51, 139·44, 161·88, 285·22.

3. The following are the six non-classical stanzas:— I. 30·52; 30·53, III. 203·126, VIII. 31·32, XII. 225·12, 375·90.

4. The Puspitagra and Aparavaktra are metrically identical with the only difference that the Aparavaktra has one syllable—usually two more—less than the Puspitagra. In other words the Aparavaktra is a catalectic Puspitagra. We may also note that the Aupacchandasika and Vaitaliya bear to each other the same relation as held by Puspitagra and Aparavaktra. Hence comparing their schemes we find that every Puspitagra is also an Aupacchandasika and every Aparavaktra a Vaitaliya, though not vice-versa.

In this table 'Apa' stands for Aparavaktra and 'Pu' for Puṣpitāgrā.

Non-classical Jāti[1] stanzas of the MB.	Pādas			
	a	b	c	d
I. 30·52	Apa (a)	Pu (b)	Apa (a)	Apa (b)
I. 30·53	Pu (a)	Apa (b)	Apa (a)	Pu (b)
III. 203·126	Pu (a)	Apa (b)	Pu (b)	Apa (a)
VIII. 31·32	Pu (a)	Apa (b)	Apa (a)	Apa (b)
XII. 255·12.	Apa (a)	Pu (b)	Apa (a)	Apa (b)
XII. 375·9.	Apa (a)	Pu (b)	Apa (a)	Apa (b)

We notice in the above examples three cases, namely, I. 30·52; XII. 255·12; XII. 375·9, are rhythmically identical and approach the Aparavaktra form in exactly equal measure. They are as a matter of fact, Aparavaktra stanzas with an a-catalectic 'b' pāda which is equal to a Puṣpitāgrā (b) pāda.

Among the non-classical varieties of the Matsya a similar case[2] is found in 137·35. (Apa (a), Apa (b), Pu (a), Apa (b). The other non-classical varieties not found in the MB. may be classified as follows:—

1. 'Jati' stands for the Ardhasamavrtta also (cf. note 2. p. 724).

2. One more instance is found in $\frac{\text{133.70 Cal. edi.}}{\text{133.69 Anand. edi.}}$

a=Apa (a); b=Apa (b); c,d=Pu (b) where the combination of Apa and Pu-padas is not as regular as in the case above, 137.35.

(1) Combinations of Puṣpitāgrā and Aupacchandasika pādas in one and the same stanzas as shown in the following table Pu=Puṣpitāgrā; Au =Aupacchandsika.

Non-classical jāti stanzas of the Matsya.	Pādas.			
	a	b	c	d
138·48.	Pu (a)	Au (b)	Pu(b) if 9th syl is short.	Au (b)
138·49.	Pu (a)	Au (b)	Pu (a)	Au (b)
138·52.	Pu (b)	Au (b)	Au (a)	Au (b)
138·56	Pu (a) if 7th syl. is long.	Au (a)	Pu (a)	Pu (b)

N. B.—The favour shown to Aupacchandasika pada above is quite in keeping with the remarkable growth of the Aupacchandasika stanzas in the Matsya. Knowing that every Puspitagra pada is also a corresponding Aupacchandasika pada, we can clearly see an approach to the Aupacchandasika form in almost all of them.

(2) The formation of the Mātrāsamakas in the following instances.

133·69 (Cal. edi.).

133·68 (Anand. edi.).

a ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ; 14 mātrās
b ⏑⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ; [illegible] „ – 'Anand' reading.
c – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ; 16 „ – Cal. reading.
d – ⏑⏑⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ; 16

136·63

a ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ; 15 mātrās.
identical pādas. { b – – – ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ; 16 „
c ⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – – – ⏑ – 16 „
d ⏑⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ; 16 „

N. B. In the second instance we find a very close approach towards the Pādākulaka variety of the Mātrāsamaka The only defect lies in the lack of one mora in 'a' pāda.

(3) The emergence of irregular Gāthā metres in 159·40 – 43.

N. B. We cannot say anything more about them at present, as the division into pādas among them is not quite clear.

(4) A close approach towards the Vaitālīya form in 142·40. (a=14 mātrās; b, d=16 mātrās each; c=15).

(5) A peculiar combination of Puṣpitāgrā and Praharṣiṇī pādas in one and the same stanza in 138·59. (a=Pu (a) ; b=Pu(b) if 7th syl. is short; c=Pu (a); d=Praharṣiṇī pāda).

N. B.—This fact perhaps shows that the Puṣpitāgrā especially the prior pāda, has been derived from the Praharṣiṇī, which in its own turn seems to have come out of the Rucirā type. We have seen that a Rucirā pāda may sometimes appear with an extra syllable (long). In that case the post-caesural portion of both Rucirā and Praharṣiṇī are seen to be rhythmically identical as we see in the following schemes:—

⏑–⏑–‖⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–,–' Rucirā 'freak').
– – –‖⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑–⏑– –(Praharṣiṇī pāda.

As regards the precaesural portion of Praharṣiṇī, it is also rythmically similar to that of Rucirā, for it begins with a mora-equivalent, – – –, of the Rucirā's diiambus, ⏑–⏑–. Now comparing the Praharṣiṇī pāda with the Puṣpitāgrā pādas we find a close agreement in them in closing in ⏑–⏑–⏑– –.

Prior foot Posterior foot
– – – ⏑⏑⏑ | ⏑–⏑–⏑– – (Praharṣiṇī pāda).
⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ | ⏑–⏑–⏑– – (Puṣpitāgrā (a) pāda).
⏑⏑⏑ ⏑– | ⏑–⏑–⏑– – („ (b) pāda).

Combining[1] the prior feet of Puṣpitāgrā into a common scheme we get ⏑ ⏑ (⏑ ⏑) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ which we find a resolved form of – – – ⏑ – ⏑ in the following way:—

– – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ is rhythmically = ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ , = ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ (by resolution).

(6) Lastly very close approaches towards the different varieties of the Āryā class in the following instances:—

	Number of mātrās in pādas.				Remarks showing approach towards the varieties of the Āryā class.
	a	b	c	d	
193·36.	12	15	12	16/17	उद्गीति if one mora is added in 'd' pāda.
193·38.	15	14	12	15	Pādas 'a' and 'b' are irregular. The last two pādas are those of आर्या or उपगीति
193·39.	12	20	12	15	आर्यागीति with defective 'd' pāda which has 5 morae less.
193·44.	12	20	12	15	Same as 193·39 above.
195·45.	12	18	12	17	गीति, if one mora is added in 'd' pāda.

1. We combine them as follows:—

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ prior foot of Puṣpitāgrā (a) = 5 morae.

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑, prior „ „ „ (b) = 7 „

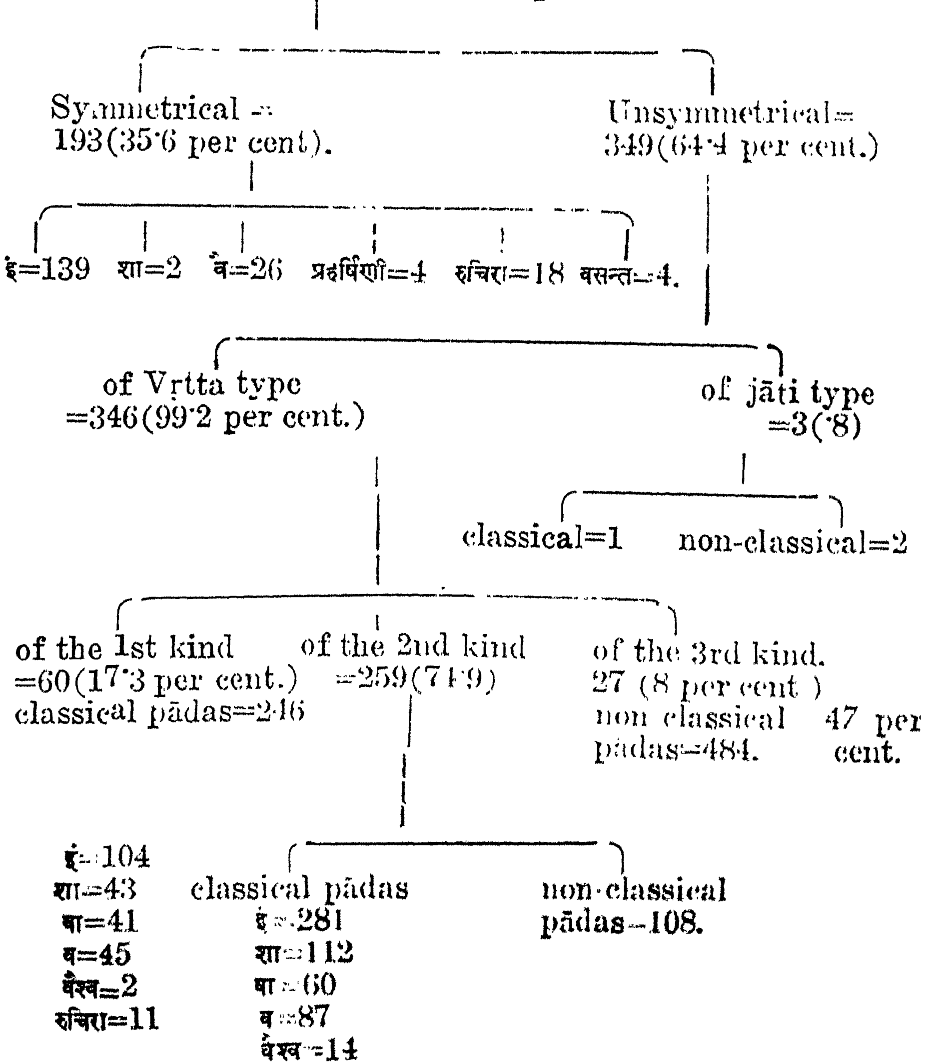
Hence, the combined foot must at one time give 5 morae and at other times 7 morae by the process of contraction and resolution and must also contain the respective rhythms of the feet. In the combined foot ⏑ ⏑ (⏑ ⏑) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ we can get the prior foot of Puṣpitāgrā (a) by omitting the foot (⏑ ⏑) and taking the next ⏑ ⏑.

On the basis of the facts presented above in connection with the classical and the non-classical jāti metres of both the works we are now in a position to remark that the jāti metres of the Matsyapurāṇa belong to a posterior stage of development in so far as they contain among themselves regular Vaitālīya metre and present instances showing the development of other varieties of the jāti class. This result combined with our previous conclusion which we got from the comparison of the symmetrical stanzas leads us to give a prior place to the Mahābhārata in the order of sequence.

It will be noticed above that our conclusions are upto this time based on the comparison of the symmetrical stanzas and the unsymmetrical stanzas of the jāti type. In order to be more definite in our conclusions it is necessary for us to examine the unsymmetrical stanzas of the Vṛtta type of one book (parva) at least and to compare them with those of the Matsya.

We select for this purpose the Ādi Parva (Book I), because (*i*) it presents almost all the important metrical peculiarities of the unsymmetrical stanzas of the Vṛtta type of the MB., and (*ii*) it contains as its part Yayāticarita with which we have to deal later on.

A bird's-eye-view of the metres of the Adi-parva is given in the following table.



A comparison of this table with the one of the Matsya metres gives the following important conclusions:—

1. The total absence of the unsymmetrical stanzas of the 3rd kind in the Matsya and their presence in about

8 per cent of cases in the MB. supports our previous views.

2. A definite increase (by 10 per cent) of the unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind and a decrease of the stanzas of the second kind in the matsya is quite in keeping with the above fact.

We come to the same conclusion when we analyse and compare the varieties of rhythms in the above stanzas of the three kinds of both the works.

Broadly viewed, all the rhythms fall into two groups, namely, the classical and the non-classical. The rhythms of the second group are further divisible into several other groups according to the degree of nearness they present towards the corresponding classical pāda-rhythms.

Coming first to the classical group of rhythms, we find a few altogether new varieties of rhythms coming out in the Matsya among the unsymmetrical stanzas of the first and the second kind. To facilitate comparison we put together in the following table all the classical rhythms found in the unsymmetrical stanzas of the Vṛtta type of both the works.

Serial number of clasical varieties	Names of classical pāda-rhythms.	Occurrence in the MB. (Ādi).		Occurrence in the Matsya.	
		in the un-symmetrical stanzas of the first kind.	in the un-symmetrical stanzas of the second kind.	in the un-symmetrical stanzas of the first kind.	in the un-symmetrical stanzas of the second kind.
1.	इन्द्रवज्रा (including उपेन्द्रवज्रा)	104	281	73	157.
2.	शालिनी	43	112	14	43.
3.	वातोर्मी	41	60	21	27.
4.	वंशस्थ (including इन्द्रवंशा)	45	87	41	5.
5.	वैश्वदेवी	2	14	nil.	2.
6.	द्रुतविलम्बित	nil.	nil.	nil.	3.
7.	प्रमिताक्षरा	nil.	nil.	nil.	2.
8.	तोटक	nil.	nil.	nil.	3.
9.	पञ्चचामर (12 syls. to a pada)	nil.	nil.	2	nil.
10.	रुचिरा	11	nil.	13	6.
11.	वसन्ततिलका	nil.	nil.	2	10.
	Total—	246 pādas	554 pādas	166 pādas	258 pādas.
	percentages	(17·3 per cent)	(53 per cent)	(26·5 per cent)	(·54 per cent)

1. See footnote next page.

It will be seen in the above table that the varieties 6 to 11, namely द्रुतविलम्बित, प्रमिताक्षरा, तोटक, पञ्चचामर, रुचिरा and वसन्ततिलका are absent from the unsymmetrical stanzas of both the first and the second kinds in Ādi with the exception of रुचिरा which is found in the unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind only. Another point which deserves notice is that the verses of these stanzas are seen to cross the Vedic trimeter limit in the Matsya a fact not so prominent in Ādi. Such verses are रुचिरा and वसन्ततिलका, of which the former is found in Ādi.

As a natural consequence of the increase in the number of the classical pādas in the Matsya, we find a corresponding decrease in the non-classical pādas there as is shown below.

	Total non-classical pādas in the unsym. sts. of the Vṛtta type.	
	Ādi (MB.)	Matsya.
Total number of verses along with percentages.	592; (55 per cent)	218; (46 per cent)
number of varieties of rhythms found in them.	72 (12 per 100)	42 (18 per 100)

The increase by about 6 per cent. in the matsya varieties of rhythms leads us to consider them in more detail, as it apparently shows that the verses of the matsya are more irregular than those of Ādi—a point which is liable to go against our previous views.

1. These are two metres of this name found in the books on Sanskrit prosody. The one given here has 12 syllables to a pada and is given in Vṛtta-ratnakara (3·66) only. Another variety of the same name is found in Chando-manjari (2·16·4) and has 16 syllables to a pada. The later variety is found in the Matsya in 8½ instances. The scheme for both the varieties is different. For the first variety it is ⏑–⏑ (ज) | –⏑⏑ (भ) | ⏑–⏑ (ज) | –⏑– (र) | ; for the second one it is ⏑–⏑ (ज) | –⏑– (र) | ⏑–⏑ (ज) | –⏑– (र) | ⏑–⏑ (ज) | – (ग) which is nothing but a doubling of the Pramanika pada ⏑–⏑ | –⏑– | ⏑–.

We have already seen that some new classical pāda-rhythms are present in the group of classical pādas Some of these pādas, namely, द्रुतविलम्बित, तोटक and वसन्ततिलका, are seen in the process of formation among the non classical group[1]. The increase in the Matsya varieties of non classical rhythms, therefore, does not go against the process of metrical development. A strong support to this fact is also found in the greater rhythmical regularity in the non-classical verses of the Matsya than in those of Ādi, as is shown in the following table.

Verses classified according to the number of syllables in them.	Total number of varieties of rhythms found in—	
	Ādi parva (MB.)	Matsyapurāṇa.
Verses of 10 syllables.	2	3 (found only in the portion common to MB. (Ādi).
Verses of 11 syllables.	32	17
Verses of 12 syllables.	37	17
Verses of 13 syllables	5	4
Verses of 15 syllables.	nil	1
	Total 72	Total 42

1. For a detail treatment of them vide pp. 40—43.

Again, a detailed examination of these varieties of rhythms shows that those of Ādi include almost[1] all the rhythmical varieties of the Matsya—a proof that there is greater rhythmical regularity in the matsya. In order to show this we shall now take up one or two particular examples.

We note down below a group of rhythmical varieties which we call Vaṃśastha[2] varieties as found in both the works, (Matsya and Ādi).

Ādi parva—

1. ⏑̄ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑̲ ; Vaṃśastha–if 3rd syl. is sh.
2. – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – „ „ 7th „ „ „
3. ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – „ „ 3rd and 7th are short.
4. ⏑̄ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – „ if 3rd, 7th syls. are short and the 5th syl. is long.

Matsyapurāṇa.

1. ⏑̄ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – „ if 5th syl. long and 7th short.

Here we notice that the scheme of the Matsya is contained in the schemes of Ādi where it appears as the fourth variation noted above. In order to compare these two groups of variations we will have to find out a common scheme out of the Ādi variations which we put as follows:—

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑̲ – ⏑ – ⏑ –[3].

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1. The following three varieties are the exceptions, being found only in the Matsya— (1) द्रुतविलम्बित (2) तोटक; (3) वसन्ततिलका;

2. Vamsastha includes Indravamsa also.

3. The long (—) or short (⏑) quantity within brackets written over the quantities, indicates the change required to bring the rhythm to the corresponding classical type.

Here we notice that the quantities of these syllables namely the 3rd, 5th and 7th are uncertain, while in the Matsya only two syllables, namely, the 5th and 7th are so affected, the 3rd syllable having attained fixity. Again, the comparison of the common schemes[1] for the Vaiśvadevī variations also shows that the Matsya scheme has undergone a definite development.

We have so far offered a comparative metrical survey of the Mahābhārata—more particularly of the Adiparva—and the Matsyapurāṇa and we have been led to the conclusion that the metres of the Matsyapurāṇa are rhythmically more developed than those of the Mahābhārata or the Adiparva. Believing in the historical development of metres we hold now that the Mahābhārata (including Adi) is a work prior to the Matsyapurāṇa.

Having got this sound basis, we now proceed to think over the main questions at issue, namely the genuineness of the common portions of the MB. and the Matsya noted before on page 2. As we have to proceed on the metrical grounds first, we will have to omit at present the following portions as they are not important from the metrical point of view.

MB. (Adi)	Corresponding portions in the Matsya 251. 5—36.
I. 18·53-58 }	
I. 19·1-33 }	
I. 69·35-61	24. 55—71.

The latter portion, namely, $\frac{\text{I. 69. 35–61 (Adi)}}{\text{24. 55–71 (Matsya)}}$ is

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1. The following are the common schemes of:—
Adiparva. (Vaisvadevi variation).
⏑ (⏑) (⏑) (⏑) (⏑) (⏑) — (⏑) — ⏑ — —

Matsya. (Vaisvadevi variations).
⏓ — (⏑) — (⏑) (⏑) — (⏑) — ⏑ — —

In the first scheme the quantities of the syllables are uncertain, while in the second only four remain in that state, the second and the 4th syllables having attained fixity.

written in dimeter stanzas with whom we are not dealing in the present paper. The former, though written in the trimeter stanzas, has scarcely any metrical difference worth consideration.

We are thus left with the only portion $\frac{(1\cdot70\text{—}87 \text{ Ādi})}{25\text{—}42 \text{ (Matsya)}}$ which contains the story of ययाति and other connected events in full detail.

SECTION II.

Comparison of the metres of the ययातिचरित portion of the Matsyapurāṇa with those of the rest of the Matsyapurāṇa.

We have already said in the introductory part of the essay that the textual differences in the two versions of the ययातिचरित sometimes affect the meter. Our aim in the next section is to examine closely these differences and to find what light they throw on the main problem. In order to prepare the ground for this we will have to look carefully into the relative position occupied by the metres of the ययातिचरित porition of the Matsya and the rest of the Purāṇa. This is intended to show how the metres of the two parts of the Matsya are mutually related. Whether the metres of the other part of the Matsya form a natural sequel to those of the ययातिचरित portion or the two parts have distinct metrical features of their own. If it is found that the metres of the ययातिचरित portion have distinct features of their own and are not connected with those of the other part, it will strengthen our belief more and more in the genuineness of the ययातिचरित of the MB. (Ādi). We, therefore, proceed to compare as briefly as possible the metres of the

portion of the Matsya with those of the rest of the Matsyapurāṇa to be called henceforward Parts I and II respectively.

The table following gives the details required for comparison. As there are no stanzas of the jāti type in Part I, we omit them in the following table from Part II as we have already dealt with them in detail.

Trimeter stanzas of the Vṛtta type of the Matsyapurāṇa
=723½ (or 2928 pādas)

- **In ययातिचरित only (Part I)** 132 (or 532 pādas)
  - Symmetrical stanzas 12 (=48 pādas) (9 per cent.)
    - इं=11
    - शा =1
  - Unsymmetrical stanzas 120 (=484 pādas) (91 per cent.)
    - of the 1st kind 18 (=72 pādas) (15·8 per cent.)
      - classical pādas
        - इं = 31 pādas
        - शा = 13 „
        - वा = 21 „
        - वं = 7 „
    - of the 2nd kind 102 (=412 pādas (84·2 per cent.)
      - classical pādas = 211 (51 per cent.)
        - इं = 136 pādas
        - शा= 42 „
        - वा= 26 „
        - वं= 5 „
        - वैं = 2 „
      - non-classical pādas = 201 (49 per cent.) (39 varieties of rhythms)
- **In the rest of the Matsya (Part II)** 591½ (=2396 pādas)
  - Symmetrical stanzas 553½ (=2238 pādas) (93·5 per cent.)
  - Unsymmetrical stanzas 38 (=158 pādas) (6·5 per cent.)
    - of the first kind 23 (=94 pādas) (63·5 per cent.)
      - classical pādas = 94
        - इं = 42 pādas
        - शा = 1 „
        - वा = 34 „
        - पञ्चचामर=2 „
        - रुचिरा=13 „
        - वसन्तति० = 2 „
    - of the second kind 15(=64 pādas) (39·5 per cent.)
      - classical pādas 47 73·5 p. c.
        - इं = 21 pādas
        - शा = 1 „
        - वा = 1 „
        - द्रुतविलं=3 „
        - प्रमिताक्षरा 2 pāda
        - तोटक 3 „
        - रुचिरा 6 „
        - वसन्तति० 10 „
      - non-classical pādas = 17 (10 varieties of rhythms)

From the above table we gather the following few facts:—

I. In Part II, unsymmetrical stanzas increase by 84·5 per cent and present at the same time several new classical varieties already noted in the preceding table on page 749.

II. In Part II, unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind increase by 48 per cent followed by the decrease of those of the 2nd kind by 45 per cent.

III. The number and the varieties of classical pādas considerably increase in Part II. Some of these varieties go beyond the Vedic trimeter limit.

We can conclude on the basis of the above facts that the metres of the two parts of the Matsya widely differ from one another. We shall be in a better position to speak more definitely in this connection after we have closely examined the non classical pāda-rhythms of both the parts as it will decide the question of comparative rhythmical regularity in the unsymmetrical stanzas of both the parts.

In order to do this we shall note down all the varieties of the non classical rhythms of both the parts side by side in the following table.

N. B. The following method has been adopted in the Table. In the first column we give the serial number of varieties according to number of syllables in the pāda-rhythms. In column 2 we give the schemes of rhythms. In the 3rd column we give the serial number of the varieties of rhythms along with the name of the most approximate classical pāda to which each of the non-classical rhythms

may correspond if the changes indicated therein are allowed to take place. In indicating these changes in the quantity of syllables in different positions, the numerical figures are used to denote the position of the syllables indicated by the figure. Thus '3' means '3rd syllable.' In the next two columns we give the actual number of occurrences of the varieties. The last one we reserve for remarks.

Table showing the non-classical varieties of rhythms in the unsymmetrical stanzas of the 2nd kind in Parts I and II and their possible approximation to their corresponding classical varieties.

Verses of 10 syllables 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		No. of pādas in Part I (Matsya)	No. of pādas in Part II (Matsya)	Remarks.
1. – – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –	1. मत्ता if 7 sh.	3	nil.	These 2 pādas may be combined as follows:— ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ (◡̄) ◡ – –
2. ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –	2. मत्ता if 1 l, 7 sh.	1	nil.	
3. * – – – – ◡ – – ◡ – –	3	1*	nil.	

*यत्र त्वं तात गन्तासि लोकान् (42·8d).

	Verses of 12 syllables.													No. of VV in Part I.	No. of VV in Part II.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
1	⏑	–	⏑	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	⏑	–	21 वै.if 5 *l*, 7 s.	1		
2	⏑	–	–	–	–	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	22 वै. if 1 *l*.	2		The common scheme for वै. variations is— – – – – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –
3	–	–	⏑	–	–	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	23 वै. if 3 *l*.	5		
4	–	–	–	–	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	24 वै॰if 5 *l*.	1		*One instance among these, namely 39·8c is a regular Indravajrā pāda in घ and च texts of Matsya (*vide* Ānand edi, 39·8c foot-note 9) page 68.
5	–	–	–	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	25 वै॰if 6 *l*.	1		
6	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	26 वै.if 1, 3 *l*.	7		
7	–	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	27 वै. if 3, 6 *l*.	3*	1	
8	⏑	–	–	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	28 वै. if 1, 6 *l*.	1		
9	–	–	⏑	–	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	29 वै. if 3, 8 *l*.	2		
10	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	30 वै.if 1, 3, 6 *l*.	11	1	
11	–	–	⏑	–	⏑	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	31 वै.if 3, 5, 6 *l*.	2		
12	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	32 वै. if 1, 3, 5, 6 *l*.	1		
13	–	–	–	–	⏑	⏑	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	33 जलधरमाला if 10 *l*.	2*		स. भ, स, म. gaṇas + one instance. 39·6 d has been treated इ.pāda (*vide* Ānand edi p. 68, footnote 4) स, ज, स, स gaṇas
14	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	–	34 प्रमिताक्षरा if 8, 11 s.	1		
15	–	–	–	–	⏑	⏑	–	–	⏑	–	⏑	–	35 ललिता if 3, 7 s.	1		
16	–	–	⏑	–	⏑	–	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	36 irregular	1		
17	⏑	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	⏑	–	⏑	–	⏑	–	–	37 द्रुताद्रि irregular	nil.	1	

TABLE (*Continued*).

	Verses of 13 syllables to a pāda. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13		No. of verses in Part I.	No. of verses in Part II.
1	— — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —	38.	1	Nil.
2	— — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —	39. वसन्ततिलकः rhythm suppressed.	Nil.	2
3	— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —	40.	Nil.	2
4	⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —	41. तोटकम् (irregular)	Nil.	1

	Verses of 15 syllables to a pāda.		No. of verses in Part I.	No. of verses in Part II.
1	⏑ ⏑ — . ⏑ — ⏑ . ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —	42. वसन्तति॰ if initial —⏑ are replaced by—	Nil.	4

It will be seen from the above table that we can divide all these rhythmical variations into three broad classes.

(*i*) The rhythms common to both the parts. Such are only 6 rhythms (out of 42) namely Nos. 4, 6, 7(being इ० (उ०) variations, 27 and 30 being वै० variations.)

(*ii*) The varieties of rhythms found in Part I exclusively.

These are the following :—Nos. 8, 9[1] (इ० variations), 10—17 (वा० variations), 18—20 (शा० variations), 21(वं० variations), 22—23 (वै० variations) and 33—38.

(*iii*) The varieties of rhythms found in Part II exclusively. These are Nos. 39 (द्रुतविलं०irregular) 39, 42 (वसन्तति०variations) and 41 (तोटक variation).

The general impression from the small number of our common varieties (group[(i)]) viewed along with the increasing number of those of Part I, is that the varieties of Part II have undergone some development.

In order to get more definite information regarding the above fact we shall now deal with each group of rhythms separately and select the important variations for our treatment.

Coming to the first group we first come across Indravajrā variations which seem to have remained practically in the same stage in both the parts, though a little development and a greater regularity is visible in Part II in the absence of Nos. 8 and 9 there. The absence of No. 8 (– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –) इ० if 5 *l*, deserve notice as it ceases to be for the first time in Part II (Matsya) after having persisted along with the other akin variations since the Vedas down to the epics. No. 9 (⏑ ⏑ – – – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑

1. We shall speak about them along with the variations of the group (i).

– –) is perhaps a chance variation and consequently disappears in Part II. This variety of rhythm has no history behind it.

We begin to see greater development than we have seen above, as soon as we come to the next common group of variations, namely, the Vaiśvadevī variations appearing in our table as Nos. 27 and 30. A comparison of the common schemes of this variation for both the parts will verify the above statement.

The common scheme of the Vaiśvadevī variations for Part I is as follows :—

⏓ — ⏓ — ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ — ⏑ — —

The similar scheme for the 2nd part stands thus :—

⏓ — ⏓ — — ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

In the first scheme we find that the quantities of 5 syllables are uncertain while in the 2nd only 3 quantities remain in that condition.

The syllables which assume fixity in the second scheme are the 5th, and the 8th both of which become long[1].

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1. How do these syllables become long in the course of development ? We shall try to explain this. Looking at all the variations we find that out of 11 variations there are 9 in which either the 3rd or the 6th or both syllables together are uncertain. From the above description we at once come to know the rhythmical nature of the pada which favours the long quantity of the 5th and 8th syllables. What is this favour due to is our next question.

We know that the long quantity of the 2nd and the 4th syllables has never been affected, so the ⏓ — ⏓ —required a pause somewhere after the 4th syllable. The caesura could not come immediately after the 4th syllable as it involved the awkward prolongation of the post—caesural portion. It could not go beyond the 7th for doing a similar harm to the pre-caesural portion. It could not come after the 7th as its quantity was always short, again it could not be put after the 6th as its quantity was always changing. It had therefore to come after the 5th syllable which was proferably long. As soon as the caesura came there, quantity of the 5th syllable had to be fixed as long by virtue of the fact that cae. favours a preceding long quantity in order to have the caesural effect on the rhythm. The very fact that the 5th long was a rhythmical preference necessitated the long quantity for the 8th syllable. Because in case the 6th remained uncertain and the 7th syllable had to remain short being fixed as such, the rhythm of the verse and more particularly of the foot — ‖ ⏑⏑⏑ (5, 6 7 8) (which would result from the above circumstances) would be considerably marred. Therefore, after one or two syallable coming after the caesura, a long syllable was felt to be the rhythmical necessity. The choice fell on the 8th syllable as it had the capicity to maintain the rhythmical effect under all the above circumstances.

Coming to the next varieties found in Part I exclusively, given under group (ii), we at once notice the presence of fully developed Vātormī and Śālinī pādas in Part II and the absence of any variations of these rhythms in the same part, from which we are led to conclude that from ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ — ⏑ — — (common scheme for the Vātormī variations of Part I) and ⏓ ⏓ — — ‖ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — (common scheme for the Śalinī variations of Part I) we at once come to (in Part II).

— — — — ‖ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — (fully developed Vātormī pāda) and

— — — — ‖ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — (fully developed Śālinīpāda).

respectively.

From the manner in which the Vātormi and Śālinī pādas follow the corresponding variations of Part I we feel inclined to think the development in this case is rather sudden and that the metrical variations of Part II do not naturally follow those of Part I.

Further, in the rhythm (No. 34) ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ — ⏑ ⏓ — — we recognise the प्रमिताक्षरा rhythm which we find in a completely developed form namely, ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —in Part II. The development of जलधरमाला and ललिता variations (Nos. 33, 35) is perhaps still to take place as no development of these is found in Part I or II. We omit the remaining variations of group (ii) now and turn to the consideration of those varieties which are found exclusively in Part II, given in group (iii). These are the तोटक,द्रुतवि० and वसन्तति variations. We shall take them up one by one.

तोटक variation (No. 41).

In st.* 29(अध्याय 154) we come across the rhythm ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— in pādas ' a ' and ' d '. This we recognise to be the complete तोटक rhythm But the pādas ' b ' and more particularly ' c ' attract notice. Pāda ' b ' can be regarded to be तोटक by reading it as भवभावमतवि महानुच्छ्रितः, omitting प्रभव: to be connected with the (c) pāda.

In the above pāda (b) the only possible defect lies in the quantity of the 10th syllable namely 'नु' which according to the general rule ought to be taken as long being a संयुक्तादि syllable. But we have decided in favour of the optional quantity of संयुक्तादि syllables, in cases like these being everywhere guided by the consideration of rhythm. We have, therefore, regarded नु to be short here. We are now left with the (c) pada which we read as follows:—

प्रभव : पुनरर्थिवचोऽभिविस्तृतः

⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑⏑— ⏑— ⏑—

Here we find the तोटक rhythm maintained up to the 10th syllable, namely ऽभि. The last 3 syllables forming the foot—⏑— deserve notice.

According to the तोटक rhythm this foot ought to be ⏑—which we can get either by omitting the first long syllable in—⏑—or by omitting the last syllable and interchanging the position of—⏑, giving the form ⏑—, Whatever change might be suggested the fact remains all the same, namely that तोटक rhythm is seen here in a crude state.

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* Th following is the stanza referred to:—

न तुवेत्सि चराचरभूतगतं

भवभावमतीव महानुच्छ्रितः । प्रभव :

पुनरर्थिवचोऽभिविस्तृतः ।

श्रवणोपम कौतुकभावकृतः 154·29

The same thing more or less takes place in the द्रुतविलम्बित variation (No. 37) found in 286·17a[1].

Here the last three pādas have fully developed द्रुतविलं० rhythm. The first pāda namely

इ ति वि धा न मि दं दि ग ङ्ग ना नाम्
⏑⏑⏑— ⏑⏑—⏑—⏑——

maintains the same rhythm as far as the 8th syllable 'दि'. The last four syllables giving us the foot—⏑—— deserve notice. According to the द्रुतविलं० rhythm this foot ought to be ⏑—⏑—. This will take place if the final syl. in —⏑— is omitted and one short syl. added before the foot—⏑—, resulting in ⏑—⏑—. Our next variation is No. 42, the वसन्तति० (variation). There are 4 identical cases of this variation namely 100. 10 c) 100. 11 a ; 100·12 a, c [2]. All these 4 instances have the common scheme namely,

⏑⏑—⏑—⏑ ⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—⏓

In this we can easily recognise the वसन्ततिलका rhythm with the only difference that the first two syllables are short instead of one long syllable in their place. If we assume that two short syllables are equal to one long syllable and allow the same to take effect in the initial portion of the above rhythm, we will get a fully developed वसन्ततिलका pāda. Our next variation of group (iii) is No. 39 (— — ⏑— ⏑ — —⏑ ⏑—⏑— —) found in 126·34a, b (cal. edition). The pādas run thus:

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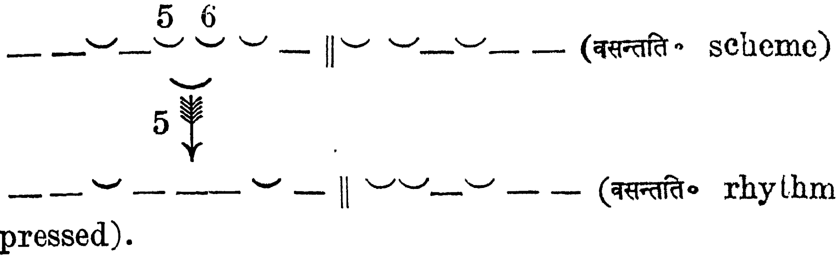
1 The stanza runs as follows:—

इति विधानिमिदं दिगङ्गनानां,
कनककल्पलतांविनिवेदकम् ।
पठति यः स्मरतीह तथेच्छते,
स पदमेति पुरन्दरसेवितम् ॥

2 Other padas in these stanzas are full वसन्तति० padas.

ग्रीष्मे हिमे च वर्षासु च मुंचमानो
घर्मं हिमं च वर्षं च निशां दिनं च

In them we find that the वसन्ततिलका rhythm is suppressed in the middle of pāda as is shown below.



suppressed).

In the full and the suppressed schemes we notice how the two short syllables, namely the 5th and the 6th have been contracted into one long, namely the 5th. Hence, tracing backwards we hold that the Vasantatilakā pāda has come out of the latter pāda above by subjecting the long quantity of its 5th syllable to the process of resolution.

SECTION III.

Metrical evidence brought to bear on the genuineness of the MB. (Adi) version of ययातिचरित

Judging on the basis of facts presented in connection with the metrical comparison of the two parts of the Matsaya purāṇa, we find that the metres of Part I have, at almost every step, distinct features of their own and that the metres of Part II have undergone a distinct development and are therefore not metrically interrelated to those of Part I to which they do not form a natural sequel. It might be further inferred from the above fact that the first part, namely the ययातिचरित of the Matsya does not form a part and parcel to the rest of the work to which it seems to have been added as an extraneous appendage.

We are now in a better position than before to examine the metrical differences[1] of the two versions of the ययातिचरित. A metrical survey of these is to be found in the following tables according to our previous method of metrical analysis.

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(1) Textual differences which do not affect the metre have not been taken into consideration.

Table giving the trimeter stanzas of ययातिचरित of MB. and Matsya.

MB. (Adi)—(70—87 Chapters.)

Total trimeter stanzas=135 (=546 padas.)

- symmetrical stanzas. =8 (5·9 per cent.)
  - इं० —7
  - शा० —1
- unsymmetrical stanzas. =127 (94·1 per cent.)
  - of the first kind 15 (=60 padas) (11·8 per cent.) classical padas
    - इं—27
    - शा० —15
    - वा०—13
    - वं०— 4
    - वै०— 1
  - of the second kind 110 (=444 padas) (86·2 per cent.)
    - classical padas = 208 (46·6 per cent.)
    - non-classical padas = 178 (53·4 per cent.)
  - of the third kind 2 (=8 padas) (1·6 per cent.)

Matsya (25—42 Chapters.)

Total trimeter stanzas=132.

- symmetrical stanzas =12 (=48 padas) (9 per cent.)
  - इ—11
  - शा— 1
- unsym. sts. =(120 (=484 padas) (91 per cent.)
  - of the first kind =18 (=72 padas) (15·8 per cent.) classical padas.
    - इं०—31
    - शा०—13
    - वा०—21
    - वं०— 7
  - of the second kind.
    - classical padas = 211 (51 per cent.)
      - इं०—136
      - वै —2
      - शा०— 42
      - वा०— 26
      - वं०— 5
    - non-classical padas = 201 (49 per cent.)
  - of the third kind. (Nil.)

Besides the above analysis we can also classify all the verses having textual differences into four classes on the basis of the nature of metrical differences present therein.

Class I.—Verses which are non-classical in the MB. (Ādi) become classical in the Mātsya.

Class II.—Verses which are non-classical in the M.B. (Ādi) remain non-classical in the Matsya.

Class III—Verses which are classical in the MB. (Ādi) remain classical in the Matsya.

Class IV.—Verses which are classical in the MB. (Ādi) become non classical in the Matsya.

N. B.—(1) The verses of classes I and IV change their character, while those of classes II and III do not do so. But this does not mean that the verses of the middle classes (II and III) cannot undergo any development. They can and they do present signs of more or less regularity in one or the other version.

(2). The change in the metrical character of the verses of the first three classes in general and of the first class in particular does not require any explanation as it is quite consistent with our previous views. The case is otherwise with the verses of the last class and demands explanation. We are now in a position to explain the important metrical differences found in the two versions of the ययातिच० in the order of the table given on page 45.

First of all we find that the number of symmetrical stanzas increases by 4 in the Matsya version. Coming to particular instances we find that one stanza namely, 42, 9 is altogether omitted in the MB. (Ādi) version. The other three stanzas which become symmetrical in the Matsya version are as follows:—

Matsya. (1) 25·43 (2) 31·16 (3) 40·7

Adi. (1) 70·50. (2) 76·24 (3) 85·7.

We shall now go to each instance separately and try to see how this change takes place.

For reference we give the actual pādas in which the difference is seen.

MB. (Adi).	*Matsya*
(1) 70·53	25·43
a, *c* = इं०	*a*, *c* = इं०
b = वं० (न त्वादृशामित्यमनुप्रशोचते)	*b* = इं० (... शोचेत)
d = सेन्द्राश्च देवा वसवोऽथाश्विनौ च	*d* = इ (सेन्द्राश्च देवावसवोऽश्विनौ च)
(2) 76·24	31·16
a= (न नर्मयुक्तमनृतं हिनस्ति)	*a* = इं०न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति)
b, *c*, *d*= इं०	*b*, *c*, *d* = इं०
(3) 85·7	40·7
a, *b*, *c* =इं०	*a*, *b*, *c* = इं०
d=(विमुच्यारण्ये स्वशरीरधातून्)	= इं (मुक्त्वा त्वरण्ये ········)

We find in these instances that with the little difference in reading (without affecting the meaning at all) the rhythmical regularity has been introduced in the Matsya. This has been obviously done under the increasing influence of the classical element of the Matsyapurāṇa proper, *i. e.*, Part II.

Coming next to the unsymmetrical stanzas we find that their number decreases in the Mātsya by 7 and the number of unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind increases by 4. This naturally results in the decrease (in the Mātsya) in the number of unsymmetrical stanzas of the second kind by 9†.

†There are no unsymmetrical stanzas of the 3rd kind in the Matsya. There are two such stanzas in Adi.

The two unsymmetrical stanzas of the third kind (in Ādi) become unsymmetrical of the second kind in the Matsya in the following manner.

MB. (Ādi)	*Matsya*
85·5	40·5
a = अशिल्पजीवी **गुणवांश्चैव नित्यम्**	*a* = इ० उ० विगृहश्च नित्यं
b = जितेन्द्रियः सर्वतो विप्रयुक्तः	*b* = (same as in Ādi)
c = अनोकशायी लघु**रप्रचारः**	*c* = इं०/उ० '..... लिप्समानः
d = चरन्देशानेकचरः स भिक्षुः	*d* = (same as in Ādi)
MB. (Ādi)	*Matsya.*
87·45	42·23
a = मनोनुग्रं प्रार्थवां निर्जिगाय वा०if 3 *l*)	*a* same as in Ādi वा०-if 3 *l*.
b = **दत्त्वा प्रतस्थेविपिनं** ब्राह्मणेभ्यः वै०if 3,6 *l*)	*b* = ऋद्धामहींमददां..... वा०if 3 *l*
c = मेध्यानश्वानेकशतान् सुरूपान्	*c* शा०नैकशस्तान् .....
d = तदा देवा पुण्यभाजो भवन्ति (शा०if 1 *l*)	*d* शा० if 1 *l* (same as in Ādi).

In the first example we find that the rhythm ⏑ — ⏑— —⏑ ⏑— —⏑— — (*a* and *c*) MB. which we have placed among वैश्वदेवी variations (वै० if 1, 3, 6 long) is replaced by the Indravajrā rhythm in the Matsya. We hold that this has not been done for metrical reasons only because the same वैश्वदेवी variation is also found in about 10 places in Part I (Matsya) and in one pāda in Part II (Mātsya).(i) The occurrence of this rhythm in Part II is more significant and decides in favour of(ii) this rhythm being regarded as not totally objectionable.

The very fact that the readings of the Matsya suit the context better than the readings of the MB. (Ādi) makes

(i) The following is the pada :–

नमः सवित्रे रसनां शंकरे च (55·13 C.)

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓

(ii) The very fact that there is only one occurrence of this rhythmical variation shows that though it was not favourable, yet it was tolerated.

us think the Matsya readings are the results of the working of the desire for textual improvement under the guidance of rhythm.

In the second instance[1], the Matsya readings are seen to undergo a definite rhythmical development as already indicated. The second line of the stanza, though remains non-classical in the Matsya is yet seen to have greater regularity in the fact that it approaches the Vātormī rhythm in greater degree than the corresponding line of the MB. (Adi) approaches the Vaiśvadevi rhythm. The third line of the same stanza shows remarkable development by becoming classical-Śālini-in the Matsya without doing serious harm to the meaning.

We shall now turn to account the differences in reading of the same stanza. The omission of the phrase ...प्रनष्टे विपिन in the Matsya is important. We read in the MB. (Adi) version of the summary of the story attached in the very beginning of the ययातिचरित that ययाति observed penance on the भृगुतुङ्ग[2]. The lines run thus :—

ततः स नृपशार्दूलः पूरुं राज्येऽभिषिच्य च
ततः सुचरितं कृत्वा भृगुतुङ्गे महातपाः
कालेन महता पश्चात् कालधर्ममुपेयिवान्
कारयित्वा त्वनशनं सदारः स्वर्गमाप्तवान् (*MB.* I. 69·60—61.)

The above portion has been abridged in the Matsya as follows:—

ततः स नृपशार्दूल : पूरुं राज्येऽभिषिच्य च — 70 ab.
कालेन महता पश्चात कालधर्ममुपेयिवान् — 71 ab.
(Matsya 24. 70 71

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1. Vide st. $\frac{\text{87·45 (MB.)}}{\text{42·23 (Matsya)}}$ quoted on p. 767.

2. The name of a mountain also called भृगुतुन्द cf. वनपर्व MB. III 132·19.

Here, we see that because the event of ययाति's going to forest and doing penance on भृगुतुङ्ग is omitted in the summary given in the Matsya it is quite consistently omitted in the real story. Thus the readings in question agree with the events of the summary given in respective works.

Keeping this point in view when we find no explanation of the fact given in the Matsya how ययाति spent his long continued last days[1] after he had given everything to the Brahmans, we are led to conclude that the auothor did not, perhaps, notice the inconsistency arising in leaving the event contained in प्रतस्थे विपिनं etc. and 'ततः सुचरितं कृत्वा भृगुतुङ्गे महातपाः' and keeping at the same time. 'कालेन महता पश्चात् कालधर्ममुपेयिवान् '

That ययाति spent his last days quite idly, without doing anything useful (as suggested by the Matsya version) is not at all desirable and proper, more so in comparison to सुचरितं कृत्वा' of Adi.

Coming to the next difference[2] in reading in the same stanza, we find that the rhythmical consideration is more kept in view than any other motive. The rhythm in मेध्यानश्वानेकशतान् सुरूपान्, we put under $\frac{\text{शा० if 7 l}}{\text{इं० if 3 s}}$. This is found only in 10 cases in Part I and only in one example in Part II which shows the rapidly decreasing use of this rhythm in the Matsyapurāṇa proper (Part II). *N. B.*--In our comparison of the ययातिचरित versions so far, we have found the following motives at work to which the textua differences so far seem to be due to.

1. *The rhythmical consideration.* This plays an important part among the symmetrical stanzas.

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1. Cf. कालेन महता पश्चात

2. Cf. 87·45 C. (Adi) and 42·23 C. (Matsya).

2. *The desire to abridge the MB. version of the story.* This spirit is seen throughout the Matsya version of the story.

3. *A combined working of the above two motives.*

Turning to the unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind we find from our table that there are three stanzas more in the Matsya (Part I) than in the Ādi (Part I-A). But as one stanza which is unsymmetrical of the 2nd kind in Part 1 becomes unsymmetrical of the first kind in Part I-A, we get actually four such stanzas which are unsymmetrical stanzas of the 2nd kind in Part I-A, but become unsymmetrical of the first kind in Part I. We shall take them up one by one.

(i)	*MB. (Ādi) Part I-A.* 83·23.	*Matsya (Part I.)* 38·22.
	a = बा०	*a* = बा०
	b = समीक्ष्येमां त्वरितमुपागतोस्मि	*b* = इं० (समीक्ष्य चैनामहमागतोऽस्मि)
	c = शा० if, *l*.	*c* = शा० if, *l*.
	d = बा०	*d* = बा०.

The slight change in reading in the (*b*) pāda above is seen to be guided by the sense of rhythm. The (Ādi), Part I-A rhythm of the same pāda, namely, ◡—◡— —◡◡◡ —◡— ◡̄ is altogether absent from the Matsyapurāṇa proper, (Part II) and from the Matsya (Part I) as well.

This very fact seems to have led to the rhythmical change as found in Part I (38·22 b.)

	MB. (Ādi) Part I—A	*Matsya (Part I.)*
(ii)	*86·17*	*41·16*
	◡—◡— —◡◡— —◡—◡	
	a = न तुल्यतेजाः सुकृतं कामयेत	*a* = वं० (—— हि कामये)

– – – – –⏑⏑–⏑– –

b = योगक्षेमं पार्थिव पार्थिवः सन् शा० b = शा० (मं पार्थिवात् पा......

c = शा०

d = उ०

The above changes in reading are clearly due to the considerations of metre. A general improvement in meaning has also taken place by replacing the general विधिलिङ् form कामयेत by the first person present form कामये in pāda '*a*' and by removing the ellipsis in pāda '*b*' by putting पार्थिवात् for पार्थिव.

MB. (Ādi) Part I-A.	*Matsya—Part I.*
(*iii*) *87·5*	*42·5*
a = वा०	a = वा०
b = वा० if, *l*	b = वा० if *ll.*
c = (अहं न तान्वै प्रतिगन्ता नरेन्द्र)	c = वा० (नाहं तान्वै..........)
d = शा०	d = शा०
(*ii*) *86·7*	*42·6*
a = वा०	a = वा०
b = ममापि लोका यदि सन्तीह तात	b = इं०.....(यदि सन्ति तात)
c = वं०	c = वं०
d = शा०	d = शा०

In the above two stanzas the metrical consideration is seen at work in slightly changing the text.

Besides the four instances given above, there are two more among the unsymmetrical stanzas of ths first kind which also show rhythmical development. We cannot put them under the same category as the other four cases, namely under class I, as the character of the metrical differences present in them throws them under the third class. That this is so is seen from the fact that they remain all the time the unsymmetrical stanzas of the first kind, as their verses change from one classical variety to another. These stanzas are the following:—

MB. (Ādi), Part I=A.		*Matsya (Part I)*
(*i*) 70·52		25·45
a, b=वं०		*a, b*= वं०
c=वा०	ऋषेः पुत्रं तमेथो वापि पौत्रम्	*c*=इं० ऋषेः सुपुत्रं तमथापि पात्रम्
d=इं०		*d*= इं०
(*ii*) 84·4=		39·4
a=वा०	if 1*l*.	*a*=वा० if, 1*l*
b, c=इं०		*b, c*=इं०
d=वा०	if 1*l*.	*d*=इं० (3)
क्षीणे पुण्ये बहुधा प्रव्रजन्ति		क्षितौ विवृद्धिं बहुधा प्रयान्ति

In both these cases the Indravajrā rhythm is seen to have been preferred to vātormī rhythm, a fact quite consistent with the process of metrical evolution. We, therefore, think that the Matsya readings are more developed than the Ādi readings. We also notice that the reading of '*d*' pāda (Part I), क्षितौ विवृद्धिं बहुधा प्रयान्ति in more clear than 'क्षीणे पुण्ये बहुधा प्रव्रजन्ति' (Part I-A)(i).

The state of things found in the unsymmetrical stanzas of the second kind in Part I is not quite the same as that seen in the instances examined upto this time. We have not yet come across the metrical differences which characterise class IV. Such cases are found among the stanzas of the above kind in about 14 instances.

We shall now record important cases of metrical differences, following the classwise classification given on page 46.

(i) The stanza containing the above reading runs as follows:—
इमं भौमं नरकं ते पतन्ति,
लालप्यमाना नरदेव सर्वे ।
ते कङ्कगोमायुवलाशनार्थे,
क्षीणे पुण्ये बहुधा प्रव्रजन्ति (MB. Adi, 84·4).

The Matsya reading for the last pada is क्षितौ विवृद्धिं बहुधा प्रयान्ति. (Matsya 39·4d)

Verses coming under Class I[i].

MB. (Ādi-Part I=A) *Matsya (Part I).*

(1). 70·51*b*=शा० if 1*l*, उपस्थितं सत्तमन्ति प्रभावात् 25·44*b* =इं० उपस्थितं मत्तपसःप्रभावात

(2). 70·54*d* 25·48*b* =
a=ते मां पथा व्यभिचरन्ति नित्यं *a*== एभिर्व्यर्थं प्रस्तुतो दानवैर्हि

(3). 70·65 25·56
पुत्रो भूत्वा भावय भावितो माम्
=शा० if 7*l* / इं० if 3*s*. *a*=शा० पुत्रो भूत्वा निष्क्रमस्वोदरान्मे

(4). 70·66 25·57
c=(कचोऽभिरूपस्तत्त्वणाद् ब्राह्मणस्य) *c*=शा० प्रत्येयाद्रिःशुक्रमुभिद्य ब्रह्मम्

(5). 83·1 38·1
c=(प्रभ्रंशितोऽहं सुरसिद्धर्षिलोकात्) *c* इं०
(. . .ऽहं सुरसिद्धलो० . . .)

(6). 83·2 38·2
b=(तेनाभिवादं भवतां न प्रयुञ्जे) *b* इं०
(. . .न युञ्जे)

(7). 83·3 38·3
c (यो विद्यया तपसा संप्रवृद्धः) *c* वा०
(यो वै विद्वांस्तपसा.........)

(8). 83·4 38·4
d (यथा चैषामनुकूलस्तथा गन्) *d* इं०
(पतत्वान्मनैषां प्रतिकूलवादी)

(9). 84·3 39·8
c तान्वै तुदन्ति पततः प्रपातम् *c* इं०
(. . . [ii] तुदन्तो . . .)

(i). For the characteristic of the verses of this class refer to p. 46.
(ii). This reading is found in घ and च texts of the Matsyapurāṇa see, Anand. edi. 39·8c-foot-note under the c pada).

Verses of Class I—*continued.*

MB. (Ādi Part I—A). *Matsya (Part I).*

(10). 84·10c=वा० if l, (स वै तस्या. . .) 39·10c= वा० (तद्दे. . .

In some of the instances the metrical consideration is seen to be solely at work. In some, of course, the desire to improve the meaning controlled and guided by metre takes effect. The latter cases seem to be the following:—We note the serial number only (2), (3) (4).

Verses of Class II

Verses which are non-classical in the MB. (Ādi—Part I A) remain non-classical in the Matsya (Part I) in the unsymmetrical stanzas of the second kind.

MB. (Ādi—Part I A). *Matsya (Part I).*

1. 70·51 25·44

d= शा० if 3 l / इ०if 7 s (संजीविता वध्यते चैव भूयः) d=(यो वध्यते......) वै० if 3 l

2. 70·59 25·50

b = (स्मरामि सर्वं यच्च यथा चं वृत्तम्) d = वै० if 3, 8 l (सर्वं स्मरेयं......)

3. 70·60 25·51

d= वा०of 1, 3 l / इ if 5 l 7 s (त्वयि स्थिते कथमेवातिवर्त्तेत्) d = वाभिबाधते वं०if 5 l, 7 s

4. 83·3 38·3

⏑— — — ⏑⏑ – ⏑– —

b = स वै राजन्नाधिकः कथंचित् b = इति वै ......

5. 83·4 38·4

b=वा० if 3 l तद्दर्शनेऽप्रवणो पापलोक्ये =b वा if 3 l तद्दर्शिनां प्रवणं पापलोक्यम्

6. 83·5 38·5

⏑—⏑— — —⏑— —⏑— ⏓

b = वै if 1, 3 l विवेष्टमानं नाधिगता तदास्मि b =इ०if 7 s ..नो ऽधिगन्ता ....

Verses of Class II—*continued.*

	MB. (Ādi—Part A)	*Matsya (Part I)*
7.	84·3 c = वै० if 3 l (किं वा विशिष्टाः कस्य धामोपयान्ति)	39·3 b = शा०if 2 l किं विशिष्टाः—)
8.	84·6 a = वा०if 1, 3 l यदातु तान् वितुदन्ते वयांसि	39·6 a = वै if 1, 3, 6 l यदा तु तांस्ते......
9.	85·2 a = वै० if 6, l, आहूताध्यायी गुरुकर्मस्वचोद्यः	40·2 a = (—सुचोद्यतः)
10.	86·6 c= if 1, 2, 6 l कुत आयातः कतमस्यां दिशि त्वम्	41·5 c =कुत आगतः प्रमिताक्षरा if 8, 11 s.
11.	86·16 a =वै० if 3, 5, 8 l तांस्ते ददानि माप्रपत प्रपातम्	41·15 a=वै० if 3, 5, 6 l..... मि पतमानस्य राजन्
12.	87·3 a=वै० if 3, 5, 8 l तांस्ते ददामि मा प्रपत प्रपातम्	42·3 a=इ०if 5 l......मि पत मां प्रपातम्
13.	87·4 b = वै० if 1, 3, 6 l तथा गृहीतं शिशुकाच्छद्ममानः	42·4 b= वा० 1, 3 l.....मया कृतं शिशुभावोऽपि राजन्
14.	87·8 c = वा० if 1,3, l नचाहं तान्प्रतिपत्स्येह दत्त्वा d =शा if 2 l यत्र गत्वा नानुशोचन्ति धीराः	42·8 c= मत्ता if 1 l, 7s, ... प्रतिपद्य दत्त्वा d मत्ता if 6, 7, s. यत्र त्वं तात गन्तासि लोकान्
15.	87·48 a = शा if 1, 3, l पदाष्टकं प्रश्नमिह सत्यम् b = पुनर्ददं [illegible] तथैव शा if 1, 3 l	42·26 a मा·[illegible]ष्टक ... b पुनर्ददं [illegible] शिबि च b=वा० if 1, 3 l

We have said before that it is also possible for the verses of the second and the third classes to have undergone more or less metrical development one way or the other and yet to have retained their original character—classical or non-classical. Here and in the next group we come across actual instances which if divided on the basis of the above fact are seen to fall into the following three sub classes[1] :—

Sub-class I. —Under this class we put those instances which show rhythmical development in the Matsya (Part I) of course, by changing more or less their rhythm.

Sub-class II. —The verses under this class practically retain their rhythm in the Matsya in spite of the difference in reading.

Sub-class III. —Here we group together those instances in which definite rhythmical development cannot at present be said to have taken place in spite of rhythmical changes. We shall now arrange all the verses of class.

II. As sub-divided. The serial numbers of the main class are given. The figures 1 and 2 are used as indices for the MB. and the Matsya.

Sub-class I.

MB.—Adi Part I-A. *Matsya—Part I.*

4. 83·3 38·3

b^1(⏑ – – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – –) b^2(⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ..

N. B.—The initial foot (⏑–) of b^1 has been subjected to double anacrusis in b^2, resulting in foot ⏑ ⏑ which is **rhythmically** the same as the initial foot of Indravajrā, namely ⏑–⏑. Hence b^2 practically becomes Indravajrā in effect, b^1 remaining irregular.

9. 85·2 40·2

a^1 / 12 syls. – वै० if 6 *l* a^2 / 13 syls. (– – . – – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – –)

असंबाधा if 8, 11 s.

(1) The same sub-classification will hold good for the verses of class III

N. B.—In a^2 a new metre altogether is seen in the formation.

10. 86·6 — 41·5.

c^1 = वै० if 1, 2, 6, *l*. — c^2 = प्रमिताक्षरा if 8, 11 s.

N. B.—In c^2 a case like the one above is visible.

12. 87·3 — 42·3

a^2 = वै० if 3. 5, 8 *l*. — $=a^2$ इं० if 5 *l*.

N. B.—The verse a^2 approaches Indravajrā more than a^2 approaches Vaiśvadevī.

13. 87·4 — 42·4

b^1 = वै० if 1, 3, 6 *l*. — b^2 वै० = if 1, 3 *l*.

In b^1 these syllables are defective, while in b^2 only 2 remain in that condition.

Sub-class II.

MB. (Ādi—Part I-A). — *(Matsya—Part I.).*

2. 70·59 — 25·50

b = वै० if 1, 3, 8 *l*. — *b* = वै० if 3, 8 *l*.

5. 83·4 — 38·4

b = वा० if 3 *l* — *b* = वा if 3 *l*.

Sub-class III.

N. B.—The quantity of the initial syllable has not been taken into much consideration in No. 15.

1. 70·51 — 25·44

d = शा० if 3 *l* — *d* = वै० if 3 *l*.

3. 70·60 — 25·51

d वा० if 1, 3 *l*; इ if 5 *l*, 7 s. — *d* वै० if 5 *l*, 7 s.

6. 83·5 b = वै० if 1, 3 *l*. — 38·5 b इ० if 7 s

7. 84·3 — 39·3

c = वै० if 3 *l*. — b = शा० if 2 *l*.

8. 84·6 — 39·6

a = वा० if 1, 3 *l*. — *a* = वै० if 1, 3, 6 *l*.

11. 86·16	41·15
a = वै॰ if 3, 5, 8 *l*	a = वं॰ if 3, 5, 6 *l*.
14. 87·8	42·8
$\frac{c}{11\ syls}$ = वा॰ if 1 *l*.	$\frac{c}{10\ syls.}$ = मत्ता if 1 *l*, 7 s.
$\frac{d}{11\ syls.}$ = शा॰if 2 *l*.	$\frac{d}{10\ syls.}$ मत्ता if 6, 7 s.
15. 87·48	42·26.
a = शा॰ if 1, 3 *l*.	a = शा॰ if 3 *l*.
b = शा॰ if 1, 3 *l*	b = वा॰ if 1, 3 *l*.

N. B.—As it is neither our present aim nor necessity to trace the historical development of some of the rhythms present in sub-class III, we pass on to the verses of class III.

Verses of Class III.

Verses which are classical in the MB. (Ādi) Part I=A remain as such in the Matsya (Part I).

MB. (Ādi—Part I=A)	*Matsya (Part I).*
1. 86·16	38·15
b = वं॰ (सहस्रद्वारां शतयोजनायताम्)	b = इं॰(········नान्ताम्)
2. 84·18	39·18
c = वा॰ (अन्यां योनिं पवनाग्रानुसारी)	c = शा॰(·····पापपुण्यानुसाराम्)
3. 86·18	41·17
a = वा॰ (धर्म्यें मार्गे यतमानो यशस्यम्)	शा॰ a =(·····चिन्तयानो यशस्यम्)
4. 86·9	41·8
a = इं॰(प्रच्छामि त्वां मा प्रपत प्रपातम्)	वा॰ a =(·····मि त्वां प्रपतन्तः प्रपातम्)

N.B.—The sub-classification of these verses being not necessary we proceed to the verses of class IV.

Verses of Class IV.

Verses which are classical in the MB. (Ādi—Part I =A), become non-classical in the Matsya (Part I).

MB. (Ādi—Part I=A)	*(Matsya—Part I)*
1. 70·56	25·49
c इं० = [तमब्रूवीत्केन पथोपनीतो]	*c* = इं० if 7 s. (केन चेहोपनीतो)
2. 70·59	25·50
c = वा०[नत्वेवं स्यात्तपसः संक्षयो मे]	*c* = [..........तपसः क्षयो मे]
3. 73·65	25·56
b =वा० [अस्मद्देहादुपनिष्क्रम्य तात]	*b* = इं० if 3 s. शा० if 7 *l*. [भित्त्वा कुक्षिं जीवय मां च तात]
4. 70·69	25·59
c =इं०[येनाद्रियन्ते गुरुमर्चनीयम्]	*c* = शा० if 7 l प्रालेयाद्रिप्रोज्ज्वलभालसंस्थम्]
5. 84·6	39·6
d =इं० [न भौममन्यं नरकं शृणोमि]	*d* = [त्वत्तो भौमं नरकमहं शृणोमि]
6. 84·8	39·8
b = इं० [तथा अशीर्तिं परिवत्सराणि]	[*b* =तथाशीतिं चैव तु वत्सराणाम्]
7. 84·9	39·9
a =इं० (यदेनसस्ते पततस्तुदन्ति)	*a* = शा० if 1, 7 *l* इं० if 3 s. (यदेतांस्ते संपततस्तुदन्ति)
8. 84·24	39·28
b = इं०(भर्नाषिणो मानसमार्गरुद्धम्)	*b* = इं० if 7 s.(...णो मानसे मार्ग...........)
9. 86·9	41·8
a = इं० (प्रच्छामि त्वां मा प्रपत प्रपातम्)	*a* = वा० (.....मि त्वां प्रपततः.....

[*N.B.*—The quantity of म in both readings has been taken to be short. If in the Matsya reading the quantity is taken to be long the same instance will be put under class III].

10. 86·13	41·12
b =शा (या चाप्यस्माद्ब्राह्मणी वीरपत्नी)	*b* = शा० if 2 *l* (यद्यपि स्यात्)
c = वा० (सोऽहं नैवाकृतपूर्वं चरेयम्)	*c* = वं० if 3,6 *l* (सोऽहं यद्वा......)

11. 87·42	42·20
	[1] or
a = इं० (दानं तपः सत्यमथापि धर्मो)	a = (दानं शौचं सत्यमथो ह्यहिंसा)
	इं० (दानं तपः सत्य......)
12. 87·44	42·22
d = इं० (मातामहोऽहंभवतां प्रकाशम्)	d = (मातामहो भवतां सुप्रकाशः)
13. 87·46	42·24
c = इ० (तदाऽदंहगाः शतमर्बुदानि) ?	c (अश्वाः सनागाः शतसत्वर्बुदानि) ?
14. 87·48	42·26
इं०(सर्वे च लोका मुनयश्च देवाः)	(सर्वे देवा मुनयश्च लोकाः)
–70·51.	25·44

The rhythmical irregularity in the above verses[2] of the Matsya (Part I) may be attributed (a) to the attempt to bring about textual correctness in accordance with the rules of classical sandhis[3] in No. (6), (b) to careless omissions in writing in Nos. (2) and (14) and (c) to the working of unrestricted desire to improve upon the sense to the sacrifice of metre in the remaining cases.

We have already given instances to show that the desire to improve upon the meaning of verses has been at work, though it was guided and controlled by the true appreciation of rhythm. That very desire is seen here in its free activity.

As it is not our particular concern to enter into the discussions of meaning of these verses, we may finish our metrical evidence with the remark that even in cases where improvement in meaning is not certain, the rhythmical

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1. This reading is found in ग text (*cf.* Anand edi. 42·20 foot-note.) If this reading is adopted the same verse will come under class III.

1. The following cases are excluded as they have been already accounted for:—No. (9); No. (10).

2. 'Hiatus' is not tolerated in the Matsyapurana. This shows that the Matsya. (Part I) belongs to a period later than (MB. Adi Part I—A).

irregularities in the Matsya (Part I) can be safely averted from doing any serious harm to our previous conclusions—those rhythmical irregularities being tolerated in the Matsya—especially in view of a detailed mass of evidence having to support our previous views.

SECTION IV.

Omissions or additions in one or the other work. Omissions in the Matsya giving rise to difference in the story of ययाति.

We have so far taken the evidence of metre and it is on this basis that we decide in favour of the priority of the Mahābhārata in general and of the Ādiparva (Part I=A) in particular to the Matsyapurāṇa in general and Part I in particular. As a natural consequence of this we are led to believe in the genuineness of the MB. version of all the common portions (referred to on p. 2) in general and of 1·70—87 in particular.

But we remember to have said very little about the following two common portions, especially about the latter.

(1) MB. I. 18·53—58, 19·1—33 / Matsya 251·5—36 (2) 69·35—61 / 24·55—71

We have not much to say in connection with the first portion, which though partly written in trimeter verse, contains any difference scarcely worth our discussion. The following few differences might be noted:—

MB. I. 19.	*Matsya 251.*
1. 25 *a* (रु०तद्न्तकज्वलनसमानवर्चसम्)	28 *c* रु० if 1 s. संवर्तकज्वलन......
2. 29 *b*=वं० (महाद्रिपाताभिहता समन्ततः	32 *d* रु० (महीधराः पवनहताः समन्ततः)

N.B.—The interchange of वं० and रु० is a common thing in the verses of the above portion.

This finishes our treatment of those portions which are written in trimeter verse. We have now to collect whatever material we can gather bearing on the main problem from the remainiug common portions (which are written in dimeter verse) in particular and from elsewhere in general.

On the basis of our comparative study of these common portions we have already remarked that they are characterised more by the omissions or additions of certain passages than by the textual differences of other nature. We have also said that these omissions sometimes affect, more or less, the events of the story. We shall confine our remarks to those omissions or additions which form part of the Ādi (Part I=A) and of the Matsya (Part I) as they throw some light on the question of the genuineness of that common portion.

From the point of view of the Mahābhārata we find omissions of certain portions in the Matsyapurāṇa in about 85 places. We will not have to deal with all of them, as the omissions in 64 places are already either treated as interpolations or are omitted in some manuscripts of the Mahābhārata[1]. Hence we cannot attach much value to these. Out of the remaining 29 omitted portions we shall select only two portions for our consideration and shall, by way of example try to show how the story has been affected. The remaining portions are either too small or do not much affect the story.

The selected portions are (1) I. 69. 50—57 and (2) I 70·35—40. We shall now take them up one by one.

In 1. 69·50—57 we come across a very brief account of

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1. cf. MB. pp. 1—3.

the life of king ययाति containing a description of his long-continued indulgence in enjoyments with his wives, his unsatiability in that connection and his ultimate resolve to relinquish every enjoyment of senses with the most instructive remarks

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति । हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते । यत्पृथिव्यां व्रीहियवं हिरण्यं पशवः स्त्रियः नालमेकस्य तत्सर्वमिति मत्वा शमं व्रजेत् ॥

The Matsya version of the summary which is contained in only one stanza namely ततो वर्षसहस्रान्ते ययातिरपराजितः । अतृप्त इव कामानां पूरुं पुत्रमुवाच ह (Matsya 24·68 c. d, 69 a. b.), carelessly omits the interesting and the instructive facts about Yayāti's life which could have been given without making the summary long. This omission in the Matsya version is also not consistant with the Purāṇic practice of summarising long events. All important facts of a connected story or event must be noted in the summary is a rule observed always in the MB. and elsewhere in the Matsya as well. Hence we conclude that the MB. version in question is genuine.

The second portion contains a detailed answer given by कच to देवयानी's question कस्माच्चिरायितोऽसीति

The reply of कच runs as follows:—

समिधश्च कुशादीनि ....

गृहीत्वा श्रमभारार्तो वटवृक्षमुपाश्रितः

....

असुरास्तत्र मां दृष्ट्वा कस्त्वमित्यभ्यचोदयन्

बृहस्पतिसुतश्चाहं ....

इत्युक्तमात्रे मां हत्वा पेषीकृत्वा तु दानवाः ।

दत्त्वा शालावृकेभ्यस्तु मुदं जग्मुः स्वमालयम् ।

आहूतो विद्यया भद्रे भार्गवेण महात्मना

त्वत्समीपमिहायातः कथंचित्प्राप्तजीवितः

हतोऽहमिति चाचख्यौ पृष्टो ब्राह्मणकन्यया ॥

(MB. I, 70. 37—40).

The Matsya version of the same event runs as follows:—

तत : संजीवनीं विद्यां प्रयुक्त्वा कचमाह्वयत
आह्वूतो प्रादुरभवत् कचः शुक्रं ननाम सः
हतोऽहमिति चाचख्यौ राक्षसैर्धिषणात्मजः ॥

(Matsya 25.36 F.)

In the latter version कच who speaks there of his own accord, does not give any reason at all for his being killed and neither says how he was killed. The Matsya version is therefore rather disconnected and abrupt.

To these two portions we may add a small portion consisting of two verses only[1] where शुक्र is seen to give expression to his anger on the repeated murder of कच by the Rākṣasas. The omission of these lines in the Matsya allows शुक्र there to tolerate with indifference the barbarous deeds of Rākṣasas in murdering कच three times. This attitude of शुक्र towards Rākṣasas is neither just nor natural. All the three omissions which we have noted above go to show that in the Matsya, the story has been carelessly abridged.

Among those portions which are read in the Matsya Part I but omitted in the MB. (Adi) Part I—A. none throws light on the present question. They have therefore been omitted here[2].

SECTION V.

Evidence from other sources.

Besides the few facts presented in the foregoing pages, in general support of the priority of the Mahābhārata to

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1. Such portions are as follows:—

MB. (Adi)	Matsya Part I.
(1) *Cf.* Adi. 70.58.	24.56–71
	25.17 ab.
	29.20 ab.
	30.30 cd.
	35.6
	36.5 ab. ×
	39.23 ab.
	42.12
	42.14 ×
	42.29

The portions marked × are omitted in some MSS.

the Matsyapurāṇa and in particular support of the genuineness of the MB. version of the story of ययाति, we add a few more available from other sides.

8. Persons to whom the MB. and Matsya story is related.

The very fact that the person to whom the story of the Mahābhārata is told, namely king जनमेजय [1], comes prior in lineage to शतानीक, the son of जनमेजय, the listener of the Matsya story of king ययाति, shows the priority of the Mahābhārata version of the ययाति story. Again the very way in which the story of ययाति is introduced in the Matsyāpurāṇa undoubtedly decides that the story of ययाति does not originally belong to the Matsyapurāṇa proper and that it has been borrowed from somewhere else.

In the course of dialogue between Sūta and the Ṛṣis in the Matsya, the chief reciter, Sūta suddenly introduces शतानीक and शौनक with the words एतदेव पुरा पृष्ठः शतानीकेन शौनकः [2] on being asked by the Ṛṣis किमर्थं पौरवो वंशः श्रेष्ठत्वं प्राप भूतले (Matsya 25·1). The dialogue thus opened between शतानीक and शौनक begins with the question of शतानीक to शौनक ययातिः पूर्वजोऽस्माकं दशमो यः प्रजापतेः। कथं स शुक्रतनयां लेभे परमदुर्लभाम्[3]. (Matsya 24·4).

Thereupon the whole story of ययाति is told by शौनक. We have not yet been able to find out where the story of ययाति is recorded to have been told by शौनक to शतानीक. But

1. The whole story of the Mahabharata from chapter 60 (Adi onwards is related by वैशंपायन a disciple of व्यास, to जनमेजय, son of परीक्षित (*cf.* MB. I. 63·86—88).

2. *cf.* Matsya 25·3.

3. The same question is put to वैशंपायन by जनमेजय in the MB. (Adi 70.1a, b) after which the story of ययाति is immediately begun by वैशंपायन. This also proves that शतानीक of the Matsya is no other person than the son of जनमेजय as both claim ययाति to be their ancestor.

this does not take away from the statement एतदेव पुरा पृष्ठः शतानीकेन शौनकः the light it throws upon the question of priority of the MB. version of the ययाति story. Even in case the above reference is traced somewhere, it can, at its most, prove that the Matsya version of the ययाति story is borrowed from there which in its own turn will come much later than the MB. version and will have to borrow from the Mahābhārata as will be evident from the fact that the present version of the Matsya (Part I) contains much in common with the MB. (Ādi) version of the ययाति story. Finding, therefore, that our conclusion is not in the least affected under any of the above circumstances, we, judging on the present state of things, hold that the Matsya version of the ययाति story has been borrowed directly from the MB. (Ādi), the references to शतानीक and शौनक in the Matsya being either due to an oversight or being deliberately put in to conceal the real source of the story or being made to agree with some oral tradition of the same story.

2. The Genealogical Evidence.

The fact that the genealogy of पुरुवंश given in the MB. (I. 63. 1—88) stops at अश्वमेधदत्त son of शतानिक[1] while that in the Matsya (50·1—89) is prolonged to about 19 generations[2] after शतानिक shows that the Matsyapurāṇa was composed several generations after शतानीक. The author's desire to give a look of antiquity to the Matsya might be seen to have been betrayed in the witty remarks अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये नृपास्तथा.... put into the mouth of Sūta before he is

1. *cf.* MB. I 60·86—88.

2. *cf.* Matsya, 50·69—89. The last king named is क्षेमक who is said to rule in कलियुग (*cf.* st. 88).

actually made to go beyond शतानिक and his son अधिसोमकृष्ण [1] while tracing the genealogy of पुरुवंश. Another fact which deserves notice in this connection, is that the sage व्यास who is referred to as a source of this future knowledge on the part of Sūta[2], is not seen to go beyond अश्वमेधदत्त in the Mahābhārata at least. Even if Vyāsa is found anywhere else to cross this genealogical limit (as perhaps in the Matsya) it will show (1) that that work is posterior to the MB. and (2) that all the Purāṇas were not written at one and the same time.

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1. Called अश्वमेधदत्त in MB.
2. *cf.* यथा मे कीर्तितं पूर्वं व्यासेनाक्लिष्टकर्मणा
   भाव्यं कलियुग चैव.........................
   अनागतानि सर्वाणि ब्रुवतो मे निबोधत ॥
   (Matsya 50·72—73.)

THE PRATIJÑĀCAṆAKYA OF BHĪMA.

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It is a well-known fact that the "Mudrārākṣasa" treats about the accession of Chandragupta Maurya to the throne of Magadha after defeating the Nandas and the "confederacy of the northern powers" with the help of Cāṇakya. This historical fact has been made the plot of a drama by a poet of the name of Bhima. The drama goes by the name of "Pratijñācāṇakya" or Pratibhācāṇakya and Abhinavagupta refers to this drama twice in the Abhinavabhāratī. The following are the two extracts from the Abhinavabhāratī.

"भवतु तनयं लोके जातापशब्दपरंपरा
परिच्चयमयी वार्ता कीर्तिं निकृष्य निकेतनं"

इति महाकविना भीमेन राजापि विन्ध्यकेतुः भूयसा व्यवहृतः

[Vol. ii p. 343. Abhinavabhāratī (Deposited in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras].

प्रवेशका बाहुल्येन तावत्तापसवत्सराजप्रतिभाचाणक्यमुद्राराक्षसादिषु.........

Vol. ii p. 459. Abhinavabhārati.

From the above two extracts we infer that Bhīma was a poet of a very high order as is shown by the adjective "Mahākavi" and that he was the author of a drama with the twin names of "Pratijñācāṇakya" and "Pratibhā-cāṇakya."

This statement of Abhinavagupta is confirmed by the quotations in the latter-day anthologies. Some of the verses ascribed to Bhīma in the Subhāṣitāvali like "श्रुत्वा कर्णज्वरम्" "कानि स्थानानि दग्धानि" and "आशाश्च प्रयाति पटान्त" seem to have been taken from a drama and especially the

verse "स्मेरास्सन्तु सभासदः" ascribed to Bhīma in the Sūktimuktāvali, seems certainly to be a verse in the Prastāvanā.

No writer before Abhinavagupta as far as I know, mentions Bhīma, or his dramas. There is no doubt as to the date of Abhinavagupta since he himself furnishes it in his "Bṛhatīvṛtti" on the "Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī."

इति नवतितमेऽस्मिन् वत्सरेऽन्त्ये युगांशे
तिथिशशिजलधिस्थे मार्गशीर्षावसाने"

Thus Abhinavagupta's literary activity ranges from 990 to 1020 A. D. This then forms the lowest determinant of the date of the Pratijñācāṇakya.

We shall in the course of this article fix the other determinant. That the Pratijñācāṇakya, had the same plot as the Mudrārākṣasa, is clearly suggested by the title itself, and a study of the names given to these respective dramas furnishes us with some interesting information. The "Mudrārākṣasa" gives pronounced prominence to Rākṣasa and his unhappy seal, while the "Pratijñācāṇakya" or the "Pratibhācāṇakya to Cāṇakya and his terrible pledge or to Cāṇakya and his scintillating genius. This makes us infer that perhaps Bhīma wrote his drama as a rival play to the Mudrārākṣasa. This perhaps legitimate, though speculative inference, is further strengthened by the similarity in the names of characters in the play. Like "Malayaketu" in the Mudrārākṣasa there is "Vindhyaketu" in the "Pratijñācāṇakya." In this connection it is necessary to refer to the date of the "Mudrārākṣasa." No scholar will now agree to place Viśākhādatta to a date earlier than 800 A. D. Now, since the Mudrārākṣasa seems to be the first play dramatising the ascendancy of Chandragupta, and since the "Pratijñā-

cāṇakya" seems to be a rival play it need hardly be said that the Mudrārākṣasa forms the upper limit of the date of the "Pratijñācāṇakya." Thus we may say that the drama in question should have flourished between 800 to 1020 A. D.

A further clue seems to be found in one of the couplets of Rājaśekhara praising poets or their productions. One of such couplets praises a king of Kālañjar of the name of Bhīmaṭa.

कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् ।
तेषु प्रबन्धराजत्वं प्राप स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥

V. 43. Sūktimuktāvali

(Deposited in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras).

The above verse equips us with the information that Bhimaṭa was the author of five dramas and that the "Svapnadaśānana" was the best among them.

Kālañjar was a fortress, which was beautified later as a chief town, by the "great builders," the Chandels. The history of the Chandels according to V. A. Smith began only in the ninth century and Kālañjar fell into their hands only in the reign of Yaśovarman the Chandel king in 916 A. D. This easily proves that Bhīmaṭa was the ruler of Kālañjar before the Chandels seized it, hence we may un-hesitatingly affirm that his rule should have been prior to 915 A. D. on the strength of these two reasons.

(1) Rājaśekhara's reference.
(2) Fall of Kālañjar.

It is quite probable that the letters—"ṭa" at the end of the name "Bhīmaṭa" may have elided, his name thus reducing itself to simple Bhīma. Since Rājaśekhara

attributes five dramas to this king and since this really requires a high quality of creative genius, and since Abhinavagupta refers to a drama, the Pratijñācāṇakya, and speaks of its author Bhīma as a " Mahākavi " it need not be thought as far-fetched or laboured, if we identify the two and include the Pratijñācāṇakya as one of the five dramas referred to before.

Chronologically there is nothing incongruous. The adjective "Mahākavi" does not militate against the royal status since we find king Harṣa of Kanouj speaking of himself in the प्रस्तावना of all the three dramas as

श्रीहर्षो निपुणः कविः

This identity has enabled us to go a step further in fixing the date of the play. The play seems to have been written between 800 to 915 A. D.

Thus we may conclude that the author of the Pratijñā-cāṇakya was no other than the king of Kālañjar, that he was the author of five dramas of which we now know only two namely, the " Svapnadaśānana" and the Pratijñā cāṇakya" and that he flourished within 800 -915 A. D.

The Pārthavijaya.

The Pārthavijaya is a drama, the exploits of Arjuna forming its subject-matter. There is no mention of the author's name in the only two extracts we have in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, and perhaps it would ever be tenanting the limbs of oblivion but for the reference to it by Rājaśekhara. One of his appreciative couplets about poets and their productions, refers to Trilocana and his work "The Pārthavijaya.

कर्तुं त्रि (त्रि) लोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः।
तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

Sūktimuktāvali V. 33.

Through some scribal error the name "Trilocana" has been changed into "Vilocana." A reading of the verse will show the incongruity if we accept the reading "Vilocana". The poet wants to pun on the word "Trilocana". The meaning is "how can we two-eyed beings understand the meaning of the Pārthavijaya, the composition of (literally) the three-eyed." The चमत्कार or literary delectation is entirely lost if we accept the reading "Vilocana,"

There is perhaps also another significant meaning enmeshed in this couplet. It shows that no one other than the three-eyed Lord can defeat Arjuna in the field of battle. This meaning hence, is revelatory of at least a portion of the plot of the drama namely the fight between Lord Śiva and Arjuna.

Sufficient data there are, to fix Trilocana's date with a fair degree of certainty. That Trilocana preceded Rājaśekhara, can be easily inferred from the latter's appreciative couplet. This then forms the one limit of Trilocana's date. A reference to the Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara helps us a little more. Two verses are ascribed to Trilocana under the chapter Viśiṣṭa-Kavi-praśaṃsā wherein Mayūra and Bāṇa are praised. The following are the two verses.

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥
तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिर्लोकेषु शस्यते ॥
यावन्नो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनिः ॥

p. 30 verses 186/87.
Śārṅgadharapaddhati.

Mayūra, if we accept the traditional account, is the father-in-law of Bāṇa, hence the date of Bāṇa constitutes the upper limit of Trilocana's date. Thus the period of Trilocana's literary activity is hedged in on either side, with the dates of Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara. The date of Bāṇa 650 A. D. and that of Rājaśekhara 915 A. D., hence Trilocana should have flourished in the intervening period.

There is a Naiyāyika Trilocana referred to by Vācaspati as his teacher in his न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका

त्रिलोचनगुरून्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः

(Vide 'प्रत्यक्षसूत्र' न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका)

Vācaspatimiśra flourished in 841 A. D. So if the poet Trilocana should be identical with Vācaspati's teacher, then he should be assigned to the first-half of the ninth century.

Two extracts from this drama are quoted in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. They are as follows:—

अथ सन्ध्यन्तराणि एकविंशतिः तद्यथा साम, भेद, दण्ड, प्रदान··· तत्र साम यथा पार्थविजये भगवान्वासुदेवः दौत्येन गतः दुर्योधनमाह क्षीरोदादमृतायतिः क्षितिभुजां वंशस्ततो भारतस्तत्राप्यग्रगुणाश्च किन्न बहुना यत्रो[illegible]वस्तादृशाम् ॥ इत्यादि

P. 480. Vol. ii Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

(Deposited in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library).

तत्र पुनो दौर्मेधा पार्थविजये गन्धर्वैः पराजित्य बद्धस्य अर्जुनेन विक्रम्य मोचितस्य दुर्योधनस्य तत्र हि

अर्जुनः—

न चास्मिन्काले पारक्यमाहूत [illegible] मनसि संभावनीयम् । यस्मादभिन्नमेव आर्ययुधिष्ठिरमहाराजमवगच्छामो विशेषतोऽस्मिन्काले पश्यतु महाराजः

स्वैर्वैरैः कुरुपाण्डवान्तरकृतो यस्मिन्विशेषोऽस्ति नः
तस्मिंस्तत्किमसाधु ···· मित्यार्या विजानन्ति यत् ।
यत्रैकाभिजनान्वये त्वभिभवः क्षत्रस्य तस्मिन्पुनः
भ्रातॄणां पुरतोऽभियोगसमये पञ्चोत्तरं नः शतम् ॥

दुर्योधनः—(सवैलक्ष्यम् आत्मगतम्)
हृद्य शिल्पयोत्तरम्, कथमिवैनमालपामि ।
भ्राताहमित्यसदृशं मम दुष्कृतैस्तैः
द्वेष्टा भवानिति तदत्र दशाविरुद्धम् ।
यदि ब्रवीमि वचनं लघु तत्तु तत्र
कामं भवेच्छरणमप्रतिपत्तिरेव ॥

P. 483, Vol. ii Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

The plot of the drama seems to be this. Envious Duryodhana inflamed at the prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha, reduces them to grinding poverty, by defeating them in the game of gambling. In strict obedience to the pledge given before, the Pāṇḍavas meekly and without protest go to the forest.

Duryodhana to parade his royal pomps and power before the Pāṇḍavas goes to the forest under the pretence of a hunting expedition. In the intoxication of his power he loses his mental ballast. Unfortunately the circumstances so conspire against him that he has to fight with and match his skill against the Gandharvas. Duryodhana is not only defeated and taken prisoner but also tied to a pillar. Arjuna who accidentally happens to pass by, sees the ridiculous position of his kinsman. His manly courage swells up. He defeats the Gandharva leaders and liberates Duryodhana. Liberated Duryodhana smarts under the smothering kindness of his kinsman-foe. In course of time Arjuna gets from Lord Śiva the invincible Pāśupatāstra.

The stipulated period of forest life is over, and Kṛṣṇa is sent as an ambassador of peace to Duryodhana. Kṛṣṇa tries to persuade Duryodhana to give at least a pin-drop space of land for the Pāṇḍavas and thus avert an inevitable war. Duryodhana remains adamant. War breaks out and the Pāṇḍavas become victors.

This then in short seems to be the plot of the Pārthavijaya of Trilocana.

As observed at the outset, Trilocana seems to have flourished in the middle of the ninth century.

SANSKRIT UDĀNAVARGA AND ITS PRAKRIT ORIGINALS.

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The subject of our discussion will be the work which is known by the name of Udānavarga. This title literally means a collection of Udānas or the utterences of the Buddha. The book was hitherto known through the translation into Tibetan and Chinese. Verses from the original Sanskrit work were first made available to scholars from a chapter published by Prof. Pischel in the proceedings of the Berlin Academy of 1900. He collected these verses from the fragments brought from Central Asia by the German mission and called it the Turfan recension of the Dhammapada.

Fragments of the same work were found by Sir Aurel Stein, the more important of which were published by Prof. de La Vallu Poussin in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

All these fragments were, however, written in the Central Asian form of Brāhmī, as prevalent in Kucha about the 7th century. The fourth chapter of the same work was also published by Prof. S. Levi in the Journal of the French Asiatic Society. This was based on the Mss. brought by M. Pelliot, the leader of the French mission, whose collection also contains numerous fragments of the same work.

Besides these fragments in Central Asian character there is in the French collection another earlier fragmentary manuscript of the same work. This Ms. which is now preserved in the National Library of Paris, was found by Prof. Pelliot in Tun-Huang in Cental Asia. In its present condition the Ms. is broken up into fragments of different sizes, some of which are quite small. The writing was done with ink and a thick pen on folios of brown birch bark. Paleographically the Ms. should belong to a period not much later than the fragmentary Ms. of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa found in Central Asia and published by Prof. Lüders.

During my stay in Paris I had been allowed the privilege of working on this Ms. and the work is to be published shortly in the publications of the Pelliot Mission to Central Asia.

The Udānavarga in my opinion, is a work of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism and had probably the same place in the canon of that school as the Pali Dhammapada in that of the Theravada School, now prevalent in Ceylon and Burma.

The work is divided into 33 Chapters of varying lengths, each bearing a separate title as we find in the Dhammapada. It begins with *Anityavarga* or the Chapter on inpermanency and ends with *Brāhmaṇavarga.* The work contains about 1,000 verses, and though only verses are found in the later recensions it appears originally to have contained a mixture of prose and verse. All the verses occurring in the Dhammapada and the Udāṇa of the Pali Canon are found in this work, besides, we find also therein many verses from other canonical texts such as the Itiruttaka, the Thera and the Therī-gāhā, and other works of the Sutta and the Vinaya-Piṭaka.

The author of the work is known as Dharmatrātā. He is said to be the maternal uncle of Vasumitra, who must be identical with the author of the Prataraṇapāda. Both of these scholars were glories of the Sarvāstivāda School. According to Hiuen Tsang, Vasumitra is said to have been elected President of the Council of 500 monks, which was held in Kashmir at the order of Kaniṣka, though according to some, . the honour is said to have fallen on Pūrṇa. The authorship of the Dhātukāya, which with the Prakaraṇapāda is counted among the 7 canonical works on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins, is ascribed by some to Vasumitra and by others to Pūrṇa. Both Dharmatrātā and Vasumitra were inhabitants of Puṣkalāvatī (modern Hashtnagar) one of the capital cities of the time of Kaniṣka. Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, however believes Udānavarga to be the work of a different Dharmatrātā.

That the work was very popular at one time both in India and in Central Asia is evident from the fact of

its being translated from the original Sanskrit into many foreign languages. I have said before that the work was first known to us through the Tibetan translation. This translation was done by an Indian named Vidyākarap-rabhā or Vidyāprabhākara in collaboration with a Tibetan Scholar Lotsava-Rin-Chen-Mehog. The Tibetan collection known as Bitan-hgyur, also contains a commentary on the work, the Udānavarga vivaraṇa of Prajñāvarman. The commentary is also divided into 33 Sections as we find in the original text.

In Chinese there now exist four translations of the Dhammapada of which two (1) the Tehon-yav-King (Avadānasūtra) and (2) Fa-tsi yav-song King (Dharma-saṃgraha, Matārtha-gāthā sūtra) seem to have been based on the Udānavarga. The other two the Fa-Kin-King and the Fa-Kin-pi-yu-King (Dharmapādāvadānasūtra) seem to be more akin to the Pali version of the Dhammapada. The earliest translation is the Fa-Kin-King which was translated in the year 224 by Wei-Ki-san or Vighna. He was originally a fire-worshipper but later on he was converted to Buddhism.

In 224 A. D. Vighna came to China in company with Tehon Liu-yen and brought with him an Indian text of the Tan-po-King (Dharma-pada-Sāstra). They were asked to translate the work into Chinese and though none of them was well versed in the Chinese language, they made an attempt. It is partly for this reason that the translation is difficult to understand. We know from all this that the Dhammapada was known in China as early as the 3rd century A. D. or perhaps even earlier.

Apart from Tibetan and Chinese the work was also translated into other Central Asian languages. We know that the work was translated into the languages of Kucha in both its dialects, now known as the Tokharian and the Kuchean.

Many fragments of these translations have been found by the German as well as the French missions, some of which have already been published. Besides we have found verses from this work transcribed into Soghdian character.

The earliest manuscript of the Udānavarga which is preserved in the Pelliot -collection and about which I have already mentioned, is interesting from various points of view. It is undoubtedly one of the earliest Mss. known to us.

We know further from this work how the text gradu ally developed in course of time. The number of verses in this particular manuscript is much less than that found in the later manuscripts of the same work, written in the Central Asian character as well as in the Tibetan translation, which closely followed this later version. This Mss. is also interesting from a linguistic point of view.

Here the language is full of Prakritisms as we find in the Bower Mss. as well as many of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. The readings are also different in many places from those in the later version. It bears the impression even with a casual reader as if the original version was written in a kind of Prakrit dialect and the work was Sanskritised at a later time. In the earlier attempt of translation traces of many Prakrit forms from the original text were left, which were changed into grammatically correct Sanskrit in course of time. The readings

of this earlier version were closely allied to those of the verses found in the Pali canon. I give here one example which may be interesting to the readers.

The following is the 7th verse of the eleventh chapter as found in (1) the earlier version (2), the later version, and (3) in Pali.

1. Kathañ careya Śrāmaṇye cittañ ca na nivārayet Pade pade viśīdantaḥ saṃkalpānāṃ vaśaṃ gatāḥ.

2. Srāmaṇye carati yastu svacittam anivārayan Punaḥ punaḥ viṣīdet sa saṃkalpānāṃ va'aṃ gataḥ.

3. Kati ham careyya sāmññam cittam ca na nivāreyya Pade pāde visideyya saṃkalpānam vasānugo.

This is one of numerous such examples but one is ample to illustrate our point.

Proof of a prakrit original of the Udānavarga :—

We can conclude from the indications given by the texts themselves that the verses of the Udānavarga were originally in Prakrit from which they were rendered into Sanskrit. Examples of Prakritisms are numerous, and we cannot brush aside the whole thing by saying that the work was in the so-called Buddhist Sanskrit. We can even go further in our conclusion and say that when the author wrote out the verses, as we find in the earlier version of the work, he had in his mind or may be even before his eyes the original verses in Prakrit which he had rendered into Sanskrit.

We have at least two examples to support our thesis. One of these is found in the 18th Chapter of the work. All the Manuscripts of the later version give the reading *tato'nyam anuśāsita.* The corresponding verse in Pāli

reads : *ath'aññam anusāseyya.* But in the earlier version this passage is rendered by *tato'jñam anuśā anto.* Here the author must have confused P. *añña* (sk. *anya*) with skt. *ajña.* The second example is found in Chapter XXX. In our Ms. we find the reading *puruṣo yajño* as opposed to *P. dullabho purisā jañño.* This verse is not preserved in any of the later Mss. but we find the parallel in the Mahāvastu (III p. 109) which gives the reading *purusājānyo.* Thus the word *yajño* of our Ms. is only an erroneous translation of P. *jañño* while the regular form should have been *jānyo.* The reading *ajanyo* of Mhv. corresponds to P. *ajañño*, a contracted form of *ājāneyo*—Skt. *ājāneyaḥ* 'noble'. The author translates the word from Skt. *ājāneyaḥ* but this word is usually used in classical Skt. in the sense of a 'horse of noble race.'

Besides these two examples we also come across forms which lead us to the same conclusion. They cannot be termed Buddhist Sanskrit because they are different from what we ordinarily find in Buddhist Sanskrit works, *e.g.*, in XV. 6 we find the form *nṛpakam* meaning 'wise'. In P. as well as in Budh. Skt. the form is *nipaka.* Probably this word is connected with Sanskrit *nipa* 'chiefs' and the form as found in our Ms. may be due to a confusion with Sanskrit *nṛpa* a king'. Similarly in XVI 14 we find the term *posatham.* While the latter Mss. have used *uposatham.* The correct Sanskrit form is *upavāsatha* and in Budh. Sanskrit it is *posadha.* The form *posatha* is found in P. as well as in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Again in XIX 1 we find *tādṛnaḥ* for Skt. *tādṛśaḥ.* In P. the form is *tāyino.* M. Senart connected *tāyino* with Skt. *tādṛś.* In P. this term is generally applied to signify Buddha or an

Arhat which is probably due to a confusion with Skt. *tāyin* a 'saviour'. The form *tāyina* is found in the later Mss. of the Udānavarga but the form *tādrṇah* is unique. It must be due to a confusion between Skt. *tādṛś* and P. and Pkt. *tādino*. Examples of this nature are numerous but the few mentioned above are sufficient for our purpose.

Besides the structure of isolated words, there are other indications of our Ms. being based on a Prakrit original. In many places both at the beginning and in the middle of a *pāda*, Sandhi has not been made. This is a serious infraction of the rules of Skt. grammar but is often found in Pali and Prakrit. In the later Mss. however the hiatus has been avoided by the introduction of enclitics such as *hi*, *api*, *ca*, *vā* etc.

Last of call, the metre also supplies us with a strong argument in favour of our thesis. The majority of the verses is composed in śloka metre, each pāda of which usually contains 8 syllables. But here we find occasionally pādas of 9 syllables. Pādas of 9 syllables are not rare in the Epics, but here the case is a little different. If we examine all these cases of irregularity in our Ms. we defind that the pāda has become hypermetrique owing to the Sanskritisation of some prakrit word. A very frequent example is furnished by the verb *bhavati*. In P. and Pkt. the form is *hoti* which is disyllabic and *bhavati* has three syllables. In the later Mss. the irregularity has been avoided by replacing *hoti* by syāt.

Though we are certain that the work had a Prakrit basis, it is rather difficult to determine from the examples we have got in this Ms. in what particular dialect of Prakrit the original was written and I am not yet in a

position to commit myself. We can, however, draw two important conclusions from a study of the peculiarities found here: (1) that the texts of the verses of the Udānavarga approach very nearly to those found in the Pali canon, (2) and that the verses found here must have been translated from an original Prakrit. In course of time as the work passed through different hands it was gradually corrected into pure classical Sanskrit. As for the dialect which formed the basis of these verses, all that we can say at present is, that it approached very nearly to Pali and to the dialect attested by the ancient inscriptions which is usually known as the Western dialect.

Besides the linguistic point of view this work is interesting from another point also. Though all these sayings passing under the name of Udāna are said to have been uttered by the Buddha himself we find that many of these are closely allied to similar verses found in the Brahmanical literature. It is difficult to prove where one borrowed from the other but it seems more probable that many of such verses were current amongst the people and were handed down as well-known tenets of morality. We know that many similar verses gradually found their way into the Epic as well as into the early metrical Dharmaśāstras such as Manu etc. and were given the authority of Smṛti. In this case also the verses which were originally common to all, were also adopted by the Buddhists and were regarded as authoritative sayings after they had found their way into the canon and sometimes passed even as the sayings of the Buddha himself. As an example we may quote Chapter XVIII, ii verse 14, of the Udānavarga which is also found in the Pali Dhammapada (verse 47).

पुष्पाण्येव प्रचिन्वन्तं व्यासक्तमानसं नरम् ।
सुप्तं ग्रामं महौघ इव मृत्युरादाय गच्छति ॥

In the Mahābhārata we find the following verses.

पुष्पाण्येव विचिन्वन्तमन्यत्र गतमानसम् ।
वृको वारणमासाद्य मृत्युरादाय गच्छति ॥
तं पुत्रपशुसम्पन्नं व्यासक्तमानसं नरम् ।
सुप्तं व्याघ्री मृगमिव मृत्युरादाय गच्छति ।

Similarly we find a verse in the Rāmāyaṇa.

यथा फलानां पक्वानां नान्यत्र पतनाद् भयम् ।
एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्यत्र मरणाद्भयम् ॥

The same verse is found in the 1st chapter of the Udānavarga as well as in the Sutta Piṭaka of the Pali Canon.

In Manu V-53, we find

वर्षे वर्षेऽश्वमेधेन यो यजेत शतं समाः ।

with which we may compare Udānavarga Chapter XXIV, verse 22 etc

मासे मासे सहस्रेण यो यजेत समाशतम् ॥

Everywhere the idea is the same while in places one agrees with the other word for word.

THE END.